Racial Segregation in London.

~~Ethnic Segregation and Planning~~

~~in London~~

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Abstract

Some ethnic minority groups are segregated in London, and face both direct and indirect discrimination. The thesis explores the extent to which there is institutional discrimination in the planning system, and what local planning authorities are, and could be doing, to prevent themselves from unintentionally discriminating against ethnic minorities.

Immigration and race relations legislation has shaped the history of twentieth century immigration and the current distribution of ethnic minorities in London. The theory and debates surrounding the segregation and integration of ethnic minorities are summarised, as are as ways of measuring degrees of segregation. Four areas of ethnic minority concentration in London, Waxlow in Ealing, Roundwood in Brent, St Peter's in Tower Hamlets and Dalston in Hackney are described in terms of their populations, the problems facing them, and the local policies which affect ethnic minorities in housing, employment, education and land use. It is important to establish to what extent ethnic minorities (particularly non-white ethnic minorities) are still discriminated against in housing, employment and education, (through the "colour bar"), and how this affects the process of ethnic segregation.

Ethnic minorities are discriminated against (usually unintentionally) by the planning system, simply by it taking a "colour-blind" approach, treating all groups' needs as the same. To some extent planning authorities are now seeking to take account of the needs of ethnic minorities, although it is still a low priority for most. Recommendations are made for better practice by the DoE, CRE, RTPI, and local authorities, affecting plan-making, monitoring, and development control procedures.

"If ethnic minority groups have
distinctive needs which have
implications for the use and
development of land, or if there is a
likelihood that their needs (even if not
distinctive) are being overlooked, then
it is good planning practice to
acknowledge these needs explicitly."

Krishnarayan,V. and Thomas, H. (1993)
*Ethnic Minorities and the Planning
System*

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Introduction

I originally considered writing my thesis about groups of people who are unintentionally discriminated against by the planning system. It seemed to me that the people who gain least, or suffer most from the planning system are the poor, the uneducated or inarticulate, the disabled, women, and ethnic minorities. I considered lumping together some of these, and several other groups, and writing my thesis on planning for the "underclass".

After consideration, I realised how misguided this relatively new concept was, and how harmful it would be to actually use it to describe any group of individuals. To say that individuals belong to an "underclass" (or "outclass" which is a term that has also been used) is to say that it is **they** who are the problem, as they are below the British class system, and that they can do nothing to alter this. This seems to me to at least imply the Hindu caste of the untouchables. Also, what had started out as a concept (however mistaken) about economic activity (by Rex and Tomlinson, 1979) has now become dominated by its behavioural and moral dimensions (as in W.J.Wilson, c.1987).

Neither was there any agreement on what characteristics assign one to the "underclass". Some suggested crack dealers (who are often far from poor), while others suggested all public housing tenants, single mothers, or inner city ethnic minorities. Gans, (1991) regards it as professionally irresponsible to use a concept which is open to so many (mis)-interpretations, and lists ten "dangers" for planners who use it.

Having read Gans, I realised that the people whom academics have condemned to the "underclass" are no more than ordinary people who are suffering different levels of multiple disadvantage. They do not all face the same problems, and so should not be lumped together. Nor are their situations unalterable. They are not "outside" of our society, but merely not served well by it, or disadvantaged by its workings.

One group of people who are particularly disadvantaged by the institutions of British society are ethnic minorities. This is particularly true of the non-white groups, who have the added disadvantage (in Britain) of discrimination because of their colour. By almost all indicators, New Commonwealth immigrants (taken as one group) and their children fare worse than whites in every sphere that determines overall quality of life. This does not however, mean that **all** non-white ethnic minority groups or individuals fare worse than whites; some of the richest individuals in the country are New Commonwealth immigrant businessmen, and some non-white ethnic groups fare even better than the

much of the majority population in several spheres of life. However, it does mean that non-white immigrants and their children are **more likely** than white groups to suffer deprivation, or at least a lower standard of living.

Non-white minorities are disadvantaged by central government's heavy-handed immigration controls, and race relations legislation which is not really enforceable. Most public services, particularly planning, do little to counteract their disadvantage, often even reinforcing their often deprived situations. Council housing departments and estate agents do little to improve the state of housing for ethnic minority groups, and sometimes even try to keep their housing segregated from that of the white population. The education system is still reinforcing disadvantage across generations, and employers still covertly practice discrimination against ethnic minorities, even though it is illegal to do so.

Although planning is primarily involved with land-use issues, every planning decision has social, cultural, and economic implications for people and communities. By treating everyone in the same way, and having "colour-blind" policies, planning can actually discriminate against ethnic minority groups. The policies and standards in planning are usually formulated with the "norm" (that is middle-class white people) in mind. Due to this, ethnic minority groups are indirectly disadvantaged by the planning system. In a more direct way, large-scale developments and urban renewal such as the Docklands in London's East End, also further disadvantage the local ethnic minority populations by ignoring their needs and supporting the profits of large scale office or luxury home developments.

In 1979, the Royal Town Planning Institute together with the Commission for Racial Equality set up a working party on "Planning for a Multi-Racial Britain". The RTPI noted the complete lack of any clear guide-lines on how planners should attempt to deal with problems and needs particular to ethnic minorities, and the lack of any clear identification of what those problems were. Fifteen years later, although awareness has increased, and some progress has been made to identify possible problems and needs, there are still no clear guide-lines available to planners as to good practice in this area.

The "Planning for a Multi-Racial Britain" working party suggested several reasons why planners should be concerned with race relations matters. The first is their legal responsibility under the Race Relations Act 1976 (S. 19A and S.71). The second is that planning should attempt to respond to the special characteristics and separate needs of the population of its area. Another reason is that town planning is heavily committed to

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public participation (perhaps more so than any other branch of local authority work), and it is widely known that ethnic minorities are almost always less involved than other members of the community. A final, very important reason is that inter-racial disputes are sometimes expressed as disputes about planning issues which really have nothing to do with race at all, and racial disputes are sometimes expressed in planning issues (for example with the British National Party councillor who gained a ward on the Isle of Dogs in 1993). Planners should know how to proceed in such situations, as the dispute may actually be out of their control.

The spatial and social divisions within London are growing. Since the early 1970s, even when employment chances were rising overall, the gap between the richest and poorest parts of the city has widened. These spatial and social divergences have different causes, but race and migration are involved in both. (Cross, 1992).

The term "ghetto" is commonly (although incorrectly) used to describe the areas in British cities which have been settled by non-white groups. Like so many terms within the field of race relations, it is highly charged in significance, both emotionally and politically. As well as the widespread use of emotive terms, there are also many assumptions and beliefs concerning members of minority groups which have become established myths, and tend to perpetuate ignorance and stereotyped views of minority groups.

In any discussion of race relations there is a danger that words may carry unintended meanings that alter the sense of an argument or imply a particular standpoint. I have therefore chosen my wording carefully, using "non-white" to refer to all those who are not of Caucasian appearance, and chosing not to use the term "black" to describe these groups, as there are too many misunderstandings over who it includes. For example, I do not feel that it can realistically include Chinese, who may not be white, but who are just as far from having black skin. Where ethnicity has to be approximated by nation of origin, I have used the term "non-white" to cover those with origins in the New Commonwealth and Pakistan, and excludes those with origins in the Old Commonwealth (North America, and Australia) and Europe.

The term "non-whites" must, however be used carefully, as "non-whites" in Britain come from a wide variety of countries and cultures. London today is so cosmopolitan that there is hardly any part of the world that has not sent at least a small community to live in it. The great diversity of the "non-white" population in Britain must be reflected in the terms used to describe them. Also, each ethnic group typically includes

individuals representing a very diverse range of class, religious, cultural, and caste affiliations. This great diversity within the ethnic minority population exacerbates the difficulties for non-white people in Britain trying to organise themselves to get involved in the political parties and institutions.

Scope of the Thesis

In order to explain how the planning system often indirectly discriminates against people from ethnic minority groups, it is necessary to first give some background to their presence in London, and to the position of the various ethnic minority groups, relative to the majority population.

Chapter One provides the background and sets the scene. It summarises the history of ethnic immigration in London, and explains the evolution of the Immigration and Race Relations Laws, which are so intimately bound up with the lives of ethnic minority groups in Britain today. The current distribution of ethnic minority groups in London is described, while the last section deals with the segregation and integration of ethnic minorities in London, and the theoretical arguments for and against both.

Chapter Two is a description of the four London boroughs (and one ward within each) which I chose to study in greater depth, and the criteria which I used to select these areas. It offers information on the history of immigration into the areas, and the strengths and problems of each area.

Chapter Three attempts to analyse the four areas in terms of their political backgrounds, and the policies which affect ethnic minorities in terms of land use, housing, employment and education. It looks at the adequacy of the special provisions for ethnic minorities made by each planning authority, by looking at the results of a structured postal questionnaire.

Chapter Four looks at what constitutes "direct" and "indirect" discrimination, and shows how indirect discrimination in several fields of life leads to the existence of a "Colour Bar", which provides an added disadvantage for non-white ethnic minorities. It then looks in detail at the contribution of housing, employment, and education to the process of ethnic segregation.

Chapter Five investigates the adequacy of the approaches of planning authorities to planning for ethnic minorities. It looks at the few reports on the subject, at the fallacy of adopting a "colour-blind" approach to planning, and at the importance of monitoring and consultation with ethnic minority groups. It also examines the arguments for and against Area-based policies or Blanket policies to respond to the special needs of ethnic minority groups.

Chapter Six concludes by interpreting the information presented, and by making suggestions for future good practice in the field of planning for ethnic minorities.

Methodology

The main method of investigation used was a large scale literature search on the subjects of race and ethnicity (both generally, and particularly in London), immigration and race relations legislation in Britain, poverty, housing, employment, education and planning for ethnic minorities. I identified the key problems facing ethnic groups in London from various official surveys. These included the Policy Studies Institute surveys, information from the Department of Employment's Labour Force Surveys and General Household Surveys, and local and central government reports on ethnic minorities. Statistics from the 1991 census were used to show the distribution of the various ethnic groups in London, and their situations regarding age structure, housing, employment, and so on. The information available on ethnic minority populations varied widely between the four boroughs which I chose to study. I also used my own knowledge of the different ethnic groups in London.

Until the 1991 census results were published, the only statistics on ethnic minority populations came from the Labour Force Survey. This is an annual survey of a sample of private households, which includes questions about ethnic origin and country of birth. Since the 1841 census, a question on "country of birth" has been included in the census, although there were no questions asked on ethnic group. The size and relative importance of the various ethnic groups were estimated from the country of birth question (together with the country of birth of the head of the household, and the number of people living in households where the head of household was born in the New Commonwealth or Pakistan). However, this was an indirect, and not wholly accurate way of measuring the ethnic population. The 1980s saw the increasing acceptance of ethnic monitoring, and a question on ethnic origin was included for the first time in the 1991 census of population. This was primarily because it was needed to help central government allocate resources to local government and health authorities, and because it was recognised that the country of birth question (together with the country of birth of "head of the household") had become an increasingly misleading proxy. This is due to the ethnic immigrant population of Britain being increasingly replaced and enlarged by second and third generation British-born ethnic minority individuals since the 1970s.

The ethnic categories in the 1991 census were recommended by the Commission for Racial Equality (Appendix 1). I think that the groupings are somewhat misleading, as it is incorrect to classify Indians from East Africa or the Caribbean as "Black-Other : non-mixed origin", when their ethnic group is clearly Indian. The ethnic origin question

refers to the family origin of the individual, and should have no implications about birthplace or nationality, as ethnic group does not necessarily equate to birthplace. For example, a government survey showed that 18% of the Indian population living in Britain were born in East Africa (mainly Kenya and Uganda). Furthermore, individuals such as myself, of mixed ethnic parentage could have classified themselves under one of two groups, "Black-Other : mixed origin" or "Other ethnic group : mixed origin".

There will always be a problem with lumping groups together, as there are so many different groups in London, and there can only be a limited number of groups defined in a census. The census does, however, classify the most numerous groups in London separately, although the ethnic groupings available in the census also cover up a vast amount of the variety of the ethnic minority population in Britain. This is less obvious to the majority population, but is very important to the ethnic minority groups themselves. In looking at the distribution of ethnic minority groups in London, census information is therefore not sufficient, as many very different groups are lumped together in the classification (for example Arabs, Italians, Jews, Poles, and East African or Caribbean Asians all come under Other ethnic groups : non-mixed origin).

I sent postal questionnaires to the planning departments of the four chosen boroughs, to ascertain what they do to provide a service which does not in some way discriminate against ethnic minorities. As the large scale literature search took longer than I had anticipated, I had no time to carry out a pilot study for the questionnaire. I would also have liked to have interviewed housing officers, education officers and community workers from the four chosen councils, but time did not permit this.

I visited the areas which I had chosen to study to observe how people interacted and to get a "feel" of the area. In studies such as these, it is important to observe people in social situations, and to be aware of how resources and labour are allocated in real life situations. The case-study approach, therefore helps to add a more realistic and accurate impression than depersonal statistics, while statistics are useful in giving some idea of the scale of the specific problems identified.

Chapter 1 : Distribution of Ethnic Minorities in London, 1994

1.1   A Brief History of Ethnic Immigration in London.

For many centuries, a great variety of people have come to London from other countries in search of better economic opportunities or to escape political or religious persecution. Until the mid-nineteenth century the majority of foreign-born immigrants were from Europe. In the late 17th century the fashion for black servants brought about 18,000 West Africans to London, although they did not form a separate community. Before the nineteenth century there was a sizeable Irish population in London. After the potato famine in the 1840s, Irish peasants flooded into the capital. At that time, their language and religion were serious barriers to their easy acceptance. The Jews in London at that time also experienced similar problems because of their different language and religion, but also because of their different culture. However, both groups have now assimilated into British society to a substantial degree. Early in the twentieth century, the general impression of London was still of an overwhelmingly white, protestant, English-speaking and culturally homogeneous society. However, in the second half of the twentieth century this image of homogeneity changed rapidly. (Jones, 1991).

After the First World War, and more so after the Second World War, the character of foreign immigration changed. Having conquered and exploited a third of the world and created artificial states, economically and culturally dependent on her, Britain granted them independence without having invested in their sustainable future. As London's economy became increasingly international in focus, movements of population parallelled the movement of capital and goods. In the post-war economic boom, British employers facing labour shortages at home imported workers from the former colonies to serve as low-paid, low-skilled labour, instead of upgrading technology, training and pay rates. Much of this labour was recruited to fullfill a particular need. For example, London Transport set up centres in the Caribbean Islands to recruit bus crews. The National Health Service was also a large recruiter. For about four decades there were large flows of immigrants from Britain's former colonies. (Reference Services, Central Office of Information, 1991).

New Commonwealth immigrants were more visible than most of the previous immigrants to London, and their different racial features (which were obviously unchangeable) offered a peg on which to hang prejudices. Discrimination in the labour market pushed even the well-qualified among immigrants into lowly jobs.

Discrimination in the housing market concentrated them in pockets, usually in areas inhabited by low-paid, disadvantaged whites. In this way, employers pocketed the profits of immigrant labour while working-class areas mainly in the inner cities paid the social cost.

The first main New Commonwealth group was the Afro-Caribbeans, who began to come to Britain in large numbers in the 1950s. At this time, annual fluctuations in immigrant numbers were closely linked to the availability of work in Britain (Figure 1.1). Had this reserve army of labour not been available at that time, there would have been an acute labour shortage in some sectors of the economy. Public transport in London might have actually come to a halt in the 1950s, were it not for migrant labour. (Jones, E., 1991).

Figure 1.1: Employment Vacancies and West Indian arrivals, 1956-60
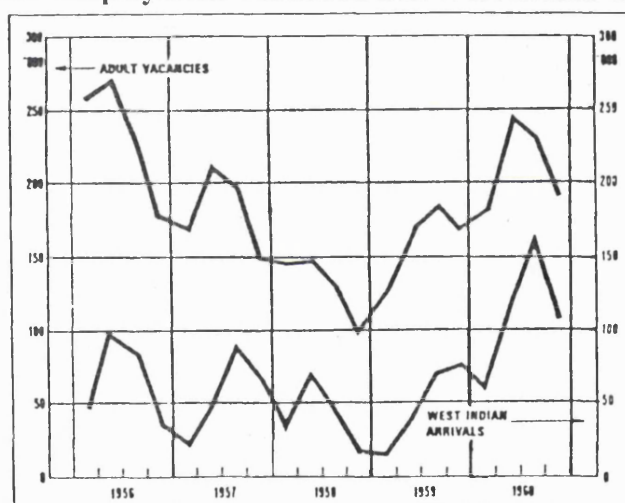
Source: Rose, 1969 quoted in Counter Information Services, 1977

Almost 60% of the immigrants from the Caribbean came from Jamaica. Although the Caribbean islands share a colonial past, the people of each country are distinct from the others. Their mother tongue is English, although a variety of dialects are spoken, and they are mainly of Christian denominations. Immigration from the Caribbean trailed off in the early 1960s, and was replaced by immigration from India and Pakistan.

Immigration from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh peaked in the late 1960s. It was mainly voluntary immigration, prompted by a desire for better employment and education opportunities. The relationship between immigration and labour demand was less marked for Asians than it had been for Afro-Caribbeans. Among South Asians there is a great variety of religions (including Sikhs, Muslims, Hindus, Jains and Christians),

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languages (including Urdu, Bengali, Gujarati, Punjabi, and Hindi) and cultures, and the family remains a very strong institution. (Reference Services, Central Office of Information, 1991).

The majority of the Indians in Britain originate from the Eastern districts of the Punjab (which already had strong links with Britain), and most of these were Sikhs who were peasant farmers, traders, or professionals. Although they are the largest of the South Asian groups in Britain today, they are only a very small minority in India. There are also many Hindu Gujeratis in Britian.

Earlier in the twentieth century, the British had imported Indian navvies, junior clerks, artisans and traders into East Africa to help them rule the indigenous people. Many had also migrated to East Africa to work in railway construction. Kenyan independence in 1963 led to widespread resentment among Africans about the predominance of African Asians in commerce. In 1967 Asians who had not opted for Kenyan citizenship at independence were allowed to work only on a temporary basis. This Africanization lead to a flood of Kenyan Asian immigrants to Britain in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In 1972, there was a great influx of about 28,000 Ugandan Asian refugees, fleeing the repression of Idi Amin. These East African Asians were mainly entrepreneurs and business people, and many had had servants in Africa. Many had enjoyed a status in Africa which they very often lost to a certain extent when they were "forced" to come to Britain. In Britain, they settled mainly in the suburbs, and fitted in with British suburban middle-class lifestyle.

Pakistan consisted of two parts (East and West) from the time of Indian independence (1947) to 1971, when East Pakistan became the new state of Bangladesh, leaving the former West Pakistan as Pakistan. In the late 1970s, Britain admitted about 18,000 refugees from Pakistan and Bangladesh. Since then, both the Pakistani and the Bangladeshi populations have seen substantial increases. Most of the Bangladeshi immigrants were peasants from the rural area of Sylhet, with smaller numbers of more educated urban dwellers coming from the capital, Dhaka. Figure 1.2 shows the pattern of emigration from Asia.

Figure 1.2: Pattern of Emigration From Asia

INDIA	PAKISTAN	BANGLADESH
Rural areas of Punjab and Gujerat and a much smaller number of people from cities	Rural areas of Punjab and Azad Kashmir and a much smaller number of people from cities	Villages of Sylhet district and a smaller number of people from cities

Immigration chiefly in first half of this century. More Gujeratis emigrated than Punjabis

Immigration chiefly in first half of this century.

EAST AFRICA

Men emigrated in 50s, women began to join husbands in 60s

Men emigrated mainly in 50s, women began to join husbands in late 60s and 70s

Men emigrated mainly in 50s, women began to join husbands in 70s

From Kenya c. 1968   From Tanzania c. 1970   From Uganda c. 1972   From Malawi c. 1975

BRITAIN   BRITAIN

Source: Wilson, 1979

By the mid-1970s, the preferential treatment in British immigration legislation of former colonial citizens as opposed to aliens had been substantially eroded, and European Community citizens began replacing them as the main group. The high levels of New Commonwealth immigration trailed off in the 1970s. By 1982, New Commonwealth immigration had decreased so much that it was almost entirely made up of dependants of people already settled here. In 1984, the non-white population of Britain was over 40% British-born, and it is now about 50% British-born (compared to 97% of the white population). A higher proportion of people of Afro-Caribbean origin living in Britain were born here than people of Asian origin. The agenda for New Commonwealth ethnic group issues is shifting from matters associated with the arrival and settlement of foreign populations to those related to the concerns of a second, and even third generation of settlers.

The majority of immigration of people with few or no direct ties to Britain today is from Europe, and the Old Commonwealth countries (Australia, New Zealand, and North America), with smaller amounts from Africa. Since the 1980s, there have also been refugees (allowed in on humanitarian grounds) from Bangladesh, Somalia, Ethiopia, and more recently, from Eastern Europe. London is now the most multi-racial city in the world, with representatives from virtually every country. (Reference Services, Central Office of Information, 1991).

1.2 Immigration and Race Relations Legislation.

Over the last few decades, the government's economic policies have created an environment in which racism can flourish, as non-white ethnic groups have become convenient scapegoats for the effects of public expenditure cuts, growing unemployment, and declining living standards. While the government attempts to project a nationalistic solution to its economic problems, and identifies New Commonwealth immigration as a problem, it effectively points the finger at non-whites. The acceptance of the idea that immigration controls can help solve social, political and economic problems can only heighten and legitimise racism. In the British context, therefore, nationalism cannot be separated from racism, and politicians of both parties have given way to racial prejudice over immigration laws. (Counter Information Services, 1977).

A country with rising unemployment and housing shortages cannot be expected to keep an open door to immigration, but as long as international inequalities persist, immigration will continue. Immigration is therefore likely to be controlled in countries with a labour surplus and high income levels. However, the manner of control in Britain has become increasingly racist and inhumane. Now, while European Community citizens come and go relatively easily, many people from Britain's former colonies are denied entrance at all.

It is on non-white people that the brunt of restriction falls, and is intended to fall. The explicit policy of both main parties to prevent new inflows of New Commonwealth (and non-white) immigrants, and to treat those already here equally and humanely are hard to combine, and the result in many cases has been family separations, raids and interrogations, detention without trial, and arbitary expulsions. In at least one case, that of Joy Gardner in 1993, the result was death.

Attlee's post-war Labour government actively encouraged immigrants to come to Britain from other countries, in a conscious attempt to alleviate labour shortages which were affecting key sectors of the economy. **The Resettlement Act 1947** was a constructive act, as it acknowledged some of the broader social aspects of the immigration of relatively large numbers of foreign nationals. It was to provide help with the assimilation of migrants into the host community. The National Assistance Board helped with integration in those days by providing hostel accommodation, and giving advice on subjects such as employment and health. The **British Nationality Act** was introduced in **1948** under Attlee's Labour government, conferring British citizenship on

anyone born in the United Kingdom, and allowing citizens of the Commonwealth entry to Britain to find employment.

The end of the 1950s saw the first recession since the War, which highlighted the "social cost" of the extra permanent workforce. The presence of the recent immigrants aggravated the existing deprivations in housing, education and social services, but it was racism that defined non-whites as the cause of them. In 1958, under a Conservative government, race riots in Nottingham, and London's Notting Hill area showed the government the potential social dislocation that racism could cause. This paved the way for tighter restrictions on immigration (particularly from the New Commonwealth), and shaped the **1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act**. This made entry to Britain from the New Commonwealth conditional on having an employment voucher, so removing the freedom of entry from Commonwealth citizens, except for those needed by the British labour market. The voucher system for entry into Britain differentiated between unskilled, skilled, and professionals. Type A vouchers were for those with firm job offers, and were filled in by employers. Type B vouchers were for professionals, and were the easiest vouchers to get. Type C vouchers were for unskilled workers with no job offers, and were difficult to get prior to being phased out in 1964. A quota was allocated for the number of immigrants in each group, making it easier for professionals to move to Britain from the New Commonwealth than it was for unskilled workers.

Wilson took a more realistic stance on the subject of immigration control and racial conflict. "We are not having the immigrant question used as an alibi for the total Tory failure to handle the problems of housing, slums, schools and education in this country." (H Wilson, 1963, in Counter Information Services, 1977). Wilson's Labour government introduced the first race relations legislation the **Race Relations Act 1965,** which made direct discrimination against ethnic minorities unlawful. This was followed three years later by another **Race Relations Act 1968**, which made direct discrimination in employment, housing, education and in the provision of goods, facilities and services unlawful. The **Immigration Act 1968** was passed in a few days amidst hysteria over the Kenyan Asian "crisis" and the entry of many Kenyan Asians into Britain.

In **1971**, the Conservative government under Heath introduced another **Immigration Act**. This was intended to end New Commonwealth immigration, as worries about limited space, jobs, homes and resources were growing. It had the effect of splitting families (mostly from the New Commonwealth), or denying them the right to live together in Britain. The Act divided British subjects into "patrials" and "non-patrials". Patrials were UK passport holders who were born in Britain, or who had at least one

parent or grandparent born in Britain, and were given the right to live in Britain with their families. Non-patrials were all other British subjects (UK passport holders or not), and were mostly non-white. They no longer had the right to live in Britain with their families, and now had no more right to British citizenship than someone from outside the New Commonwealth who had no links to Britain. The 1971 Act (and its concept of patriality) was therefore discriminatory in effect (Sarre, 1989). The following year in 1972, the Ugandan Asian "crisis" took place, and many thousand Ugandan refugees fled to Britain.

The system of entry for dependants is strongly biased against non-white immigrants. The government's heavy-handed immigration controls often prohibit families from living together in Britain, even though they may have British citizenship. Relatives coming to visit family in Britain and immigrants returning from extended trips back home (common for funeral or weddings), face interrogations that bring home to most of them the unambiguous message that they are not wanted in Britain. Special police units (such as the Immigration Intelligence Unit) have been set up to seek out illegal immigrants, and the discriminatory treatment of non-whites has therefore been institutionalised. There is a growing incidence of passport checks at some hospitals, and unannounced raids on work-places. The 1971 Immigration Act confers on immigration officials the power to detain someone without charge or other normal legal rights. Illegal (or suspected illegal) immigrants can be taken to and detained in Ashford Remand Centre or Harmondsworth Detention Centre without being charged.

Callaghan's Labour government introduced the crucial **Race Relations Act 1976**. This made it unlawful to indirectly discriminate either intentionally or unintentionally against any particular racial group (Section 71), and was intended to eradicate institutional discrimination (particularly within local authorities). This Act had a "soft" form of positive discrimination built into it. It allows special educational, training and welfare facilities to be provided for ethnic groups (Section 35), and also makes provision for pre-employment or promotion training for the ethnic minority labour force where such people are under-represented as employees (Sections 37 and 38).

The independent Commission for Racial Equality was set up by the 1976 Race Relations Act to look into allegations of racism, to help eliminate discrimination, to promote good relations between different racial groups, and to keep the Race Relations Act under review. The Commission has the power to conduct formal investigations, and can take out an injunction to stop any practices which unlawfully discriminate on the grounds of race. At a local level, the Commission supports about 80 race equality

councils. It also issues Codes of Practice to eliminate discrimination and promote equality of opportunity. It has already produced Codes of Practice for experts working in the fields of employment (1984), housing (1989), and education (published in 1989, although non-statutory). There is currently no Code of Practice for planning.

Thatcher's Conservative government saw widespread urban unrest and race riots throughout the country in 1980, 1981, and 1985, culminating in the killing of police officer Keith Blakelock by black youths at the Tottenham riot. A public inquiry (headed by Lord Scarman) held after the riots concluded that social factors had contributed to creating the conditions for communal disturbances. The government however, chose not to look into the real causes of the riots, the inequalities suffered by non-white people in Britain, and the injustices of racism. Instead, in response to these riots, the Conservative government introduced the **British Nationality Act 1981**, and another **Immigration Act** in **1988**, as amendments to the Immigration Act 1971. The 1981 Act dismantled the category of "citizen of the UK and Colonies", and introduced three new citizenship categories. These were British citizenship (only if a parent was born or is legally settled in Britain), citizenship of British dependent territories, and British overseas citizenship. The 1988 Act was intended to make it harder to bring in dependants, by restricting the right to appeal in certain deportation cases, and by making overstaying leave in the United Kingdom a criminal offence.

The restriction of non-white immigration is a policy of the state, which has been supported by successive Conservative governments since the early 1960s and, after the mid-1970s (once the Party relinquished its electorally unpopular stance against immigration control), also by Labour governments. However, the only race relations legislation has been the three Acts introduced by Labour governments. Both main Parties have continued to place tighter restrictions on immigration (Britain now has the toughest immigration laws in Europe), but the Conservative Party has not introduced any Acts to improve race relations since they came into power in 1979. The CRE are now calling for an amnesty to allow illegal immigrants to stay in Britain if they have jobs and their own housing, and are self-sufficient.

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Figure 1.3

Now, as stronger race relations controls are needed, and as the ones already in existence need better enforcement, there has been increasing racial conflict, particularly the 1981 and 1985 race riots. The Race Relations Acts are seen as subsidiary to other laws when there is an allegation of racial discrimination. There is a widespread desire by the CRE (who are currently reviewing certain chapters of the 1976 Act) and other campaigners to have the race relations laws strengthened, and the CRE has already drawn up guide-lines which have so far been ignored by the Home Secretary (the minister with general responsibility for race relations matters). The government has also stated that no major changes to the legislation are planned. This is despite the government admitting that "discrimination has diminished in some important respects, but not in others, necessitating continued efforts to eradicate it." (Reference Services, Central Office of Information, 1991).

1.3   The Current Distribution of Ethnic Minorities in London.

In 1991, 5.9% (about 3.5 million) of the population of England and Wales were non-white. Non-white ethnic minorities in Britain are heavily concentrated in the main conurbations, particularly in London, which had a non-white population of 20.2% in 1991. In 1982, 12% of the white population, 34% of people of Asian origin, 49% of people of Afro-Caribbean origin, and about 67% of people of Bangladeshi origin, lived in Greater London. (Brown, C, 1984:61). About 25.6% of the total population of Inner London are non-white, while the figure for Outer London is 16.9%. There are currently fifteen London boroughs which have non-white ethnic minority populations of over 20%. Nine of these are inner London boroughs, the other six are outer London boroughs, (see Figure 1.3 and Appendix 2). Brent (in outer London) has the highest ethnic minority population (44.8% non-white), and Havering has the lowest, at only 3.2%.

The broad distribution of ethnic groups in London has not changed radically for several decades. Over time, London (unlike large US cities) has come to have two groups of areas of ethnic minority concentration: the inner London boroughs of Newham, Tower Hamlets, Hackney, and Lambeth, and the outer London boroughs of Brent, Ealing, Harrow, Waltham Forest, Redbridge and Hounslow. These are strongly and increasingly correlated with the two main ethnic groups. Inner London continues to be the stronghold of the Afro-Caribbean population (where they are about 80% more likely than whites to live), while Asians reside mostly in the suburbs (although the more

Figure 1.4 : Distribution of Afro-Caribbean population in London, 1981
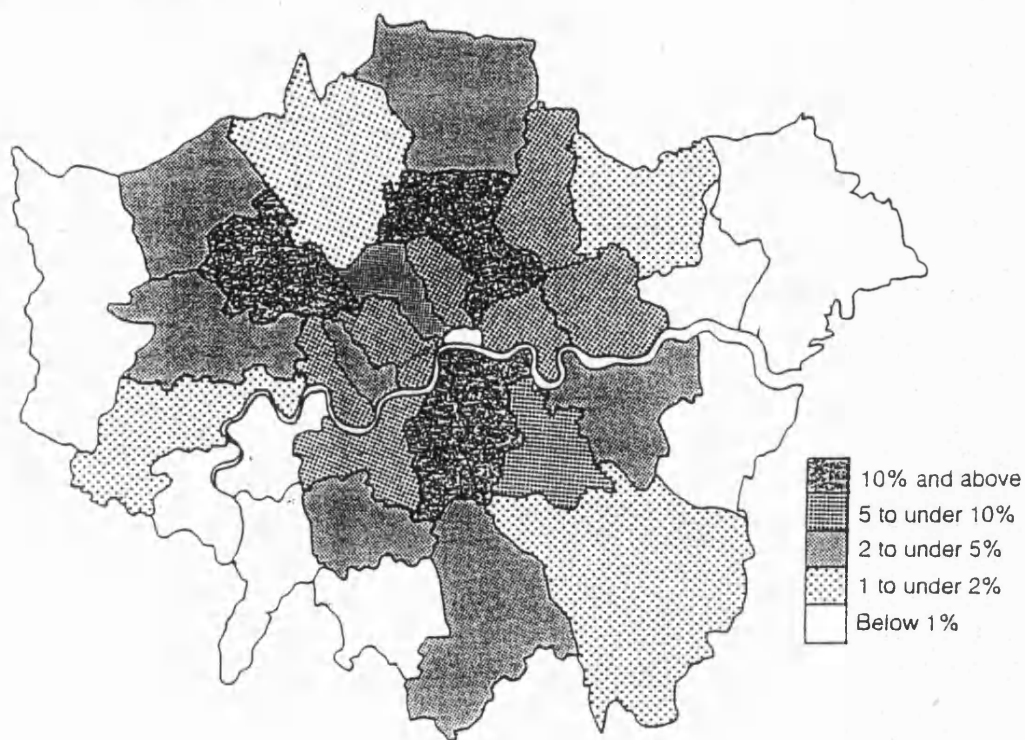
Source : London Research Centre quoted in Cross, 1992

Figure 15 Distribution of South Asian population in London, 19981
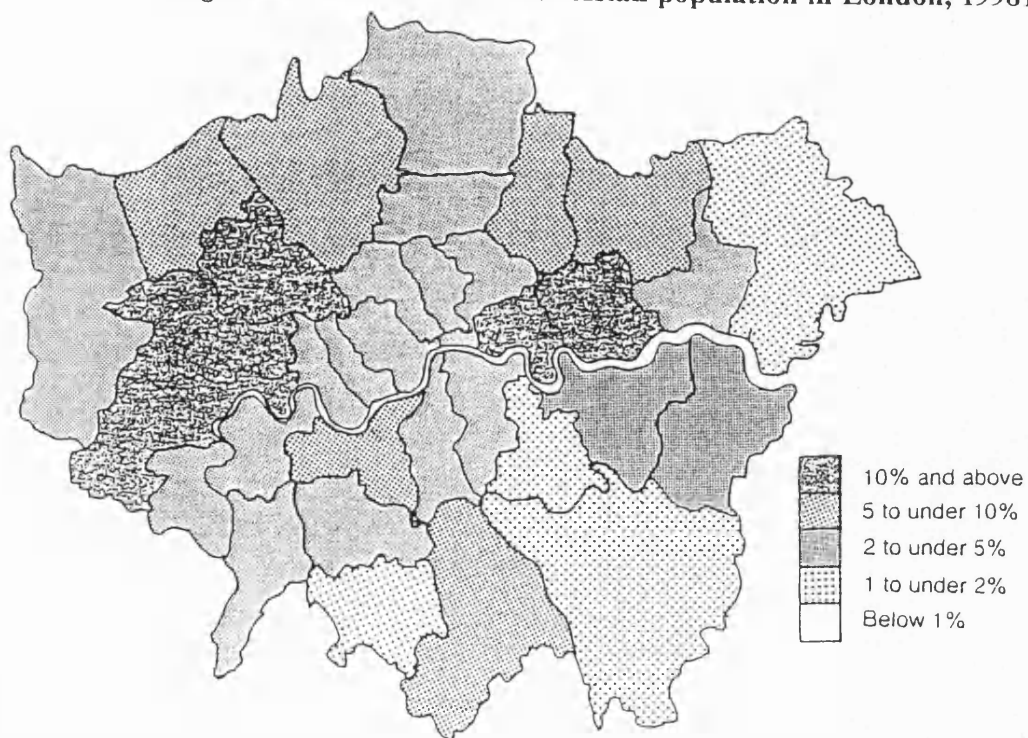
Source : London Research Centre quoted in Cross, 1992

working-class population of Bangladeshis reside in inner London). Both groups are under-represented in the City. There are very few places in the city where Afro-Caribbean and Asian concentrations occur together (Figures 1.4 and 1.5), and even in these areas of joint settlement there is still frequently a high level of local residential segregation. Most London boroughs with substantial non-white populations have either concentrations of South Asians or Afro-Caribbeans. Only two boroughs (Brent and Newham) have substantial populations of both Afro-Caribbean and South Asian groups.

However, there have been some changes at a more localised level, such as the growing Bangladeshi and Somalian populations in Tower Hamlets and Newham, in inner London (which have had small communities since the nineteenth century). Exact comparisons are however, impossible to make with previous decades, because the previous reliance by the census on the "country of birth" question underestimated the number of ethnic minority individuals, particularly second and third generation immigrants. The dynamics of the ethnic minority population will be impossible to ascertain accurately until the ethnic origin question has been used in the census several times.

It has been estimated that over 400,000 people in Britain were missing from the 1991 census. This is partly due to some of the population not filling in a census form because they were homeless, because they wanted to avoid paying the Poll Tax, because they could not read and / or write, or because they were in the country illegally and feared they would be sent away if they were located. As underenumeration affects ethnic minorities more than the population in general, the proportion of ethnic minorities has probably been underestimated. (Evening Standard, 1993).

Peach (1984) and Robinson (1982, 1986) both identified the problem of generalising about ethnic groups, and of lumping together groups from different countries which may have very different identities. This leads to a more homogeneous picture of the population of London than is the case. However, generalising is necessary to some degree in analysis because of the large number of different ethnic groups represented in London. In London, different groups within the Asian community (which totals about 525,000) are associated with particular districts. For example, Bangladeshis are found mainly in Tower Hamlets and Newham, Punjabis (mainly Sikhs) in Southall and Houslow, Ugandan Asians in Harrow, and Gujaratis in Wembley.

London has a population of Afro-Caribbeans of about 425,000. Africans now make up about one third of this figure, and are becoming an increasingly important part of the

Afro-Caribbean community, particularly in inner London. Brixton, in Lambeth has a concentration of Jamaicans, and was previously the focus for Afro-Caribbeans in London. The was partly due to early Jamaican immigrants being temporarily housed in air-raid shelters in the area which had been re-opened for this purpose, and later finding more permanent housing in Brixton. Brixton has now been replaced by Dalston in Hackney as a main area of focus. Other concentrations are in Lewisham in inner London, and Brent in outer London. The Notting Hill area, although home to a relatively small community of Afro-Caribbeans (mainly Trinidadians), becomes the focus for all of London's Afro-Caribbeans during the August Bank holiday each year, when the three day Notting Hill Carnival (the largest street festival in Europe) takes place. (McAuley, 1993).

As there are many ethnic groups (such as Italians, Cypriots, and Jews) which do not show up in the 1991 census classification, it is important to use informal sources and one's own knowledge of London, as well as official statistics.

Jews, like other white ethnic groups merit no separate category in the census ethnic origin question. Jews must be dealt with as self-identified, as much of the data derives from the membership of Jewish congregations. There are about 250,000 Jews living in Greater London, the largest proportion living in Barnet, and particularly in a few wards (around Edgware). However, there is a tendency for clustering to occur on a street by street basis, giving small but high concentrations, partly because of the need to be within reach of kosher food and to be within walking distance of a synagogue and rabbi. There is a large Hasidic Jewish community in Stamford Hill, North Hackney. They remain very traditional, and have few dealings with the rest of society.

The Italian community in London can be numbered at about 75,000. The main area of Italian settlement in Britain for over 50 years was "the Italian Quarter" in Clerkenwell and Holborn, and although the population has been dispersed through London, the focal point of London's Italian community is still Clerkenwell.

The Chinese population of London (about 55,000) is very evenly distributed, and catering remains by far the major source of employment among the Chinese community, although there are signs that this is changing.

There is also a relatively small but growing community of Japanese in Croydon and North West London. They are mostly wealthy and very organised, and already have

their own Japanese school in Ealing, their own hospitals, and the Yaohan Superstore in Colindale in Brent.

London's Polish population (about 50,000) are mainly political refugees and their descendants. They originally settled in the West End, but rising property prices in the early 1960s forced them to move out to Earls Court. The Polish community has since dispersed further in all directions, but is particularly concentrated in Ealing.

Other main ethnic minority groups in London include Irish, Greeks, Turks, and Arabs. The main concentration of Irish in London is now in Kilburn, Brent, which also has the highest proportion of the recently migrated Irish. The 1991 census recorded 256,470 Irish-born people in London. There are about 100,000 Cypriots (both Greeks and Turks) living in London today (the population of Cyprus is only about 650,000!), mainly in Haringey, Hackney, and Islington. The Arab community in London lives mainly in the City of Westminster (especially the southern end of Edgware Road) and Kensington and Chelsea.

Age structure is very important. There is a predominance of children and young adults in Britain's ethnic groups. It was estimated that about 7.5% of under 16s could be classified as non-white (about 20% of young Londoners are non-white). This figure drops to 4.6% of those of working age, and only 0.8% of those of retirement age. This young age structure is clearly noticeable among people of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin, whereas among people of Afro-Caribbean origin, the age structure is much closer to that of the white population. (Table 1.1). The very high proportion in the mixed origin group indicates recent integration and an increase in the number of mixed marriages in Britain. Mixed marriages / co-habitations are (understandably) most common in areas of low ethnic minority concentration. These figures point to a steady increase in the proportion of the total population that is non-white, even without future immigration. The relatively high proportion of young adults in the non-white groups has implications for the rate of natural increase in areas of ethnic concentration. (Reference Services, 1991).

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TABLE 1.1:	Under 25s as a Percentage of each Ethnic Group 1986, 1987 & 1988 survey average	
		%
ethnic group	white	33
	Afro-Caribbean	48
	Pakistani	60
	Bangladeshi	63
	of mixed ethnic group	75

Source: "Ethnic minorities", Reference Services, Central Office of Information, 1991.

1.4 The Segregation and Integration of Ethnic Minorities.

Ethnic status is only one variable by which a population may be subdivided; others, including social and economic status, also have a spatial component. It is important, therefore to view the residential patterns of ethnic minority groups in the wider perspective of social structure and its relationship to spatial structure, as "the spatial structure partly reflects and partly determines the social structure". (Pahl, 1968, quoted in Smith, 1989). Residential segregation of all types is crucial to the allocation of material resources, and therefore to the reproduction of inequality.

Smith argues that patterns of residential segregation have been generated (at least partly) by political acts, sustained by "common-sense racism". The book is an important contribution to the study of racial inequality, as it includes discussions on the contribution of space to the debate. "As a residential pattern...specifically *racial* segregation reflects and structures enduring inequalities in access to employment opportunities, wealth, services and amenities, and to a package of civil and political rights associated with citizenship." (Smith, 1989:170).

Indices of segregation measure the degree of residential separation of subgroups within a wider population, and have been widely used to describe residential patterns. The development of meaningful indices of segregation has been fundamental to the study of residential differentiation in urban areas. Most segregation studies have used one of two simple indices to summarize differences between two spatial distributions, which vary from 0-100, and indicate the percentage redistribution necessary before the two groups are similarly distributed over a set of districts (100 for highest). The **index**

of residential dissimilarity indicates the percentage difference between the distributions of two component groups of the population, and the **index of residential segregation** indicates the percentage difference between one group's distribution, and that of the rest of the population. Location quotients are also used, and show the relative concentration of a population within any one sub-area. Variations on these indices, the problems associated with scale, the size of subgroups, and the nature of areal units continue to be discussed. These indices do not describe segregation patterns perfectly, although some objective measurement is useful.

It is important to look at different scales of segregation. I found in my analysis of the 1991 census data for the four boroughs, that it is much more common to have higher levels of segregation at ward level than at borough level (that is, on smaller scales). The various ethnic groups appear to be at their most segregated at different areal levels. Most South Asian groups are more segregated than Afro-Caribbeans at ward and enumeration district levels.

Woods demonstrated the dependence of indices of segregation on the scale used. Usually, higher segregation is found at finer scales, for example at enumeration district level. At enumeration district level (about 165 households), there was evidence of such sharp segregation that 75% of the non-white population lived in a set of enumeration districts in which only 10% of the white population lived. On larger scales, employment opportunities may be important in locating immigrants, but at smaller scales cheap housing and community ties are more likely to influence location. (Woods 1976, quoted in Smith 1989).

Assimilation is the process by which minority communities mix within the majority population and become completely absorbed. (Johnston, et al, eds, 1981). The degree of assimilation is a vital influence on the level of residential segregation. Factors influencing the rate of assimilation include race, religion, language, economic status, attitudes, education, and intermarriage. A distinction can be made between structural assimilation and behavioural assimilation. Structural assimilation is the incorporation of ethnic groups throughout the social systems of a society, including its system of occupational stratification. Behavioural assimilation is the process whereby members of an ethnic group acquire the sentiments, attitudes and experiences of the majority group, so that they are incorporated with them and share a common life. An example of a group which has largely assimilated (or "disappeared") into British society is the Irish.

Integration is a less complete process than assimilation, although it does imply full participation in, and acceptance by the host society. An example of a group which has integrated into British society is the Jews (excepting the orthodox Hasidic sect). **Pluralism** is, in many ways the opposite of integration, as it implies a largely separate identity which is based on the acceptance of recognised differences. In most cases of pluralism, there is a high degree of concentration of people with the same home origin. This indicates a predominance of interaction within the migrant community. An example of this is Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets, who nearly all originate from a few villages in the Sylhet region of Bangladesh.

Integration of ethnic minority groups is commonly thought of as the desirable goal among politicians and the general public. The third PSI survey found that 40% of those in the survey (mainly whites) are resistant to the notion that non-whites should preserve their own cultural identity. However I see pluralism as a much more desirable goal, but only if it is on the basis of equality and tolerance. Some non-white groups feel strongly than they want integration in its residential sense, but they also have a strong commitment to preserving their own culture. (Brown, 1984). The achievement of a truly pluralist society could lead to a greatly enriched capital city.

Adaptation is difficult not only because of racist attitudes, but also because there exists a great ethnic and cultural diversity between non-white communities. There are animosities between Afro-Caribbeans and Asians, and among Asians themselves (between the various nationalities, classes, castes, and religions), as well as between the white majority population and the non-white ethnic minority population. The distinctiveness of ethnic groups may be reinforced by their position in social or occupational categories, by their poverty, or by their location in the city.

Segregation is the residential separation of subgroups within a wider population. A group is completely unsegregated when its members are distributed uniformly relative to the remainder of the population. The greater the degree of deviation from such uniformity, the greater the degree of segregation.

A **ghetto** is a residential district which is almost exclusively the preserve of one ethnic group, and is an extreme form of segregation. Ghettos are areas which persist, and which are largely based on the discrimination of the host society. (Johnston, et al eds, 1981). In reality the definition of a ghetto depends greatly on the scale of analysis, and there is no agreement over what level of segregation is required to constitute a ghetto. It does nevertheless imply a high degree of segregation in an area which may be

spatially demarcated from neighbouring parts of the city by a physical barrier such as roads. Ghettos can be identified in large US cities, but it is doubtful whether they exist in Britain because of the smaller numbers, and the finer scale and lower levels of segregation of ethnic minorities in Britain. Ghettos are not necessarily slums.

The full explanation of ethnic minority distribution is very complex. Immigrants cannot be expected to weigh up all the pros and cons of every part of such a large city, so they often rely on links with their home countries to be introduced to an area of London. The need for a community (if only the need for interaction with people of similar origin) leads to greater degrees of concentration. Also, once a neighbourhood has acquired some kind of sympathetic association (such as specialist shops and a place of worship), it is perceived more favourably by new immigrants. This may increase the population of ethnic minorities from the same foreign area, and an "urban village" may form. These areas act as "cultural cushions", and enable newcomers to adapt themselves to a new life in an environment in which some things at least are familiar.

A variety of factors influence levels of segregation. These can be broadly grouped into "internal" (or sub-cultural) factors and "external" (structural) factors. This shows that both choice and constraint are important in ethnic segregation. (Jones, 1983). "Internal" factors include race, religion, language, culture, and other measures of economic and social status. There probably exists some degree of voluntary clustering, particularly where the ethnic group is culturally, religiously, and linguistically very different from the host population. It is also important to look at the lives which the group had in their country of origin, and their reasons for moving to Britain. For example, there has been a fair degree of assimilation of African Asians into British society, whereas Bangladeshis have assimilated very little. This cannot be explained by length of residence, as Afro-Caribbean groups immigrated earlier than African Asians, but have assimilated less. In their country of origin, most Bangladeshis living in Britain were farmers in an unstable rural area, who came to Britain with little, often depending on the state for housing. African Asians, however were successful business people in their country of origin, and many brought money over to Britain to purchase property and to set up businesses.

"External" (or structural) factors, such as indirect (institutional) discrimination in housing, employment, and education are also important. For example, Indians, Pakistanis, and African Asians give especially high priority to property ownership for reasons of social status, financial economy, and extended family size. This has made many of these households reluctant to enter local authority housing, and imposes considerable restraint on their potential residential choice in British cities. (Community

Relations Commission, 1976, quoted in Jones, 1983). Actual, and feared racial abuse is also an important factor in keeping ethic minority communities together, through the social support they provide. This is particularly true of Asians (who are the target of the most racial abuse), with many Asian women feeling that it is essential to have Asian neighbours for protection from racial atttacks. Calling the police proved again and again to be useless. (Wilson, A. 1979).

Historically, segregation was favoured by many varied people, until the end of the 1940s, when it began to fall from favour. During the 1950 and 1960s, the ideal was held to be assimilation. Beliefs about the superiority of Western and British culture encouraged the government to favour assimilation of New Commonwealth immigrants into mainstream British society. These ideas were based on the assumption that segregation always leads to isolation, and that integration always leads to assimilation. There were also worries about the environmental consequences of segregation, and about the strain which such settlement patterns placed on local resources and services. Some attempts were made to disperse the immigrant population to dilute the impact of immigration on (white) inner city electors. However, dispersal did not occur with the New Commonwealth immigrants as expected, and the idea of segregation being a passing phase changed to fears of permanent ghettos. The Cullingworth Committee of 1969 was perhaps the first "official" body to stress the positive benefits which immigrants derive from concentration.

The supportive role is vital for South Asians in particular, and even more so for those from rural areas (who might find it harder to adapt to life in a large city). Whilst Afro-Caribbean ties are not as marked, they still exist. The concentrations of immigrants play a vital role in the quality of life of ethnic minorities, and must not be deliberately dismantled. Immigrants and their families must be able to make free decisions to move when they feel the need. This definitely rules out such practices as the compulsory dispersal of non-white public sector tenants, which operated in Birmingham until the Race Relations Board forced the council to abandon it in 1975. It also rules out other official attempts at dispersal, such as the attempt to disperse newly arrived Ugandan refugees in 1972, by dissuading them from settling in areas of high immigrant concentration. In the private sector this freedom of choice will depend largely on the present and future incomes of families.

People should be allowed to live where they want to, not where they are told to, and material comfort (such as improved housing conditions and environment) should not be assumed to easily replace psychological comfort and the positive functions of the ethnic

community. Assimilation is not a realistic goal. It is mistakenly assumed that residential dispersal will solve social problems (such as deprivation and racial conflict) as ethnic minorities assimilate into majority society. Integration would break-up and disempower ethnic minority groups, and keep them in their disadvantaged positions. No-one speaks of dispersing the roughly 50% of the white population of Britain who live in neighbourhoods which are 100% (or almost) white. (Brown, 1984). However, there remains a deep-rooted fear in the nationalistic Britain of today of what might happen if an area becomes inhabited predominantly by non-white ethnic groups.

The most important question therefore, is not that of concentration versus dispersal, but of improving the housing, environment, educational and employment opportunities of the areas where large numbers of immigrants will continue to live for some time to come, whatever the rate of movement out. The debate about dispersal or segregation directs attention away from the real problem, which is the need to work towards eliminating deprivation and inequalities in wealth.

Chapter 2 : Case Studies of Four Areas of Ethnic Minority Concentration (Description)

2.1 Choice of four London Boroughs (and one ward within each) and the criteria used to choose these areas.

The four chosen boroughs are among those with high proportions of non-white ethnic minorities. I also chose these boroughs to show something of the great variety of ethnic communities in London. It was important for me to also show an example of those non-white ethnic minority groups who, despite the disadvantage of indirect discrimination on the grounds of their colour, have done very well for themselves in Britain. Not all ethnic minority groups suffer multiple deprivation, and it is important to remember this.

Brent has the highest proportion of non-white residents of all the London boroughs, 44.8%. (Appendix 2). The main ethnic groups in Brent are the Indians, who make up 17.2% of the population (the highest proportion of Indians in any London borough), followed by black Caribbeans (10.2%). Tower Hamlets has the third highest proportion of non-white residents, at 35.6%. The largest ethnic group is Bangladeshis, who account for 22.9% of the population (by far the highest proportion of Bangladeshis in any borough). The other ethnic groups in Tower Hamlets make up relatively small proportions, for example only 3.6% of the population is black Caribbean. Hackney has the fourth highest proportion of non-white residents (33.6%). The largest ethnic group is black Caribbeans, who make up 11.2% of the total population. This is the second highest proportion of black Caribbeans in any of the London boroughs. Hackney also has a fairly substantial population of black Africans (6.8% of its population). Ealing has the fifth largest proportion of non-white ethnic residents (32.3%), the main ethnic group being Indians (16.1%). Two inner London boroughs and two outer London boroughs with a mix of majority party rule (two Conservative majority boroughs, one Liberal Democrat, and one Labour). This has since changed, following the May 1994 local elections, which left all four boroughs except Brent (which stayed Conservative), Labour. I chose to study the main ethnic group in each borough, except in Brent, where I chose the second most concentrated group (Afro-Caribbeans). Afro-Caribbeans are more concentrated in Inner London, and South Asian groups in Outer London. However, I chose to study Afro-Caribbeans in both Inner and Outer London (although Brent in Outer London does have many characteristics of an Inner London borough),

Figure 2.1
Ealing's Ethnic Groups By Ward 1991

KEY:

- ☐ White
- ■ Black
- ▥ Indian
- ▨ Pak-Ban.
- ▦ Others

1. Argyle
2. Costons
3. Dormers Wells
4. Ealing Common
5. Elthorne
6. Glebe
7. Hanger Lane
8. Heathfield
9. Hobbayne
10. Mandeville
11. Mount Pleasant
12. Northcote
13. Northfield
14. Perivale
15. Pitshanger
16. Ravenor
17. Southfield
18. Springfield
19. Vale
20. Victoria
21. Walpole
22. Waxlow
23. West End
24. Wood End
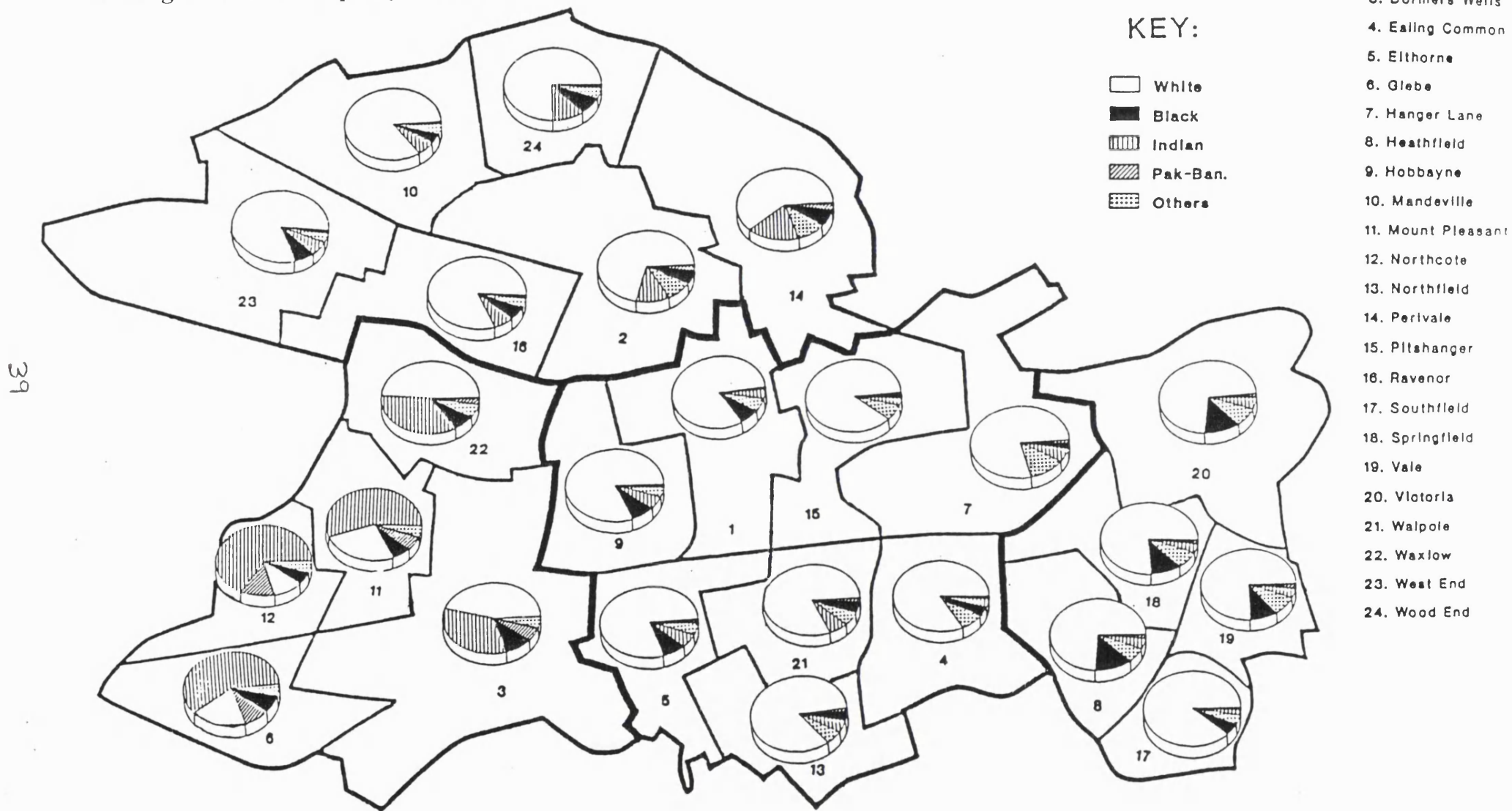
Source : London Borough of Ealing, *Multicultural Ealing* (1993)

Indians in Outer London (as they are most concentrated there), and Bangladeshis in an inner London borough, where they form the highest concentration of any ethnic group in any borough.

I chose to study these populations at ward level, as it is the most illuminating level on which to study ethnic residential segregation in London. Although I originally intended studying segregation at enumeration district level, I chose ward level because at ED level, segregation was too often very high and the size of the populations (about 165 households) was too small to learn much from. Also, information about ethnic minorities at enumeration district level is very limited. I looked at the wards in the four boroughs in detail, and chose one ward from each borough for its fairly even mix of white and non-white groups.

Brief History of immigration into the areas, strengths of the areas and problems faced:-

2.2   Ealing (Waxlow)

Ealing is a reasonably prosperous and pleasant borough for most who live there. It is a quiet suburban area well served by both the road and the train / underground network, making travel into central London and elsewhere easy. The borough is divided into three areas, Ealing North, Ealing Southall (in the south east), and Ealing Acton (in the east). The central wards in Ealing (such as Hanger Lane, Ealing Common, and Pitshanger) are populated mainly by white, middle-class residents, with pleasant, tree-lined streets with detached and semi-detached houses, and few public housing estates. To the north are the wards such as Wood End, West End, and Costons, which are also pleasant, with a large proportion of open space. They too have relatively low proportions of ethnic minorities (with the exception of Perivale), although not quite so as low as some of the wards in central Ealing. (Figure 2.1).

To the east of the borough is an area of older (often terraced) more dense housing, with narrow roads and an industrial estate in the north east (which runs into the Park Royal / Stonebridge / Harlesden Industrial estates in Brent). Park Royal has Assisted Area Status. This area (with wards such as Victoria, Heathfield and Springfield) contains the largest proportion of the borough's Afro-Caribbean population, while Southfield ward in the extreme south-east has a smaller proportion of ethnic minorities, and is mainly

populated by working-class white residents (it has the highest proportion of whites of all Ealing's wards, 87.4%).

Ealing has a large ethnic minority population compared to the national, and London averages. It has the fifth highest proportion (32.3%) of ethnic minorities of all the London boroughs, and the joint second (with Harrow) highest proportion of Indians (16.1%). The main ethnic minority group by far in Ealing is the Indians (16%). Next are the Afro-Caribbean group at 7%, Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups at 3%, and the Chinese at 1%. The "Others" make up 6% of Ealing's population, and consist mainly of Poles, Arabs, Greeks, Turks, Irish, and Japanese. The main areas of Afro-Caribbean and Indian concentration in the borough are found in the east and west respectively (although they are not totally exclusive to these groups), with a band of mainly white populated wards separating the two.

The proportion of ethnic minority groups at ward level in Ealing is very varied. Southfield in Acton has the lowest ethnic minority population, at only 12.6%. This is the lowest proportion of ethnic minority population in any of the 97 wards which I looked at. The highest proportion of ethnic minorities in any ward which I studied, was 90.2% in Northcote. The two wards are at opposite side of the borough. Afro-Caribbeans in Ealing tend to be more evenly distributed across the wards than the Asian population, who are concentrated in very high proportions in the west of the borough.

In Ealing the "Black Others" had the highest proportion of people born in the United Kingdom, while nearly 82% of Ealing's white population were born in the United Kingdom. (London Borough of Ealing, 1993). Half of the Afro-Caribbean population were born in the United Kingdom, 42% of Indians and Pakistanis, and only 23% of Chinese. There were also significant differences in the age structure of the population of the different ethnic groups in Ealing. The white group had a very small proportion of children and a very large proportion of elderly in its population, compared to the non-white ethnic groups, who had much younger populations. The Black Others had the youngest population, with almost 50% being under 15. Many of the Black Others are the children of mixed marriages in Britain (and most were born in the United Kingdom).

South Asians had larger average household sizes than other groups. The average household size for Bangladeshis in Ealing was 4.2, for Pakistanis it was 3.9, 3.8 for Indians, and only 2.2 for the white population (under the national average of 2.5 persons per household). Household composition also varies between ethnic groups. The white population had a large proportion of households with a single person under

pensionable age (18%), as did Afro-Caribbeans (21%), who also had the highest proportion of single parent households (20%, compared to the national average of 4.1%). The South Asian groups, by contrast had very small proportions of single person households, and over one-third of their households consisted of two adults (one male and one female) with children. They also had the largest proportion of households with three or more adults (with children) than any other group in the borough.

There is wide variation in housing tenure type among the ethnic minorities in Ealing. Afro-Caribbeans have the highest proportion of households renting accommodation from the Council, with a borough average of 29%, compared to 16% for the white group, and 11% for the Asian group. Afro-Caribbeans also had the highest levels of renting from Housing Associations. The borough average for Afro-Caribbeans living in owner occupied accommodation is 51%, compared to 64% for the white population, and 79% for Asians.

Over-crowding is measured as the proportion of households with over 1 person per room. The 1991 census showed that South Asians (Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, and Indians) had the highest proportion of over-crowded households in Ealing, while Black Africans also had very high proportions. In Ealing, Pakistanis had the highest proportion of over-crowded homes, followed by Bangladeshis and then Indians. Black Caribbeans and whites in the borough had the least over-crowded homes. 3.5% of all households in Ealing were over-crowded compared with 1.6% in England and Wales (although it must be remembered that cities are always likely to have higher densities). Within the borough, the proportion of households which lack or share a bath or shower, and / or wc was higher than the national figure. Only Black Africans and Pakistanis in Ealing had more shared amenities than the white population, the other ethnic groups having lower proportions. The white population of Ealing also had the highest proportion of households with no central heating (18.8%), followed by Afro-Caribbeans and then Pakistanis (9%), Bangladeshis, and finally Indians (6.2%). (OPCS, 1993).

Unemployment rates vary significantly among ethnic groups in Ealing. Of the economically active people in the white group, only 8.8% were unemployed (well below the borough average of 11%), compared to 8.7% nationally. Black Africans in Ealing had the highest unemployment rate of all the ethnic minority groups, at 32.4% (the national figure for this groups was 27%). Among the Asian groups in Ealing, Pakistanis had the highest unemployment rate (25.6%), followed by Bangladeshis (19.9%), and Indians (13.8%). The lowest unemployment rate of any group in Ealing was among the

Chinese (7.8%). Black Caribbeans had unemployment rates somewhere between the two extremes (15.4%). In all groups, male unemployment was higher than females.

In the south west of Ealing is Southall, the main area of ethnic concentration in the borough. The two wards in the east of Southall (Dormers Wells and Waxlow) are the only wards in the borough to have populations split quite evenly between non-whites and whites. They have white populations of 44.7% and 48.6% respectively. Ethnic concentration reaches very high proportions in the two wards (Glebe and Northcote) in the far west, in which only 18.9% and 9.8% (respectively) of their populations are white. These were the highest proportions of ethnic minorities which I found at ward level in any of the four chosen boroughs, with only Spitalfields in Tower Hamlets coming anywhere close, at 27.2% white. These wards contain the largest proportion of Ealing's Indian population, with no ward containing less than 34.7% of Indian residents (and Northcote having the highest Indian population, at 67.1%). Southall is mainly a residential area, with a fair amount of open space. Retailing is important to the area, particularly in central Southall, and there is an industrial park in the south.

"Southall is London's most remarkable ethnic quarter" (McAuley, 1991). It is a mainly Punjabi district with a large Sikh community, although there are many other religions represented, including Hindus, and smaller numbers of Muslims. In the centre are the main streets, The Broadway and South Road, which are full of Asian clothes and record shops, snack bars and restaurants, banks, and so on. It is by far the largest South Asian shopping centre in London. On Sundays the area is at its busiest, and the local temples are usually full. Walking down the streets in the centre of Southall, you will usually see few except Asian faces.

Southall became a predominantly South Asian district in the late 1950s, when South Asians began to enter the country in substantially larger numbers, and some settled near to Heathrow airport (the point of entry for many Asians) in Ealing and Hounslow. The airport provides many jobs for semi-and unskilled Asians, which may explain why these patterns have persisted over decades. A large proportion of Heathrow airport's non-white workforce live in Southall, where the bulk of Ealing's Asians live. (Counter Information Services, 1977). An additional reason why Indians settled in such numbers in Southall was that during the 1960s (when the bulk of the immigration took place) Woolf's rubber factory in the area recruited only Indians. Most of the early South Asian immigrants to the area were adult males, with their families following from the early 1960s.

Southall is usually a very peaceful, if somewhat busy place. However, on several occasions, violent conflict (over racial issues) on its streets has attracted national attention. In 1976, a young Asian, Gurdip Singh Chaggar was stabbed to death by a gang of white youths. At the trial, the judge declared that there was no racial motive, but few local South Asians saw it that way, and his death marked the beginning of a radical phase in youth politics in Southall.

During the 1979 general election campaign, the far-right National Front (now the British National Party) booked a room in Southall Town Hall, on the High Street, for an evening election meeting. Despite many protests from local Asian residents about the use of council premises by a party which openly upheld racist policies, the council refused to ban the meeting. Tension built up before the meeting, and the police cordoned off the Town Hall from the protesters. Clashes soon broke out between the police and the protesters, and there were many injuries and arrests. After these events, there were widespread complaints about brutal and indiscriminate batoning by the police. One of the few non-Asian protesters, New Zealand school teacher Blair Peach, had his skull fractured in an incident that day, and later died of his injuries. Witnesses said that Peach was struck by a policeman, but the man responsible has never been identified. (McAuley, 1991).

In July 1981, further rioting occurred in Southall, when a skinhead band played a concert at a public house in The Broadway. After skinheads caused disturbances in the area, fighting broke out between South Asian youths and skinheads. When the police intervened, the clash continued between Asian youths and police. During the clashes, the public house was burned down, although it has since been rebuilt.

Political conflict in India itself has repercussions in Southall (as it does in the other areas in Britain where South Asians live together). Sikh extremists in favour of an independent state (Khalistan) have murdered a number of their opponents in Britain since the early 1980s. In 1986, a leading anti-Khalistan Sikh politician was shot dead in an off-licence in Southall Broadway.

I chose the ward of **Waxlow** in Southall, as it has a fairly even mix of ethnic groups and white population, (48.6% white and 51.4% non-white). The main ethnic group in the ward is Indians (34.9%), with 7.4% black, and 1.9% Pakistani / Bangladeshi. The main housing tenure in the ward is owner-occupation, at 81.3% of the households (compared to 64% of all households in Ealing). Waxlow has a substantially higher proportion of owner occupation among Asian groups (91%) than the Asian population of Ealing

44

(79%). 45% of Asian households in Waxlow ward are made up of two adults (one male and one female) with children, while the average for Asians in England and Wales is 38%, and in Ealing is 34%. 7% of the households in Waxlow are overcrowded, compared to only 3.1% of all households in Ealing.

2.3   Brent (Roundwood)

Brent has the highest proportion of non-white ethnic residents (44.8%) of all authorities in England and Wales, making it the most multi-cultural authority in London, and indeed the country. About 5% of all non-white ethnic minorities in England and Wales live in the borough of Brent, and over 70 languages are spoken by children in Brent's schools. Of the non-white population, 17.2% are Indian, 10.2% are black Caribbean, and 4.1% are black African. Brent has the highest proportion of Indians in any borough, and the third highest proportion of black Caribbean and Pakistani residents. It also has a relatively high proportion in the "others" category, which is mostly non-white British-born residents, and people of mixed ethnic origin. The white group includes a substantial Irish population, with 21,983 residents (9% of Brent's population) being born in Ireland. This is the highest proportion of Irish-born residents in London, and the actual Irish population is even higher than it appears from the 1991 census, which only identified those actually born in Ireland.

Brent also has one of London's largest refugee communities, being home to 1,200 Somalian refugees, 2,500 from African countries, and 2,200 from Sri Lanka. There are also 830 refugees from Iraq, 800 from Iran, and over 200 from Bosnia. The borough's schools educate over 1,000 refugee children. (Time Out, 1994).

I chose to study Afro-Caribbeans in Brent, although Indians are actually the most numerous non-white ethnic minority group in the borough. I wanted to chose a fairly large community of black Afro-Caribbeans living in outer London, and as Brent was the only borough which really fitted this description, I had to chose it. However, Brent is interesting to study as it is the only outer London borough to have high proportions of both of London's two main ethnic groups (Afro-Caribbeans and Indians), while Newham is the only inner London borough to have this mixture (although both proportions are lower in Newham). Brent is also an interesting example as despite being located in outer London, it has many features similar to inner London.

Figure 2.2
Brent's Ethnic Groups By Ward 1991

Key :

Others

White

Pak.-Ban.

Black

Indian
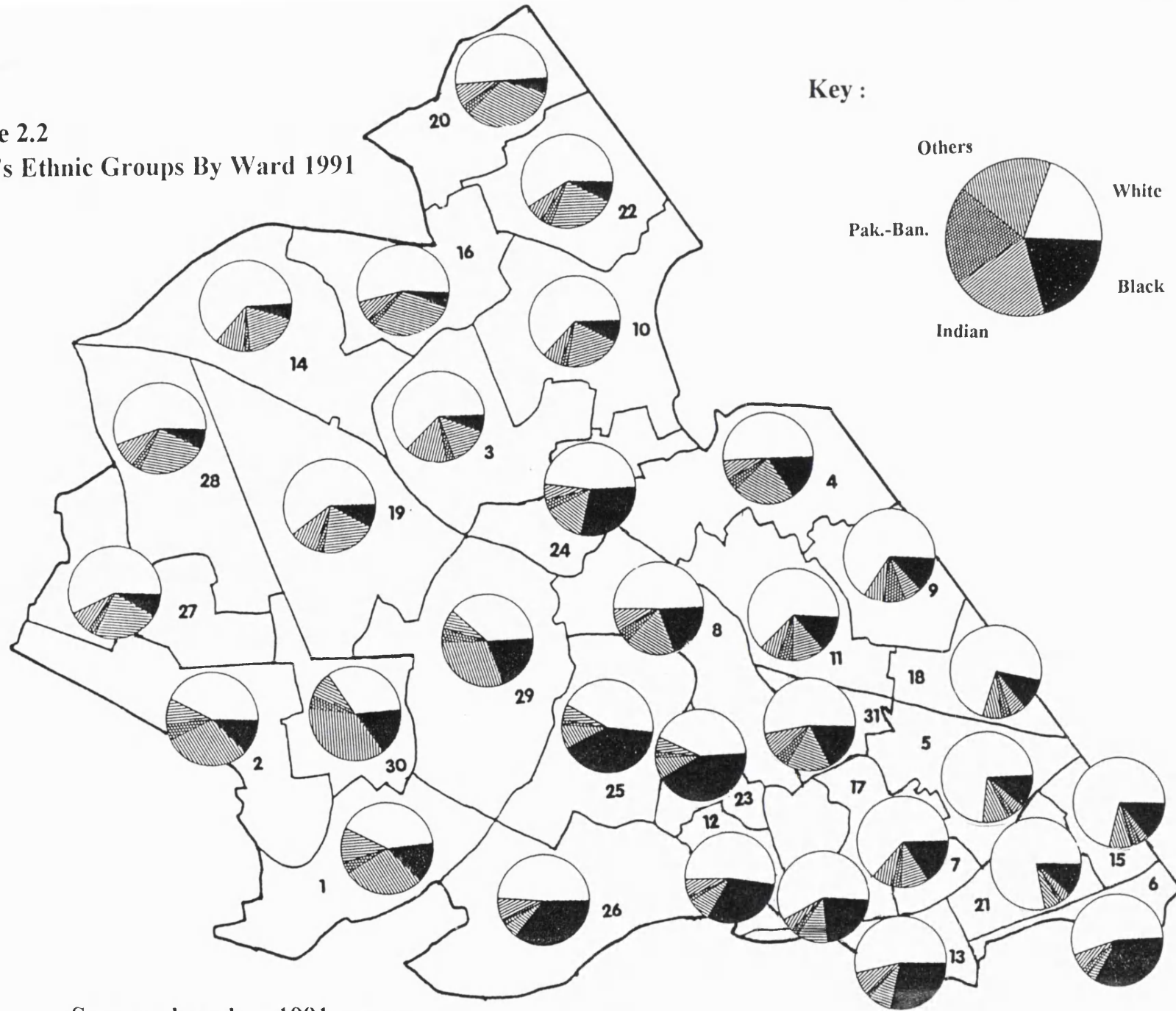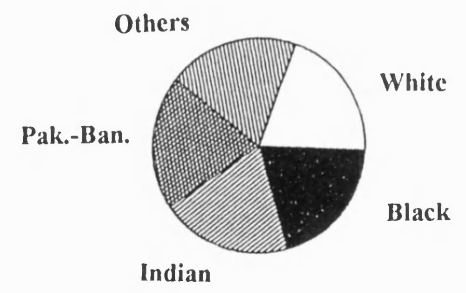
1. Alperton
2. Barham
3. Barnhill
4. Brent water
5. Brondesbury Park
6. Carlton
7. Chamberlayne
8. Church End
9. Cricklewood
10. Fryent
11. Gladstone
12. Harlesden
13. Kensal Rise
14. Kenton
15. Kilburn
17. Manor
18. Mapesbury
19. Preston
20. Queensbury
21. Queens Park
22. Roe Green
23. Roundwood
24. St. Andrews
25. St. Raphaels
26. Stonebridge
27. Sudbury
28. Sudbury Court
29. Tokyngton
30. Wembley Central
31. Willesden Green

Source : based on 1991 census

The smallest proportion of non-white ethnic minority residents is in Queens Park (21.7%) in the south-east of the borough, while the largest proportion of non-white ethnic minority residents is in Wembley Central (66.8%) in the south-west of the borough. (Figure 2.2). Although there are large communities of both Afro-Caribbeans and Indians in the borough, their main concentrations are in quite separate areas. Afro-Caribbeans are most concentrated in the southern half of the borough, particularly a band stretching from the centre of the borough southwards to the borough boundary. This includes (near the southern border) the ward with the highest proportion of Afro-Caribbean population, Roundwood (38.1% Afro-Caribbean).

The highest Indian concentrations (including four wards with over 30% Indians) are mainly in the western half of the borough. The highest proportion of any one ethnic group in Brent are Indians in Wembley Central (37.5%) in the south-west of the borough. Indians (mostly Gujeratis) are very important in the Wembley and Park Royal areas (to the south of the borough), where they own and run many large and successful businesses, providing employment for many Indians. Ealing Road in Wembley is one of the main Asian shopping centres in London, and is run mainly by Gujerati shopkeepers. Many of the wards in Brent have an unusual mix of both main non-white ethnic groups (Afro-Caribbeans and Indian). In several wards, (such as Church End, and Willesden Green) mainly around the centre of the borough, both groups are found in quite high (and fairly even) proportions. The Irish community in Brent is concentrated in the south-eastern wards, particularly Kilburn, and Cricklewood in the east, which has the highest proportion (17.6% Irish-born).

Brent contains two of London's largest industrial estates, Wembley and Park Royal, and some of major industrial concerns (such as Guinness and Heinz). An Asian Centre in Park Royal which has recently received outline planning permission from Brent Borough Council will consist of a media centre with facilities including a television studio and a radio station, and a large shopping area, offices cinema, swimming complex, multi-storey car park, bank and a four-star hotel. This £70 million development, has been designed mainly for the Asian community. (Planning Week, 13/1/94).

A large proportion (42.1%) of Brent's residents were born outside the United Kingdom, with about 25% being born in New Commonwealth countries, and about 9% in Ireland. The proportion of residents born in the United Kingdom varies markedly between the various ethnic groups. About 66% of Indians in Brent were born outside India, while

the Black Other group had 84.8% of people born in the United Kingdom. The Black Other group includes many black British-born people, and people of mixed ethnic parentage, and is larger than the Black Other group in other boroughs which I looked at. Brent has a "young" population compared to other Outer London boroughs, with 13.6% of Brent's population being aged 5-15, and 5.4% of all households having at least 3 children under 16 years. Both these proportions are the fifth highest of all London boroughs. The non-white population is younger still, with 28.2% of the population in the 0-15 age group (compared to 14.1% for whites), and only 1% over 75 year (compared to 9.1% in the white population). The borough correspondingly has the lowest proportion of people over pensionable age in Outer London (14.3%).

Traditional "two adults with children" households are much more common among the Indian, Bangladeshi, and Pakistani communities in Brent than the remainder of the population. In 1991 over 33% of all Asian households contained two adults with dependant children, while the average figure of Brent households was only 16%. Extended family households are most common among the Asian community, with almost 25% of Asian households containing at least three adults with children, compared to only 7.1% of black households and about 4% of white households. 6.5% of Brent's households are headed by a single parent (a 2.6% increase since 1981), which is high for an outer London borough. Most of this figure is due to the high incidence of single parent families in the Afro-Caribbean community, with 20% of Brent's black Afro-Caribbean households having a single-parent, and almost half of Brent's single parent households being headed by a black person. About 20% of children in Brent lived in one parent families in 1991. One-person households are most common among the white population (with over 33% being of this type), and least common among Asians (less than 10%). A large proportion of white one-person households are pensioner-only households, and 91% of the borough's pensioner-only households are headed by a white person.

The southern half of the borough shows all the characteristics of the inner city, with the congestion, overcrowding and high social needs that often accompany it, while parts of the northern half boast tree-lined streets and pleasant open spaces. In terms of dwelling type, Brent also shows characteristics common to both Inner and Outer London. In the south there is a high proportion of converted flats and shared dwellings, similar to Inner London (partly due to the high rate of flat conversion during the 1980s), while Outer London housing characteristics predominate in the north.

Households tenure varies with ethnic group in Brent. The Asian groups have relatively high levels of owner occupation, particularly the Indians (83%). The Afro-Caribbeans have a high proportion renting council (34.4%) or housing association property (13.5%), while it is mainly the Chinese, black African, and white populations who live in privately rented accommodation. The Brent Housing Condition Survey 1991 estimated that 10% of Brent's private sector housing was still potentially unfit for human habitation, and that over 3% was in substantial disrepair. The survey found that elderly owner-occupiers (mostly white) with low incomes generally experienced the worst conditions. The five wards (which included Roundwood) with the highest proportion of unfit and sub-standard private sector housing are all in the south-central area of Brent. (London Borough of Brent, 1994).

Brent is the most densely populated borough in Outer London, having a particular problem with overcrowding, which occurs most among households with children and among particular ethnic groups. Over 25% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi households were overcrowded (over 1 person per room), compared to 16.7% of Indian and black African households, and only 3.5% of white households. Brent also has the highest number of concealed households (where a family group is living as part of a larger household) in London.

Brent has benefited little from the economic boom of the 1980s, and unemployment rates have soared (to an average of 20% in 1993), as the growth of the service sector failed to replace the loss of manufacturing jobs in London (partly due to the recession). Unemployment rates vary between the various ethnic groups in Brent. Rates are highest among the black African (29.8%), black Other (24.3%), Pakistani (20.7%) and black Caribbean (18.2%) ethnic groups, and are lowest for whites (10.9%) and Chinese (8.3%). Self-employment is proportionally highest amongst the Bangladeshi, Pakistani, and Indian groups. Unemployment rates for non-white ethnic minorities are comparatively higher for young people. Among the economically active aged under 25, 14.6% of white young residents were unemployed, compared to 24.6% of the non-white group. In many of Brent's wards, 50% of young black residents are unemployed. (London Borough of Brent, 1994). The level of unemployment among qualified people (therefore controlling for job level) also varies strongly by ethnic group. The 1991 census shows that black African and Pakistani residents with higher qualifications are more likely to be unemployed than similarly qualified people in other ethnic groups.

Roundwood ward in the south of the borough has a higher than average non-white population, and a white population of 42.3%. The main ethnic group in the ward is the

Afro-Caribbeans (38.1%), with smaller proportions of Indians (7.4%) and Pakistanis (2.3%). It has an above average proportion of children, and a below average proportion of elderly residents. The unemployment rate (21.5%) is above average. Roundwood has the highest rate of single-parent households (13.5%) in the borough. It also has a high rate of over-crowding. Council and Housing Association rented tenures are over-represented in the ward compared to the borough averages.

2.4   Tower Hamlets (St. Peters)

Tower Hamlets has a long history of immigrant settlement which is due partly to the proximity of the river and the docks. Over the centuries there have been many successive waves of immigrants to the area, the most recent large group being the Bangladeshis. Since the late eighteenth century, Indian seamen have been living in the East End. Amongst them from at least the late 19th century were immigrants from Sylhet (a rural district of what is now Bangladesh). They laid the ground for the large Bengali community that developed from the 1950s.

From the early 1960s, males from the Bengal region of India (Bangladesh was formed from East Pakistan in 1971) migrated to London in search of better employment prospects. Bangladesh is a very poor and densely populated country, with frequent flooding of the flat delta. Most of these people were poor, often uneducated farmers and country dwellers from the rural region of Sylhet, with fewer more educated immigrants from the cities (such as Dhaka). From the 1970s, the male Bangladeshis began to be joined by the females, and many young families were started. Today, Bangladeshis are by far the most numerous of the ethnic groups in Tower Hamlets.

The Somali community in Tower Hamlets has trebled since 1988 to about 15,000 because of the civil war which started in 1988. Since then, one sixth of the population of Somalia have been forced out of their country. The exact number of refugees is unclear, as many did not fill in a census form. Somalis traditionally have large families making it more difficult for authorities to find adequate housing. The Somali community in Tower Hamlets also has a high percentage of single mothers, as many husbands are either wounded, dead, or still fighting in the civil war. There is now a Somali Community Centre in Bethnal Green, which helps refugees with immigration, housing, employment forms, and even household bills.

Language is the main barrier to employment, but is extremely difficult for Somalis to learn English, as it was not until 1972 that Somali was introduced in written form, so there is a low rate of literacy in the Somali language. However, even educated Somalis find it almost impossible to find work, as their foreign qualifications are not recognised in Britain. Tower Hamlets has found it increasingly difficult to absorb the number of refugees needing welfare benefits in the borough. Nevertheless, they may not have a permanent problem on their hands, as nearly all Somali refugees hope to return to Somalia as soon as peace is restored. (Ferster, 1993).

Tower Hamlets has the third largest proportion of non-whites in London (35.6%). The largest group is Bangladeshis (22.9%), followed by Afro-Caribbeans (6%), with smaller numbers of Chinese and Indians. There are now over 36,000 Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets, with about 95% of them coming from the same small region in Bangladesh (Sylhet). They are most concentrated in Spitalfields, forming what some call an "urban village". The Bangladeshi population is rising fast, with 48% of the school population Bangladeshi in origin (compared to 22.9% of the whole population), and only 30% white (compared to 64.4% of the whole population). In some schools in Wapping and Bethnal Green all the pupils are Bangladeshi in origin. (Pierce, 1993).

The ethnic population of Tower Hamlets is unevenly spread (Figure 2.3), with the proportion of non-white ethnic minorities varying from 15.1% in Park (in the far north) to 72.8% in Spitalfields (in the far west). The main white area is in the eastern half of the borough. The western half of the borough has a very different population composition, with no ward in the extreme south-west having a non-white population of less than 45.8% (St. Katherines ward). The largest ethnic group in Tower Hamlets, the Bangladeshis, are most concentrated in Spitalfields ward (63.3% Bangladeshi). Spitalfields has the third highest ethnic minority population (72.8%), after Northcote and Mount Pleasant in Ealing, of all the wards which I look at. The second largest ethnic group in the borough, the Afro-Caribbeans are found concentrated in the eastern half of the borough, and although there are smaller communities in the western half, they are quite clearly segregated from the Bangladeshi concentrations.

Figure 2.3
Tower Hamlets' Ethnic Groups By Ward 1991

Key:

Others

White

Pak.-Ban.

Black

Indian

Source : based on 1991 census

1. Blackwall
2. Bow
3. Bromley
4. East India
5. Grove
6. Holy Trinity
7. Lansbury
8. Limehouse
9. Milwall
10. Park
11. Redcoat
12. St. Dunstans
13. St. James
14. St. Katherines
15. St. Marys
16. St. Peters
17. Shadwell
18. Spitalfields
19. Weavers
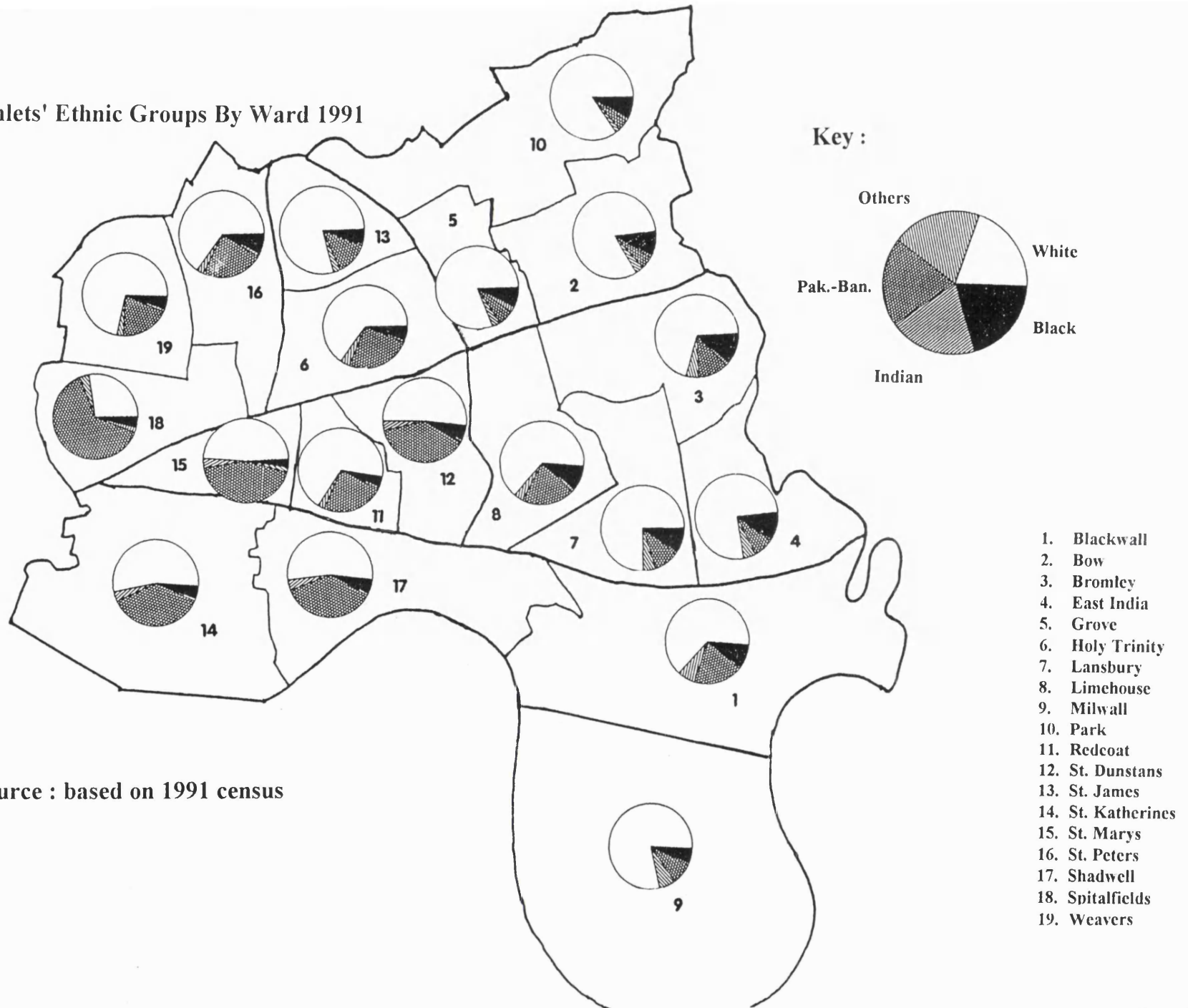
Bangladeshis are concentrated in the poorest parts of the borough, such as Bethnal Green in the west, with the centre of the Bangladeshi area being around Brick Lane in Spitalfields. This area has a long history of settlement by immigrants (at least 300 years), and includes the Huguenots (French Protestants), Irish Catholics, and Jews. Spitalfields has been associated with the garment trade since the sixteenth century, with Huguenots, Irish and Jews all playing a prominent role in this trade at various times. Now the garment trade (using textiles and leather) in the area is dominated by the manufacture of Western-style clothes, and is the most important source of employment for Spitalfield's Bangladeshis. The workshops are scattered all over Spitalfields and Whitechapel, and are particularly numerous in the northern end of Brick Lane.

The East End has historically been the location of much violent racial conflict, particularly involving extreme right wing organisations and the immigrant populations. During the late 1920s, Oswald Mosley's Fascist Union Movement ("The Blackshirts") campaigned vigorously against both Jews and non-white immigrants in the East End. The Fascist Union Movement's activities peaked in 1936, when the East End was the location of a march through the Jewish areas. This turned into a rampage through Cable Street, which led to the most violent anti-Semitic outbreak the East End has ever seen. A Public Order Bill was then issued, which banned the use of insulting language, and the wearing of uniforms by the public at political meetings (intended to prevent Mosley's followers wearing their blackshirt uniforms). After the start of the second world war, organised fascism in Britain declined dramatically, as Britain was in conflict with Hitler's Germany.

Since the 1970s, the area around Bethnal Green (particularly Spitalfields) has been the scene of some of the worst racist violence in the country, the victims now being Bangladeshis. In June 1978 about 175 white youths rampaged down Brick Lane, attacking Bangladeshis, smashing property. Physical attacks on Bangladeshi youths have reached disturbing levels in recent years, while the maliciousness of the attacks is also increasing. It is now not uncommon for Bangladeshi children to be attacked on the journey between school and home, usually by older white people. Some young children now have to go to school by taxi (paid for by the local authority), and older ones go in groups for protection. (Dispatches, 1993). In September 1993, a particularly vicious racial attack took place on Commercial Road in Whitechapel, when a young Bangladeshi, Quddus Ali was jumped on by white youths. He was savagely kicked and beaten, and was in a coma for many months. His attackers are still free.

Despite containing a major part of Docklands, Tower Hamlets is the poorest local authority, with the most deprived population in Britain. (Townsend, et al, 1987). In January 1986, the overall unemployment rate for Tower Hamlets was 22.2%, making it one of London's unemployment blackspots. Bangladeshis are an extremely entrepreneurial community, although much of their business in London is in the informal sector. There are several notable markets in the area, such as the Brick Lane, Spitalfields, and Petticoat Lane markets in the area, which add to the vitality of the area. Along Brick Lane, nearly all the traders are South Asian (mainly Bangladeshi). The East London Mosque on Whitechapel Road was opened in 1985 with the assistance of a one million pound donation from the Saudi Arabian Government, and is a very important focus for the community.

Overcrowding is a problem which has worsened over the last ten years, with ethnic minorities being disproportionately affected. It emerged from the London Docklands Household Survey that Bangladeshi households comprise 3% of the total number of households in Tower Hamlets Urban Development area, and 47% of the total number of households living in overcrowded conditions (more than one person per room). White families comprise 84% of the total number of households, yet only 35% live in overcrowded conditions. (Docklands Forum, 1993). There is an overriding need to provide larger units, but 67% of units built on London Docklands Development Corporation land has been one or two bedroom units. Afro-Caribbean and Bangladeshi households are far more likely to live in council housing, and it is this sector which is continuing to diminish, both as a proportion of total properties, and in actual numbers. The LDDC has virtually halted any council house-building. More than half of the borough's homeless population is originally from Bangladesh, even though Bangladeshis only comprise 22.9% of the population. Vernon Clements, director of Tower Hamlets Equality Council commented that some families "are living in slum conditions and there are dozens of luxury houses on the Isle of Dogs which are not occupied." (Pierce, 1993).

Tower Hamlets suffers from particular pressures due to its central location in the city. It is important to ensure that local residents do not get driven out by development in the City of London. In 1979 the Conservative Government made a flagship out of the Docklands Redevelopment area. The LDDC have intensified this conflict with their large scale luxury office and residential developments. The overpowering Canary Wharf is visible next to the Pennyfields Estate on the skyline of the Isle of Dogs. The poverty in the area helps to explain (but not justify) the racial conflict in the area.

St. Peters in north-west Tower Hamlets is in Bethnal Green Neighbourhood, which contains a high proportion of Bangladeshis. Wapping and Stepney Neighbourhoods (also in the eastern half of the borough) also have high concentrations of Bangladeshis. St. Peter's is 35.2% non-white, and 23% Bangladeshi. There are also smaller proportions of Afro-Caribbeans in St. Peters which with the Black Other group, make up 7.7% of the ward's population. Only 36% of the Bangladeshi population of St. Peters were born in Britain, most of these being children. 63.8% were born in Bangladesh, reflecting the fairly recent arrival of Bangladeshis to Britain.

Bangladeshis in St. Peters most commonly live in households consisting of two adults (one male, one female), with dependant children, but also have a large proportion of households with at least three adults (males and females) with dependant children. They are under-represented in all other types of household composition. Bangladeshis also suffer disproportionately from overcrowding, with 70.8% of households living in dwellings with over one person per room, compared to the national average for Bangladeshis of 47.3%. White households in the same ward have levels of overcrowding of only 4%. 87.7% of Bangladeshis in St. Peter's live in council rented property, while the figure for white households is 52.7%. No Bangladeshis in the ward own their own homes outright, although 3.5% of households are buying them. The national figure for owner occupation among Bangladeshis is 44%.

This evidence from the 1991 census of population shows that Bangladeshis in St. Peters ward are disadvantaged compared to the white population in the same ward, and compared to the average figures for Bangladeshis across England and Wales. St. Peters ward suffers from a very high level of racial conflict, as the white population often makes a scapegoat of the Bangladeshis because of the poor conditions which most of the population in the area suffer.

2.5   Hackney (Dalston)

Hackney contains several distinct areas, brought together as a borough by the local government reorganisation of London in 1963. Shoreditch (Wenlock and Moorfield wards) in the south of the borough is riddled with dilapidated small factories, warehouses and offices, and isolated by roads on every side. Hoxton, a bit further north, is still largely inhabited by Cockneys, most living in council blocks. This area is one of the few places in the borough where some networks of community and kinship still

survive. Further north again is De Beauvior, half council blocks and half stately terraces and upper-middle and professional class residents.

To the east are Haggerston and Queensbridge wards, where about three quarters of residents are council tenants. These two wards are characterised by dilapidation and planning-blight, with many shops either boarded up or burnt out. Further north-east are Homerton, Kings Park, and Wick, where what little still exists of Hackney's large-scale industry is found. Many of the Victorian terraces and council estates in the area suffer from damp and subsidence, as they lie only just above the level of the Hackney Marshes. Stretching down the east of the borough is a long succession of council estates, including Kingsmead and Clapton Park, each with its own particular problems, such as very high crime levels, damp and poor design. To the north of the borough lie Hackney's more desirable wards, which house a large proportion of the borough's professionals, and most of its large orthodox Jewish population (in Stamford Hill).

In the centre of the borough lie terraces of the worst Victorian housing, which were previously used as cheap boarding houses, often by immigrants. Gentrification, housing associations and infill council housing are slowly changing the character of the area, which remains very mixed in terms of race and class. Within this central area is Dalston, which has become the focus of the Afro-Caribbean community in the area. It is a lively area, with a fairly large Afro-Caribbean population, and a busy street market at Ridley Road, E8. Kingsland High Street is the main shopping street, where you can find all the latest in black street fashion and hair styles, and many of the trendy black night clubs. (McAuley, I., 1991).

Immigration and racism both have long histories in Hackney. Huguenot refugees, Irish and Jewish immigrants have lived in the area for several centuries. In 1951, only 6.5% of the total population of the then metropolitan borough of Hackney was foreign-born, and most of these were Europeans (only 466 residents were born in New Commonwealth countries). During the 1950s, Caribbean immigration increased dramatically. Many immigrants settled in Hackney, not only for the abundance of cheap rooms for rent, but also because Hackney was one of the few places where discrimination against black tenants was less pronounced. The mainly Jewish landlords, having themselves been the victims of discrimination, were not concerned about the colour of their tenants.

Figure 2.4
Hackney's Ethnic Groups By Ward 1991

Key :

Others

White

Pak.-Ban.

Black

Indian

57

1. Brownswood
2. Chatham
3. Clissold
4. Dalston
5. De Beauvior
6. Eastdown
7. Haggerston
8. Homerton
9. Kings Park
10. Leabridge
11. Moorfields
12. New River
13. Noth Defoe
14. Northfield
15. Northwold
16. Queensbridge
17. Rectory
18. South Defoe
19. Springfield
20. Victoria
21. Wenlock
22. Westdown
23. Wick
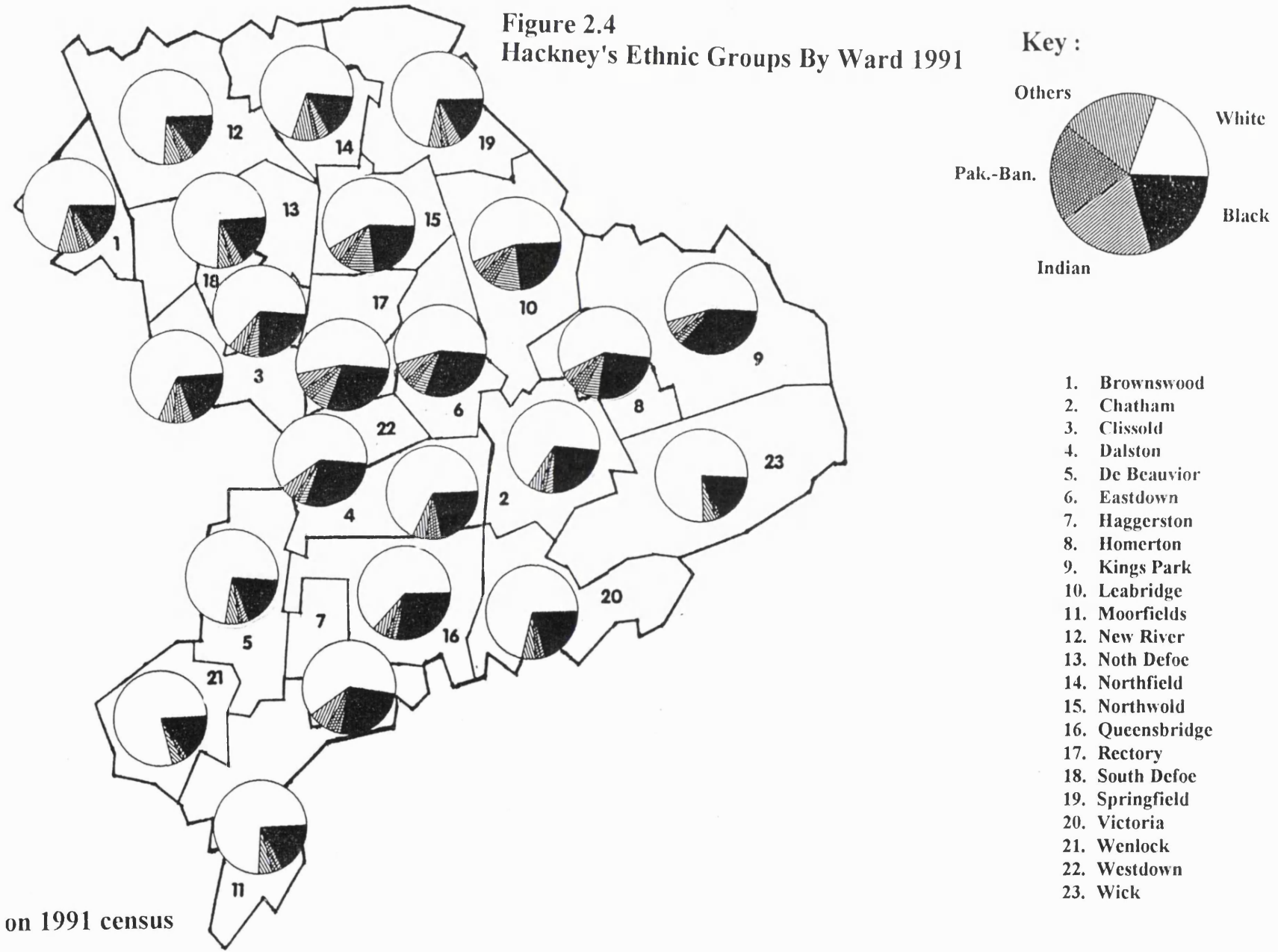
Source : based on 1991 census

By 1961, there were already 10,282 Caribbean-born residents in Hackney and Stoke Newington, and the Cypriot and Asian migrations had begun. All three groups continued to grow over the sixties. The total number born in the New Commonwealth did not change much over the 1970s, with the greatest ethnic change in this decade being the exodus of about 40,000 of Hackney's white population.

Today, Hackney has the fourth highest proportion of non-white ethnic minorities of all the London boroughs (33.6%), and has the second largest proportion of Afro-Caribbeans in any borough (after Lambeth). The main groups in Hackney are by far the black Caribbeans, followed by black Africans, and Black Other. There is also a fairly small Indian population (6,320), and smaller populations of Bangladeshis, Chinese, and Pakistanis.

In Hackney, the difference in the proportion of ethnic minorities between the wards with the highest and lowest concentrations is relatively small compared to other boroughs. (Figure 2.4). The ward with the highest proportion of non-white minorities is Rectory (45.5% non-white) in central Hackney, while the lowest proportion is found in Wenlock (21.6%) in the south. Non-white minorities are fairly uniformly scattered throughout the wards in the borough, but are found in the highest concentrations from the centre to the east of the borough, in Rectory, Kings Park, Homerton, and Leabridge. In the central area, non-white groups live in the worst of Hackney's Victorian housing and the bleakest council estates.

There is a great variety of ethnic groups in the area, although Afro-Caribbeans form by far the majority of ethnic minorities in every ward. Dalston in the central area is increasingly becoming a focus for Afro-Caribbeans throughout London, although other wards in Hackney have higher proportions of Afro-Caribbeans (such as Kings Park, 35.5% Afro-Caribbean). The northern and southern wards have lower proportions of people of New Commonwealth origin, and have their own distinct populations. The northern wards have fairly large Jewish populations, while the southern wards of Moorfields and Wenlock are overwhelmingly white and Cockney. Hackney's Indian population is concentrated mainly in Leabridge and Northwold, in the north-east.

Hackney comes second lowest (after the London Borough of Tower Hamlets) on almost all indicators of deprivation. Despite higher than average national housing and transport costs, incomes in Hackney are well below the national, and even the London average. It also has the honour of being the only Inner London borough without a tube

station. (Harrison, 1985). The result of all these disadvantages coexisting in one place is not an addition of problems, but a multiplication. The people living in these areas are subject to varying degrees of multiple disadvantage.

Hackney is an unusually underprivileged area, with by far the highest proportion of dwellings unfit for human habitation, and by far the lowest educational attainments in London. Until the mid-seventies, Hackney's male unemployment rate was roughly the same as the national average. From 1976, the borough's unemployment rates gradually pulled ahead. By the end of 1981 the unemployment rate was 17.1%, 50% above the national average. In May 1994, it had increased to 22.8%, the highest rate in London.

Hackney's housing is, by national standards, appalling. (Harrison, 1985). Back in 1979-80 20% of dwellings in the borough were unfit for human habitation. This was by far the highest of any London borough and more than twice the London average. Another 22% of dwellings were in substantial disrepair. Much of Hackney's Victorian housing was built on unsuitable ground with poor materials. In 1981 in Hackney, 80% of dwellings were flats, maisonettes or rented rooms, most with no garden. Just over 2% of Hackney's housing stock was detached and semi-detached houses, although the national figure was 50%. Over 55% of homes in Hackney started on the first floor or higher (compared to only 12% in England as a whole), and 12% started on or above the twelfth floor. In 1981, 15,000 households were on the borough's waiting list for council homes. Hackney's homeless are concentrated in the north-west of the borough (mainly in Brownswood ward), in an area dominated by cheap hotels and hostels taking Housing Benefit and council waiting list residents. This is a place of transition for most residents. (Harrison, 1985).

Dalston ward in central Hackney is increasingly the focus for Afro-Caribbeans in Hackney, and London. It has a black Caribbean population of 12.6%, which together with the black African and black Other groups, gives Dalston a black population of 22.3%. There are also much smaller proportions of Asians, the largest group being Bangladeshis (2.6%).

Almost half the dwellings in Dalston ward were purpose built flats (44%), 28.3% were converted self-contained flats, 23.5% were terraced houses, leaving only 1.6% as detached and semi-detached houses. This reflects the household composition of the area (and of Afro-Caribbeans in general), which is mainly adults without dependants (55.7% of households), and single parent families.

The largest housing tenure group in the ward is local authority rented (36.1%). This is a very high proportion (compared to 20% for England and Wales), and partly reflects the inner city nature and location of Hackney, and also the high proportion of Afro-Caribbeans (who are almost always concentrated in rented council housing). 18.2% of households rented from housing associations, (which is common in areas with a high proportion of Afro-Caribbeans, although it is still a high figure compared to 3% nationally). Only 30.4% of households owned, or were buying their homes (compared to 68% in England and Wales). Figures for private renting were also very low, indicating the dependence of the area's population on the State for housing.

Dalston had a high proportion of overcrowded households (over 1 person per room), at 7%. This is high compared to the average figure for England and Wales (2.1%). 4.5% of households in Dalston lack or share a bath and / or WC, compared to only 1.3% average for England and Wales. 26.3% of households had no central heating, compared to 19% nationally. This is partly a reflection of the age of the housing stock, and also the small amount of renovations and improvements which have already been carried out on older housing.

Unemployment rates in 1991 were very high (Hackney has, for a few decades, been an unemployment blackspot). Pakistanis and Bangladeshis had the highest unemployment rates, at 47.8% and 47.1% respectively. The rate for black Africans was 29.5%, and for black Caribbeans was 23.8%. The white population had the lowest unemployment rate in the ward, at 17.4%, although this figure is still high compared to other areas in London.

Chapter 3 : Case Studies of Four Areas of Ethnic Minority Concentration (Analysis)

The political backgrounds of each borough and their policies which affect ethnic minorities in terms of housing, employment, education and land use. Adequacy of the way that the four areas make special provision in planning for their ethnic minority populations:-

At a local level, councils exert an influence on the quality of life of ethnic minorities through their management of public housing, and through their wider responsibilities under the Race Relations Act 1976. The Commission for Racial Equality has consistently argued that the main policies and practices of local government should be the focus for the removal of discrimination and disadvantage. For many decades now, formal responsibility for managing race relations issues (in the field of housing, urban, and anti-discrimination policy) has gradually been devolved to local authorities. In principal, the decentralisation of responsibility is welcome as an acknowledgement of the variable circumstances in which discrimination occurs. However, central government Acts form the environment in which they operate.

During the 1980s when many local authorities began to implement policies to address discriminatory practices in housing allocation, there was a massive reduction in the number of council houses being built and many desirable properties were sold under the right to buy scheme. The government has also proved reluctant to use special legislation, including race relations legislation, to pursue the cause of racial equality. Between 1979 and 1981 the CRE's budget was cut, and it has received little encouragement from Government. The Department of Community Affairs (which had been created to work with ethnic minorities) was terminated, and bureaucratic responsibility for race-related issues became progressively fragmented. (Smith, 1989).

The 1980s saw several changes (including changes in the labour market) which were to be decisive for ethnic minorities in London. Central government reasserted the dynamics of the market over planning and administration, in abolishing the GLC and ILEA (in 1990), and dramatically curtailing local government budgets, which now compete with private-sector resources in providing services. The chosen instruments of the Thatcher era of government included Acts on housing, education, and the community charge which were actually calculated to break down local authority power. (Sarre, 1989). At the same time, however, formal responsibility for managing race-

related issue (housing, urban and anti-discrimination policies) has gradually been devolved to local authorities.

During the early 1970s, provoked perhaps by the beginnings of recession, the extreme right-wing began to re-emerge in Britain. The National Front (later to split to form The British National Party) was the first serious fascist party since Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists in the inter-war years. These extreme parties are able to mobilise the white vote in areas of deprivation, where the fight for scarce resources can turn whites against non-whites. This occurred in 1975-6 in Hackney, and in 1993 in Tower Hamlets, when they posed a serious threat at local elections. However, since the 1970s, the Conservative party has moved to the right and has adopted policies which have proved even more successful than the British National Party in attracting working-class white votes. (Sarre, 1989). For a decade and a half, the domination of British policy by Conservative Governments has lead to a reshaping of race-related issues. A distinctly British version of the "New Right" has emerged, which concentrates on the individual, and not on the society. However, neither has the Labour Party made much impression on ideas about race-related issues, with the exception of the anti-racist commitment of some Labour controlled local authorities.

The ethnic composition of councillors and MPs is very important, as they are the primary mechanism in an elected democracy. The number of non-white councillors is increasing, particularly in Labour areas in London. For example, Southall in Ealing has a few Asian Labour councillors, reflecting the high proportion of Asians in the borough. However, there are only two non-white Chief Executives of Local Authorities, one black and one Asian. The 1987 election saw the long-established Labour ethnic vote translated into the election of non-white MPs for the first time. However, there are still only five non-white MPs out of a total of 661. Three of these are Afro-Caribbean, and have their constituencies in London (Tottenham, Brent South, and Hackney North) while the other two are Asian. (Reference Services, 1991). To be representative of the country's population there would have to be about 30 non-white MPs.

In their voting patterns, Asians are spilt more by social class than Afro-Caribbeans, and have a spread of political concerns more characteristic of the majority population. Afro-Caribbeans' politics is more often left-wing, and is concentrated on public services, unemployment, and the police. The local elections in May 1990 tended to consolidate Labour's hold over inner London, while the Conservatives made most gains in outer London. The Conservative Party lost still more boroughs in the 1994 local elections, including losing some of the outer boroughs to Labour. Before the 1990 elections, the

four boroughs which I chose to study were all under Labour control. Between 1990 and 1994 Hackney was the only of the four boroughs to remain under Labour control. Tower Hamlets fell to the Liberal Democrats, while Ealing and Brent in outer London were lost to the Conservatives. In the May 1994 local government elections, Labour retained control over Hackney and also won back Ealing and Tower Hamlets. Brent remains a Conservative borough, although their majority is not very large.

There are several different type of corporate context of planning departments. The institutional context at local authority level can be more, or less supportive of initiatives designed to ensure that the needs of ethnic minorities are being catered for by the planning system, and that it is not discriminating against them. The GLC report on planning for a multi-racial London (GLC, 1985) found that the Conservative boroughs in outer London had made very little effort in this field, while some of the more radical Labour boroughs in inner London had made the most effort. The replies from the questionnaire (Appendix 3) which I sent out to the four planning departments give some idea as to how they are progressing in this field.

3.1   Ealing (Waxlow)

Ealing is traditionally a Conservative borough, although it was Labour from 1986 to 1990, and is now under Labour control again. In the May 1994 local elections, the only wards in the borough which were not Labour were the central wards (coinciding with the main white middle-class areas), which were Conservative.

The GLC and local groups made objections about the lack of any clear strategy or procedures in planning for ethnic minorities in Ealing Council. Following this, the Planning Department reviewed its policies which were likely to affect ethnic minorities, and introduced more policies to give recognition to the special needs of ethnic minorities. However, the 1985 GLC report "Planning for a Multi-Racial London" found that only formal recognition of the existence of ethnic minorities was given in the Draft Borough Plan. Efforts were also being made to translate leaflets into ethnic minority languages, and to contact ethnic minority organisations during the plan-making process. In 1985, it was still unclear whether these small alterations in the department would lead to other changes. (GLC, 1985).

From the questionnaire I found that Ealing now has an Equal Opportunities Unit which tries to ensure equal opportunities in employment, but does not deal with service

delivery. The planning department therefore has no-one to liaise with over issues of ethnic minorities and service delivery. Only new planning staff receive information about their legislative position under the Race Relations Act 1976, and the department as a whole was not aware of the recent RTPI-commissioned report on planning for ethnic minorities.

The planning department's public information leaflets have been translated into the ethnic minority languages relevant to Ealing (mainly South Asian languages and Polish), and translators are used to deal with non-(or limited) English speaking residents. At present, the planning department is quite poor at monitoring, and only monitors the location and numbers of ethnic minority populations. However, it does have plans to monitor the impact of planning policies on ethnic minorities in the future. A booklet "Multicultural Ealing" was published last year, using 1991 census data. The last survey which the department undertook to ascertain the needs of the ethnic minority groups in Ealing was in 1988, when the council was under Labour leadership. No other liaison appears to have been carried out since then.

The planning department replied that they now have special policies to deal with planning applications relating to the special needs of ethnic minorities for places of worship, community facilities, and business / retail. It also said that it has policies for dealing with racist representations, although it did not specify what these involved. Officers are not required to draw attention to the implications for ethnic minorities when writing Committee Reports on any planning applications.

It appears that planning practice in this field has improved slightly from a very poor start in the mid-1980s. There has been very little corporate support from the rest of the council to improve the situation. The Conservative leadership between 1990 and 1994 made far-reaching cuts in the department, which may be one of the reasons why little has been done in recent years. With the new Labour leadership, this situation may change.

3.2   Brent (Roundwood)

Brent had a long history as Labour until the Conservatives gained control in 1990. It is now still run by a Conservative majority, although it almost lost overall control in 1994 with Conservatives holding 33 seats, Labour 28, and Liberal Democrats 5.

Brent was successful in its bid for City Challenge funds of £37.5 million over five years for Park Royal, Harlesden and Stonebridge. City Challenge will also generate £150 of private sector investment over the five years. The Park Royal industrial estate currently employs about 30,000 people and is home to over 800 small and medium-sized firms. The Park Royal Partnership aims to draw in at least £650 million of private funds, and create 20,000 additional jobs through its Programme of Action. Brent Regeneration Agency aims to tackle economic decline in the area by seeking out investment and job creation opportunities and finding private partners to carry them out. In 1993/94 the Agency aimed to secure £30 million of new commercial investment and get 1000 Brent residents into jobs. Notable achievements include securing Brent's first Japanese investment, the Yaohan Superstore in Colindale. Brent achieved Assisted Area Status in 1992.

The West London Partnership Limited encourages employers in Brent to establish direct links with local education, and aims to ensure that pupil's learning skills are relevant to the world of work. (London Borough of Brent, 1994). In 1993, Brent received £580,000 from the European Social Fund (ESF), which was used for vocational training for disadvantaged groups, including refugees and the long term unemployed. 3,580 local people were involved in ESF projects in 1993.

Defensive initiatives such as the estate-based campaign against racist attacks have been successful in Brent. In 1984, tenants persuaded the council to write in a "neighbourly conduct" clause into its tenancy agreements.

The 1985 GLC report on "Planning for a Multi-Racial London" found that Brent had developed its awareness and recognition of racial issues in planning since the 1983 joint CRE / RTPI report "Planning for a Multi Racial Britain". The Labour council of the time had appointed a Community Liaison Officer in the Local Plans Section, and had also begun initiatives in Development Control due to the refusal of applications for two mosques. Although the permission was refused, the Committee resolved that in general:-
- there would be a presumption against change of use of buildings or sites of any
    existing place of worship.
- enforcement action would only be taken as a last resort against groups using
    unauthorised premises for religious purposes.
- Officers would actively assist ethnic groups in the search for premises for religious or
    community purposes.

The council had an Equal Opportunities Unit, and the Development Department began employing a Race Relations Adviser under S.11 funding. In 1983 the Adviser organised a series of meetings with the planning staff to discuss the 1983 RTPI / CRE report, and action required. One-day seminars on planning for a multi-racial borough were organised with the Polytechnic of Central London. These were followed by planning department meetings to discuss future action. It was decided to monitor planning and building regulation applications, and to collect more information on issues affecting non-white ethnic minorities. A Departmental Racial Awareness Working party was set up to monitor the progress of this action. Questionnaires on ethnic background, and so on, were sent out with all application forms. An "open day" was also held to show the public the services on offer. The overall racial dimension in the borough's planning activities was not totally clear and co-ordinated, although some of the initiatives taken demonstrated a clear commitment to positive practice. The 1983 report gave a clearly needed boost to practice within the department. (GLC, 1985).

From the questionnaire I found that the council does not have a central Race Relations or Equal Opportunities unit, and there are no staff in the planning department with special responsibility for race-related matters. This means that the S.11 post which the Development Department had in 1983 has gone, possibly because of central government cuts to these posts. However, the department is aware of the recent RTPI-commissioned report on planning for ethnic minorities, and its legislative position under the Race Relations Act 1976, for example in drawing up its UDP.

The department has translated its public information leaflets into the relevant ethnic minority languages, and has bi-lingual staff who deal with non-English (or limited English) speaking people. The department is not particularly committed to monitoring, although the location and numbers of ethnic minority populations are monitored, and have been presented in a published booklet "Ethnic Groups in Brent" (1993). There is currently no monitoring of refusal rate for planning permission by ethnic group (although the ethnic origin of applicants for planning permission is monitored and analysed), or of the impact of planning policies on ethnic groups. However, this may only be temporary, as very little monitoring of the impact of planning policies is being carried out now due to the preparation of the UDP.

The planning department does liaise with ethnic groups in the borough to ascertain their needs, and has invited comments on its UDP from ethnic organisations in the borough. The UDP contains special policies in its Community Facilities Chapter, which the Development Control Section adopts in dealing with applications relating to the special

needs of ethnic minorities for places of worship and community facilities. There is also a special section which deals with business / retail in Ealing Road Town Centre, a specialist Asian-led shopping centre in Wembley. The planning department has no set procedure for dealing with racist representations / objections against planning applications, and when writing Committee Reports on planning applications, staff are not required to draw attention to the implications for ethnic minorities.

Brent made a good start after the 1983 report, and has developed even further since then. Although good practice is not yet very developed in this field, the council's commitment to equal opportunities is strong, and should ensure that Brent's planning department makes further progress in this field of planning.

3.3 Tower Hamlets (St Peters)

Tower Hamlets had a long history of Labour rule until the Liberal Democrats gained the borough in the 1990 local elections. The Council then decentralised most of its local government functions into seven autonomous neighbourhoods, each with its own authority and budget. On 5 May 1994, the Labour Party took back majority control of Tower Hamlets council, and also ousted the only BNP councillor from Milwall ward. The new Labour council is planning to re-centralise power, but may retain a few of the neighbourhoods.

Racism in the area is enhanced by local politics. There are pockets of active BNP members in the borough, and the previous Liberal council were accused of being racist on several occassions. They allegedly distributed racist campaign leaflets, and they also tried (just over a month away from the local elections) to replace all Asian councillors with white ones to improve their chances of removing the BNP councillor at the 1994 local elections. However, this was found to be unconstitutional, and new selection ballots took place. (Wynn Davies, 1994). Liberal Democrat councillors have also been seen to be racist where they have made planning decisions based on racist representations. The election of BNP councillor, Derek Beakon in Milwall in Autumn 1993 created an environment which legitimized racism and racial attacks, and in the next six months, racist attacks in the area increased by 300%. (The London Programme, 1994). Locals and the rest of the council were worried that the BNP would retain the seat in Milwall won in 1993, and also win the other two wards in the Isle of Dogs neighbourhood. This would mean that the entire neighbourhood and its budget, would be controlled by the BNP, who would only represent their white constituents.

Much of the conflict in Tower Hamlets is due to the fact that white residents were not represented well by their councillors, and so they scapegoated the Bangladeshis as the cause of their troubles. (Klein and Osman, 1994). The strength of the BNP vote on the Isle of Dogs was probably a protest vote by those whites who were dissatisfied with the Liberal council, particularly its management of housing. The almost hereditary council housing allocations system which once existed in the area (and which the CRE objected to) has been broken down by the more urgent need for housing, particularly for the Bangladeshi community. Unemployment is another reason why whites have made scapegoats of the Bangladeshis, as Tower Hamlets now has the third highest overall unemployment rate of any London borough (21.2%).

There is a massive shortage of housing at affordable rents on the Isle of Dogs, which affects both white and non-white families. However, the shortage of housing which is a direct result of the restrictions on local authorities to build more housing and the sale of a large number of vacant sites on the Isle of Dogs for luxury housing under LDDC is blamed on Bangaldeshis. The first Bangladeshis began moving to the Isle of Dogs in 1987. The number of racist attacks increased rapidly, and the situation reached a crisis point in 1990 following a violent attack on a young man. The constant fear of racial violence and intimidation acted as a barrier for people taking up properties on the Isle of Dogs. During 1990 it was reported that some people were turning down their only offer of housing rather than move on to the Isle of Dogs. (Docklands Forum, 1993).

Philips' study of over 5,000 offers made to GLC tenants in Tower Hamlets between 1983 and 1984 showed that despite specific guide-lines to the contrary, the segregation of Asian (mainly Bangladeshi) tenants was clearly being reinforced by allocations procedures, which effectively steered applicants towards areas dominated by their own ethnic group, often irrespective of any stated preference. Bangladeshis were found to have been offered properties on the least desirable estates. (Philips, 1985, quoted in Docklands Forum, 1993). The CRE has served several notices against Tower Hamlets council since 1990, for indirect discrimination in the allocation of council housing.

Bangladeshis have formed about 200 community groups in the area around Spitalfields, although the groups are not well co-ordinated. Young Bangladeshis are throwing off their parent's apathy, and are getting into youth politics, and organisations such as Youth Connections.

Tower Hamlets was successful in its City Challenge bid for Spitalfields in the west of the borough. It started in April 1992, and will receive £7.5 million annually for five years. The partnership now has a fairly even balance of power between private developers, community developers, and the local council. The City Challenge area has about 40,000 people living in it, of whom about 60% come from one small rural area of Bangladesh (Sylhet), the other 40% being mainly white. It has started up a language project, Language 2000, to teach English as a second language. Ten language bases have been built in 8 primary schools in the area, all with creche facilities to allow women with children to attend. There was a great response, mainly from Bangladeshi women (who often have poor English skills), with about 500 women attending in the first few months. In the evening the language courses are used by Asian children to learn a second European language. A food hygiene course has been set up to help locals keep their catering businesses running when the new EC regulations come into force.

Spitalfields City Challenge has made design plans to enhance the urban environment, and to add to the cultural vitality of the area (through the use of gateways, walkways, tourism, and so on) although this needs to be done without causing bad feelings among the white population living in the area. Unfortunately, there has been pressure from the City for large developments in the City Challenge area. However, the decline of the property market in the 1990s and the existence of conservation areas has been beneficial in preserving the area's cohesiveness, and preventing large scale developments. (Kline, 1994). The City Challenge partnership has achieved a good leverage ratio, with private funds building a Sainsbury's Superstore in the area, which will generate 300 new jobs. Housing Associations are building new homes, and are refurbishing some council dwellings. However, which homes get refurbished is a totally political decision. Spitalfields City Challenge has shown that it is impossible to plan in Bethnal Green, without looking at race-related issues. (Klein and Osman, 1994).

Tower Hamlets has too small and poor quality a housing stock, and the council has no money to build new properties. Many large Bangladeshi families live in one room in Bed and Breakfast accomodation, paid for by the council. The only empty stock is in the Isle of Dogs, some way from Brick Lane (the area with the greatest housing need in the borough). The majority of households (58.3%) are local authority tenants. (OPCS, 1993). Almost half of Tower Hamlets' 48,000 council dwellings are listed as being in need of renovation. The borough probably faces a more severe homelessness problem than any other local authority in Britain, with about 1,000 households in temporary accomodation, costing £18 million in 1989. Most of the homeless households in temporary accomodation are waiting for three, four, or five bedroomed accomodation.

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Tower Hamlets suffers from more severe overcrowding than any other local authority in England and Wales. A very high proportion of these overcrowded households are Bangladeshi, with their large nuclear families. The Samuel Lewis Housing Trust reported that when it took over the GLC's Fieldgate Mansions Estate in 1982, overcrowding at up to 10 persons per room was common. (Carley, 1990).

Within the decentralisation programme, control over dwellings has passed to the neighbourhoods, which have adopted a pragmatic approach which includes attracting new sources of finance through deals, partnership schemes, and disposal of estates to housing associations and several developers. Disposals to the private sector have been controversial as they have been seen as "asset-stripping". Dramatic price rises in new owner-occupied properties in Docklands have provided a sharp contrast to the continuing problems of poverty, overcrowding, and homelessness in Tower Hamlets. (Docklands Forum, 1993).

The 1985 GLC report on planning for a multi-racial London found that very few ethnic community groups (except for local tenants' associations) were consulted in the preparation of the Borough Plan. Neither did the Borough Plan include any distinct and separate policies in recognition of the needs of ethnic minorities, but took a colour-blind approach to land-use policies. The amendments to the Plan recommended that more awareness of the special needs of ethnic minorities in land-use issues was needed, although by 1985 there was little evidence that this had been put into practice. Although the council had an equal opportunities policy, and had appointed a Principal Race Relations Adviser, there was little indication of a positive change in approach or policy on race equality and planning.

The 1993 RTPI-commissioned report found that the move to a decentralised system had lead to different levels of commitment to planning for ethnic minorities in each neighbourhood, as there were separate planning departments for each neighbourhood. However, there is a Unitary Development Plan in existence which covers the whole borough, and it is likely that the new Labour council will remove the decentralised neighbourhood system. As there are several planning managers for the different neighbourhoods, I sent my questionnaire to Bethnal Green Neighbourhood Centre, and I received no reply.

3.4   Hackney (Dalston)

Hackney has been a safe Labour borough for a long time. It has probably the worst housing record in London, as despite a huge homeless problem, the borough has over 3,000 empty properties, and a very poor record for repairs. Hackney is a very deprived borough, having the joint (with Haringey) highest overall unemployment rate of any London borough, 22.8% in May 1994. The CRE studied allocations to Hackney's council properties in 1978 and 1979. Whites on the waiting list were three and a half times more likely to get housed than blacks, 1.6 times more likely to get maisonettes, and eight times more likely to get post-1975 housing than blacks. (Harrison, 1985).

The 1985 GLC report found that Hackney's Draft Borough Plan had statements on "affirmative action" for women and ethnic groups. This claimed that the needs of these groups were recognised and specified, although this was only evident in a few areas, such as in establishing an Afro-Caribbean Centre and Enterprise Workshops. However, the Planning Department still needed to detail the implications of planning policies for ethnic minority communities, and to develop policies for the Plan to deal specifically with their needs. At the time, the Planning Department used to send all plans, proposals and applications which dealt with ethnic minority issues to the Race Relations Unit for comments, monitored all applications, and had co-opted ethnic minority representatives onto the Planning Committee.

The developments in planning for ethnic minorities in the Department, and the future looked positive. In 1985, the council was looking at the possibility of recruiting a Community Liaison Planning Officer under S.11, to deal with service delivery and policy formation. Hackney was at the forefront of racial equality practice, and further developments could benefit other authorities. (GLC, 1985).

The 1991 RTPI-commissioned report found that Hackney had good practice in this field, and it seemed to be continually improving. (Krishnarayan et al, 1993). Hackney's UDP has a complete section which relates the needs of the ethnic minority population to the totality of the Plan, and is linked to ethnic monitoring and policy formation. This section is similar to the GLC's alterations to the Greater London Development Plan of 1984.

Hackney planning authority altered planning standards for house extensions to allow larger extensions in the north of the borough than elsewhere, to provide for large Hasidic Jewish families. Even within the area with "relaxed" standards, all the

applications for larger extensions were from Jews. This shows that altering or "relaxing" standards does not mean that a second class environment will develop. The only people taking advantage of these changes were the people they were intended for, and others did not exploit this, although they could have done if they so wished. (Krishnarayan, et al., 1993).

Despite the poor and confused state of Hackney's housing department, Hackney council already had good practice in planning for ethnic minorities by 1985, and it had improved further by 1991. The results of the questionnaire which I sent out showed that the corporate importance attached to this field of planning was quite high. The council has a Race Equality Unit, and has employed a Community Planner under S.11, as it said it might in the 1985 report. The Planning Department's staff are expected to have broad knowledge of their legislative position under the Race Relations Act 1976, although they did not say exactly what was done to provide for those who do not.

The Planning Department's public information leaflets have been translated into the relevant ethnic minority languages, and translators were used to deal with non- (or limited-) English speaking residents. Their monitoring is very good and thorough, with the location and numbers of ethnic minority populations, the impact of planning policies on ethnic minorities, and many others issues being monitored regularly. An ethnic monitoring form is attached to every planning application form for applicants to complete and return. Ethnic monitoring reports are taken to Committee meetings.

The Community Planner liaises with ethnic minority groups to ascertain their needs by holding regular consultation meetings between the ethnic minority communities and officers of the whole of the Environmental Services Directorate to discuss service delivery issues. The Development Control Section has a whole special chapter of the UDP to refer to regarding applications relating to the special needs of ethnic minorities. Officers are also required to draw attention to the implications for ethnic minorities when writing Committee Reports on planning applications.

Hackney Council has had a good record in this field since 1985, and has continued to improve steadily. Although it is still not perfect, it does have strong corporate support, and has very good practice in most of the activities involved in planning for ethnic minorities. It has the best practice out of the four boroughs which I studied.

Chapter 4 : Issues Arising

4.1   Direct and Indirect Discrimination, and the "Colour Bar".

In 1736 William Goswell, the enterprising builder of St Leonard's Church at Shoreditch (now in Hackney), dismissed his English labourers and hired Irish at half or two-thirds of the wages. On 29 July, the English labourers assembled at Shoreditch to complain about being underworked and starved by the Irish. The following day about 2,000 men assembled and attacked an Irish pub and the houses of master weavers who were employing Irish workers. The Riot Act was read and fifty guardsmen drafted in. The troubles died down within the week, as Goswell had rehired his English labourers. (Harrison, 1985).

Whilst people may be content to compete for jobs and housing on an individual level, there are areas where some people see direct racism as a way of winning the competition by excluding other ethnic groups. Poverty can weaken the bonds between human beings and generate conflict within the family, between neighbours, and between races. When resources grow scarce, competition for them is more intense. As political awareness and activism is usually too weak for the poor to unite against the institutions that should be helping them, the disadvantaged more commonly turn against each other. Each individual, each family, each ethnic group attempts to gain a larger share of the little resources available. Competition can seem to be a zero-sum game, and in this way, racial prejudice is generated or aggravated by deprivation.

People's attitudes and prejudices must be viewed against the background of their own lives. To many white working-class families, living and working close to non-whites, the simple conclusion that springs to their minds is "keep out or kick out the non-whites, and there will be more jobs and houses for us". Most are unaware of families living four to a room and sleeping three to a bed, and so believe that their own problems must be the worst in the area. Race-equality laws and positive action programmes infuriate them, as they do not know that non-whites still get the roughest deal. They only know that they have a rough deal, and that no-one is trying to help them. The worries about jobs and houses relate primarily to Afro-Caribbeans and Bangladeshis, who are typically more direct competitors in the employment and housing fields. The resentment of Jews and Asians is based on quite different misconceptions. Many people do not understand the years of working round the clock and of self-denial that lie behind the savings of these two groups.

These most disadvantaged whites may look around for someone even lower in the pecking order on whom they can vent the anger aroused by the British class system. These attitudes are usually expressed through grumbling, or through verbal insults. However, there is a minority among whom racial prejudice assumes a pernicious character. London's East End has for decades been a stronghold of hard-core racism, and of resistance to racism.

Racial prejudice and intolerance is not confined to one ethnic group, or to one country. A lot of racially motivated violence is mutual; a lot is revenge for previous violence. Group solidarity is hardened, and racial pride is at stake. There is a tendency to call many attacks by white people on black people a "racial attack" even when the prime reason may be a neighbours' quarrel or a robbery. Conversely, it is much rarer for an attack of a black on a white to be called a "racial attack", even when it is clearly so. The only unambiguous type is an unprovoked threat or attack accompanied by racist abuse or graffiti. Terrifying for the immediate victims, they have a much wider impact, spreading fear, fuelling racial tensions, and provoking retaliation. This is direct discrimination. The rate of racial victimisation varies between ethnic groups. A 1981 Home Office study found that the rate of victimisation for Asians was 50 times higher than for whites, while the rate for Afro-Caribbeans was 36 times higher than whites. (Brown, 1984).

It may be expected that immigrants who have to adapt to life in a new and very different country (particularly those who were rural dwellers in their country of origin, and now live in large cities), will for a time face disadvantages. However, given time to establish themselves, it would be expected that they should be no more disadvantaged than their white counter-parts, although this has actually only happened to only a few non-white ethnic groups in London (and even then, only partially).

The Policy Studies Institute (previously PEP) have studied the social and economic conditions of Britain's non-white minorities and assessed the total impact of racial disadvantage on the non-white population by studying a sample throughout the country, and using Labour Force Survey (LFS) data on ethnic groups. The extent and causes of racial disadvantage in housing and employment were examined, and detailed comparisons made with the white population. The general conclusion from all these surveys is that non-white ethnic minorities as a whole have substantially lower living standards than whites. However, the questions addressed have gradually changed since the first survey in 1966. Then, direct discrimination existed on a substantial scale, while the 1974 survey showed the existence of indirect and unintentional discrimination which

resulted in the unfair treatment of non-white people in Britain. The third PSI survey, was carried out in 1982 (Brown, 1984), and the fourth survey in 1991 (Jones, 1993).

The sum of these disadvantages together with racial discrimination is much greater than its parts. Some is due to deliberate racial discrimination by individual employers, personnel officers, housing officials or police. As this is now against the law, it is now always carefully disguised to avoid detection. Some is due to implicit racial attitudes among these officials that are often so deep-rooted that they operate unconsciously. There is also a widespread and subtle institutional (indirect) racism at work, almost invisibly built into the rules, regulations and processes that govern British society. Some believe that bias is unintentional, others claim it is quite calculated and deliberate. The facts outlined in Chapter 2, and below show that our institutions do have unfavourable outcomes for some non-white groups. They also produce unfavourable outcomes for other groups of people, such as semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, the unemployed, and single mothers. However, there is the added disadvantage for non-white ethnic groups of indirect discrimination on the grounds of race, which is what is often called the "Colour Bar".

The root of the "colour bar" is embodied in the distinction between patrials and non-patrials in the 1971 Immigration Act, described in Chapter 1.2, which is discriminatory in effect. Racial discrimination on the grounds of colour is the most obvious problem special to non-white people in Britain. It adds a harsher edge to the disadvantaged condition by affecting housing, employment, and the educational prospects of people from non-white ethnic minority groups. Members of ethnic minority groups may also have the added disadvantage of not understanding housing, planning, employment, and legal procedures, and of difficulties in gaining access to, and understanding information. As G. Myrdal put it in his book "The American Dilemma", albeit slightly dramatically, "White prejudice and discrimination keep the Negro low in standards of living, health, education, manners and morals. This in turn gives support to white prejudice." (Myrdal, et al., 1944, quoted in Gans, 1991).

The London Programme (1994) investigated the existence of the "colour bar" in London. From their research, they found that in applying for jobs, Asians are often discriminated against at job application stage because of their foreign names. Afro-Caribbeans' names are usually indistinguishable from white names but for them, discrimination is more often when they actually go for the job interview. The research showed that racial discrimination in job applications existed, even when qualifications were controlled for. This survey showed that young white qualified people in London

have lower unemployment rates than their non-white counterparts. In Britain, this hidden institutional racism is especially prominent in "traditional" careers such as medicine and law. For example, about 14% of law students in the country are Asian or black, but only 2% of solicitors are non-white. (London Research Centre, quoted in The London Programme, 1994).

In a poll carried out by The London Programme (1994), young non-white people in London felt that they would be discriminated against less in housing than they are in employment. However, the programme uncovered institutional racism in some estate agents. Landlords who do not want non-white tenants ask agents to supply them (illegally) with only white tenants, and some agents did this, although covertly. The Programme also found indirect discrimination in employment, with many employers willing to break Race Relations legislation, as it is not easily enforceable. However the programme also showed that the full extent of indirect racial discrimination is impossible to determine, as people give many reasons / excuses not to offer a job or private housing to non-whites, instead of telling them the real reason.

The fourth PSI survey suggested that levels of racial discrimination in the mid-1980s were similar to the mid-1970s, despite the 1976 Race Relations Act and the concept of indirect discrimination. (Jones, 1993). It has been suggested that stronger laws are needed to prevent racism, particularly indirect racial discrimination, which was made unlawful in 1976, but which is still widespread in Britain today. The CRE has suggested changes, although the Home Secretary has declined to consider them. (The London Programme, 1994).

Discrimination does not produce uniformity of outcome. As Britain's non-white population becomes long-established, and an increasing proportion are born in Britain, there is a need to examine how far differences within and between white and non-white groups are narrowing or widening.

4.2   The Importance of Housing in the Ethnic Segregation Process.

Housing has a special importance as the dominant feature in the environments of our daily lives. Home is where people spend half of their waking hours, more if they are housewives, children, unemployed, old, or sick. It is through the availability and affordability of housing, rather than the existence of jobs, that most ethnic minorities'

location in the city is determined. Work is less intimately tied to locality with many people travelling outside the immediate area to work.

Housing (in London) is a scarce resource of uneven availability and desirability. Residential patterns are bound to express (and confer) inequalities of some kind. Bad housing is cheap to rent or buy, and attracts the low paid, the unemployed, and those on benefits. Local residents with savings or incomes high enough to buy or rent in a better area, the skills to find jobs in a better area, or the luck or manipulative ability to get themselves offered a council house in a better area, may move out.

It is important to examine the housing requirements of the various ethnic groups (which change over time). Afro-Caribbean households are fairly similar in type to whites, although Afro-Caribbeans have a higher proportion of single parents (usually mother) households, while whites have proportionally more single pensioner only and single person households. South Asians are more likely to have large households, with either two adults and children or three or more adults and children. They are also more likely to live in households containing several family groups, and less likely to live in single person (and single pensioner only) households. There are also important variations within each broad group. For example, African Asians and Bangladeshis both typically have large households, although with African Asians, this is because of the presence of extended families living together, whereas with Bangladeshis, it is because they have many children.

The housing circumstances of most non-white ethnic groups in Britain are generally inferior to those of white people with similar job levels and incomes, even when tenure distributions are taken into account. For example, levels of overcrowding are higher for some ethnic groups (particularly Asian groups) than for white households. Bangladeshis have the smallest accommodation for their needs, and therefore have the highest levels of overcrowding. However, there has been some improvement in housing conditions for most ethnic minority groups over the last two decades. (Jones, 1993).

Afro-Caribbeans and South Asians as a whole have substantially different tenure patterns both from the white population, and from each other. (Table 4.1). Afro-Caribbeans, having been in Britain longest, might be expected to have high levels of owner-occupation. However, they are still concentrated in rented council housing. Although Afro-Caribbeans have a higher proportion in council housing than whites, this is reversed when comparisons are made within job levels. South Asians (except Bangladeshis) have been owner-occupiers almost since they arrived. This is partly

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because of the importance attached to owning property by these groups, difficulties in waiting long periods for council housing, or because in the past, racial discrimination in the private housing market "forced" many South Asians to purchase often relatively cheap, poor quality housing, usually too small for the household's size. However, Asian immigrants have economic priorities which place cheapness of accommodation very highly, especially in the early years of immigration. Whereas previous waves of South Asian immigrants were initially excluded from council housing, a substantial proportion of Bangladeshis are now in the public sector. Although 22.9% of the population of Tower Hamlets is Bagladeshi, they account for only 3.4% of the total number of owner occupiers.

Table 4.1 : Tenure Patterns by Ethnic Group (all households), 1988-90

Column Percentages

	All origins	White	Total ethnic minority	Afro-Caribbean	African Asian	Indian	Pakistani	Bangla-deshi	Chinese	African	Other/Mixed
Owner-occupied	64	65	59	45	83	77	76	45	52	31	52
Rented from Local Authority	25	25	24	41	9	11	11	36	19	43	23
Rented from Housing Assn	2	2	3	6	1	1	1	2	4	4	4
Rented-Other	8	7	11	6	5	9	10	9	21	17	19
Other	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	7	4	4	1

Source : 1988, 1989, 1990 Labour Force Surveys (GB) quoted in Jones, 1993

With hard work, and with the astonishing capacity for saving that so many Asian immigrants possess, many are able to buy their own homes. "I have to save. If I can't save I get nowhere, just eat and sleep, no meaning of life. I want to make something of my life in this world." ("Mohammed", a Pakistani immigrant in Harrison, 1985;186). However, as many cannot afford the better, more expensive private housing, or to pay a surveyor to check the property, they often end up in the poorest and oldest private property. They often also end up paying more to buy a property in poor condition than white individuals would, as some building societies and estate agents still discriminate indirectly, although this is illegal. The majority of white house buyers obtain loans for house purchase from building societies, while the majority of Afro-Caribbeans get loans from local authorities. Asians most often borrow from banks, which have higher interest rates. (Reference Services, Central Office of Information, 1991).

Housing tenure is strongly related to job level for whites, with a positive relationship between job level and level of owner occupation, and an inverse relationship between job level and level of renting from councils. However, since 1982, owner occupation among whites and Bagladeshi (and also among Afro-Caribbeans to a lesser extent) has increased, and has spread to the lower socio-economic groups, so that level of owner

occupation is now less strongly related to SEG than it was 15 years ago. This is due mainly to the "right to buy" scheme, which sells off council houses to their residents. However, many are now stuck with homes which they cannot sell. The relationship between job level and owner occupation is not as straightforward for some non-white ethnic groups. African Asians and Indians have very high levels of owner occupation at all job levels, whereas for all other groups, owner occupation levels decrease at lower job levels, although this has been changing throughout the 1980s. (Jones, 1993).

Tenure patterns for unemployed and retired people also differ between groups. Unemployed Asian heads of households are far more likely than unemployed and retired white or black people to own their homes. Retired or unemployed black heads are more likely to be renting from a council than Asians or whites. (Brown, 1984). The type of household served by public housing is thus very strongly correlated with ethnic group. About 40% of white households in local authority housing are pensioners, while among Afro-Caribbeans, the most commonly occurring households in this tenure are those with a single adult. Afro-Caribbeans make up an increasing proportion of housing association tenants, although they do have to be allocated it from a list of housing need. About 67% of Asians in public sector housing are families with two adults and children. (Cross et al, 1992).

The privately rented sector in Britain is now very small compared to other tenures, and it is the only tenure not governed by elaborate formal allocation procedures. For a minority of non-white households, it may be all they can get for the short or medium term.

Council housing allocation policies mean that most new arrivals have to experience the private sector for several years before they can be allocated a council dwelling. As most newcomers do not have the money to rent the better quality private housing, they are driven into the areas with the oldest and poorest housing. This was confirmed by the Newham House Condition Survey 1985, which found that ethnic minority private tenants suffer disproportionately from poor housing conditions. A number of reports have shown that when non-white people did become eligible for council housing, they were more likely than whites to be allocated properties in desperate need of repair, on the least desirable estates. It is necessary to monitor council-housing allocation procedures to ensure fair allocation, as local authority boundaries tend to preserve and concentrate the geographical distribution and the housing disadvantage of non-white council tenants. (Jones, 1993). The tendency for non-white households to occupy

poorer quality housing overall (even when job level is controlled for) is even more pronounced in areas of high immigrant concentration. (Smith, 1976).

The aim, or at least the effect of racist attacks is often to keep estates and neighbourhoods white, and to some extent they have succeeded. Arson and other forms of violence and intimidation have frequently been used to keep Bangladeshis from moving into white housing estates. (McAuley, 1991). The victims of racism, instead of the perpetrators, are usually transferred elsewhere by the local housing authority. Council housing allocators are usually reluctant to offer flats on certain estates to coloured families, knowing they would be exposing them to risk. Black families viewing flats may see racist graffiti and hear racist abuse, and turn offers down. Those who cannot afford to may end up homeless. Tower Hamlets for example, has a disproportionate number of non-white ethnic minorities on its housing waiting list and homelessness register. (Docklands Forum, 1993).

Homelessness is the most dramatic expression of housing stress, and includes "hidden homelessness" such as living in bed and breakfast accommodation or hostels, as part of another household, or with parents, relatives or friends. Most single homeless are no longer the traditional old male down-and-outs; they are getting younger. As the nuclear family shatters, the young now leave home rather than put up with the bitter tensions of chaotic family lives.

4.3   The Importance of Employment in the Ethnic Segregation Process.

The most important factor leading to the migration of people to Britain from some of its former colonies after World War Two was the contrast in economic well-being between Britain and many of its former colonies. This lead to people being attracted to Britain by the prospect of a higher standard of living, and more developed health and education systems. In Britain at that time there were specific labour shortages affecting certain jobs then considered undesirable, and the early immigrants had very good prospects of finding work.

The labour market is important not just because it distributes different levels of wages and salaries, it also plays a major part in many other aspects of life. The work people do, their conditions of work, and the insecurities experienced in the labour market affect their health and their domestic lives. It is the building block of working people's lives. For most Londoners there are little or no savings to depend on when "hard times"

come. There is only the ability to work and gain subsistence from that work. (Townsend, et al, 1987).

Although people from non-white ethnic minority groups as a whole have fewer formal qualifications than the white population, this alone does not explain their lower job levels (that is, census Socio-Economic Group categories). The 1982 PSI survey showed that non-white men as a whole tended to occupy considerably lower positions in the labour market than white men. (Brown, 1984). In the last ten years, the situation has improved for some Asian groups, and now no ethnic group has overall lower job levels than whites, except for Afro-Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi men. The majority of female employees in Britain have no academic qualifications, and it is among these women that there is the most racial inequality in terms of job level. White men still tend to have higher job levels than men from non-white groups as a whole. (Jones, 1993).

Jones (1993) showed that there has been an average increase in job levels which is due mainly to the growth of employment of ethnic minorities in the service sector (mainly non-manual), and the contraction of the manufacturing sector. In London manufacturing, other production industries and transport / wholesaling jobs fell by 34.6% between 1971 and 1988, with a corresponding rise in service sector jobs. (Gordon et al, 1991, quoted in Cross, 1992). There was also a decentralisation of jobs, as the number of jobs in Inner London decreased, while jobs in Outer London increased. By about 1989, the various ethnic minority groups had begun to diverge in their job profiles. The African Asian group now has a job level profile similar to the white group. Since the 1982 survey, Afro-Caribbeans have increased their representation in the top job levels more than any other group, although they they started from a very low base. Pakistani and Bangladeshi males still have much lower job levels than white males, and Bangladeshis are the only group to actually decrease the proportion of male employees in the top SEG category, still being markedly concentrated in manufacturing. In the early 1980s, Indians greatly increased their proportions in the top SEG category.

The main differences between whites and non-whites are the larger proportion of ethnic minority males in semi-skilled manual jobs, and the larger proportion of white males in professional / manager / employer jobs, and the semi-skilled and Foremen jobs. (Table 4.2). Bangladeshi men are particularly concentrated in semi-skilled manual jobs (65%). The proportion of Chinese (30%), African Asian, and Indian men having jobs in the top job level category is now at least as high as for white male employees (27%). These high proportions in the top job level are due mainly to the prominence of small

businesses in these communities. The job levels of Indian and Chinese men are more polarized than those of white men, as they have similar proportions of males in top job levels, but Indians and particularly Chinese (36%) also have a higher proportion of males in semi-skilled manual jobs than whites (15%). Afro-Caribbean men, as in the previous PSI survey, are very concentrated in the skilled manual and Foremen category.

Table 4.2 : Job Levels of Male Employees by Ethnic Group, 1988-90

Column Percentages

	All origins	White	Total ethnic minority	Afro-Caribbean	African Asian	Indian	Pakistani	Bangla-deshi	Chinese	African	Other/Mixed
Prof/Manager/Employer	27	27	21	12	27	25	12	12	30	21	30
Employees & Managers - large establishments	13	13	7	5	6	9	4	1	7	9	11
Employees & Managers - small establishments	7	7	5	3	10	5	4	5	10	3	7
Professional workers - employees	7	7	8	4	11	10	4	6	14	9	12
Other non-manual	20	20	22	19	30	18	16	14	19	34	31
Skilled manual & Foremen	32	33	28	39	26	29	34	5	10	20	18
Semi-skilled manual	15	15	23	23	13	24	31	65	36	18	16
Unskilled manual	4	4	5	6	3	4	6	5	4	4	2
Armed Services/inadequately described/not stated	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	3

Source : 1988, 1989, 1990 Labour Force Surveys (GB), quoted in Jones, 1993

Both Asian men and women (of some groups) have penetrated the banking and insurance sectors. The emerging concentration for Afro-Caribbeans of either gender is in the tertiary sector, and there is some evidence that they are coming to have a similar representation to the general population employed in the public sector. What is perhaps of the most importance are the marked disparities in the socio-economic position of ethnic minorities in London. Afro-Caribbeans are markedly under-represented at the top of the class structure, while South Asians have a bimodal distribution across the socio-economic classes: strongly over-represented at the top end (African Asians), but also in semi-skilled employment (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis). (Cross, 1992). The overlap in occupations is great enough to erode any idea that non-whites can be ascribed en mass to the working class, and prohibits the idea that they are all deprived in occupational terms.

Cross explains that a theory of labour market change is beginning to emerge which he calls "the ethnic division of labour". It is particularly geared towards explaining the complex relationship between ethnic minorities and changing labour markets. It suggests that in spite of high levels of racism, ethnic minorities may be affected differently by changes in the labour markets. For example, although Asians were originally concentrated in manufacturing and retail, the group was well placed to exploit

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the rapid rise in financial and related services. The ethnic division of labour theory is important as a theory of labour market change related to ethnic minorities precisely because it does not fall into the trap of accounting for differences simply in terms of cultural traditions, or of denying their existence because of an adherence to a blanket racism theory. It is the structural position of non-white minorities which determines their experience of labour market change, the positions being influenced by labour demand changes, and by the particular concentration of these groups in certain sectors and industries, and their capacity to move between sectors. (Cross, 1992).

Many British companies and factories have workforces which are divided by race. Ethnic minority workers are usually less willing or able to complain about unpleasant or unfair low-wage work than the indigenous workforce. This is particularly true of immigrants and those with poor fluency in English, or few qualifications, who are particularly vulnerable. These divisions are further reinforced by the types of jobs which non-white ethnic minorities take up, and the unsocial hours which many of them have to work. However, the prominence of shift-work in non-white groups is decreasing, as second and third generation immigrants do not work the unsocial hours which their immigrant parents had to. It is also easier for employers to dismiss non-white, and particularly immigrant employees, as they are less likely to question their employer's decision. For this reason, non-white workers are often dismissed first. (Counter Information Services, 1977).

Self-employment is most common amongst the Chinese, but also more common amongst the Pakistani, Bangladeshi Indian and African Asian groups than amongst whites. This pattern has increased since the 1982 survey, and is concentrated in the distribution and catering trades. (Jones, 1993). Self-employment allows the owner to avoid exploitation by an employer and to enjoy some ownership of the means of production (of services if not manufactured goods). Small scale operations allow many families to work hard, save hard, and invest in small businesses. Most Asians have strong enough communities and families to compensate for the hard, long hours with initially little reward. Those who have taken their chances were the immigrants with a tradition of independent farming or commerce, mainly Jews, Chinese, South Asians, and Cypriots. Those groups long accustomed to labouring for others, the English working class, and the Afro-Caribbeans were much less successful in improving their life chances by entrepreneurship.

London's first Asian-owned shops opened up in the 1950s to cater for those members of the then predominantly male Asian community who were unable to shop during the day.

It was because of this that Asian shops did not specialise, unlike other ethnic shops, but sold everything under one roof. The gradual decline of local high street shops in the 1970s made it possible for Asians to move into the trade in large numbers. The last 20 years have seen the phenomenal growth of Asian-owned shops in London, many of them grocery shops and newsagents, and Asians have kept them going even when threatened by larger shops taking their business. Asian shopkeepers quickly recognised the commercial advantages of late night and Sunday opening, and exploited this, usually by employing members of their own family on terms which would be unacceptable in the formal labour market. As a result, many of the businesses could accumulate capital and expand in situations where white-owned business would be unprofitable. However, hours are long, profits are often low, and the successful shopkeepers are generally those who have used grocery shops and newsagents as a springboard into other business ventures. The ambition of many Asians is to own their own business, and accommodation, or for their children to enter into the professions.

Most groups have lower proportions of women than men who are economically active, with rates among Afro-Caribbean women being the highest, and rates for Bangladeshi and Pakistani women being the lowest (mainly due to them being Muslims). Many Asian men think it a matter of pride if their wives and daughters do not go out to work. The distribution across job levels is far more compressed for women than for men, and the differences between ethnic groups remain small as they were in 1982.

A disproportionate number of non-white women work at home, usually doing piece-work sewing or packing. Homeworkers are often very poorly paid, and have no workers' rights. However, homeworkers do derive some benefits as well as their employees. Homework, when properly paid, suits many women, such as those who have to stay at home with small children, those who dislike the discipline and timekeeping of factory work and wish to work at their own pace, and Muslim women observing semi-purdah. It provides extra money to supplement the wages of low-paid husbands or the measly rates of state benefits. For many Asian women, wage labour is a new experience. "In Nairobi I had known such a life...I had servants who did everything. I used to be proud...We had servants, here it is we who are the servants. I am a servant at home and at work." (Asian immigrant, in Wilson, 1979).

The needs of some ethnic minorities in the sphere of employment differ from those of their indigenous counterparts. Special programmes need to be developed or extended to meet the needs of ethnic groups which are particular to them and which do not affect the indigenous population, such as second language facilities. Some ethnic groups (such

as Afro-Caribbeans, with their high proportion of single-parent families) may require more child-care facilities than other groups in the population.

The earnings received are a central part of the labour market experience of any individual. Studies since the early 1980s have shown that racial disadvantage was to some extent reflected in relative earnings. The London Living Standards Survey found that in 1986, white men tended to earn about 15% more than non-white men, although this varied between job levels and areas. (Jones, 1993). It is also important to remember that as there are, on average, more people in a non-white household than in a white household, non-white households require more earners to maintain the same level of earned income per person as white households. Groups such as Bangladeshis, with their large families and generally low job levels (and so incomes), do the worst in these terms. Sufficient income is one of the key criteria necessary to access the new properties in the private sector.

Census returns may show that a higher proportion of economically active males are out of work than official unemployment figures show. This usually means that unemployed people did not bother to register as unemployed, or that they may be receiving other benefits, such as invalidity benefit.

Table 4.3 : Unemployment Rates by Ethnic Group, Age and Sex, 1988-90

Percentages

* Sample size too small	Age 16-59/64 All	M	F	Age 16-24 All	M	F	Age 25-44 All	M	F	Age 45-59/64 All	M	F
All origins	8	8	7	11	12	10	7	6	7	7	7	5
White	7	8	7	10	11	9	7	6	7	6	7	5
Total ethnic minority	13	14	12	19	20	19	11	11	11	12	13	10
Afro-Caribbean	14	16	13	23	24	23	12	11	12	11	15	6
African Asian	9	8	10	12	9	15	7	6	8	13	11	17
Indian	11	11	12	16	18	13	10	9	11	11	11	13
Pakistani	22	22	25	30	31	30	18	18	18	22	21	*
Bangladeshi	24	24	*	19	15	*	23	26	*	33	33	*
Chinese	7	9	4	7	*	*	9	12	4	2	2	*
African	14	15	13	27	28	26	10	13	7	11	7	*
Other/Mixed	10	9	12	13	14	11	10	8	14	6	5	7

### Source : 1988, 1989, 1990 Labour Force Surveys (GB), quoted in Jones, 1993

Unemployment (Table 4.3) is a key indicator of economic hardship. The 1974 and 1982 surveys (and Labour Force Survey statistics) showed that unemployment rates tended to be higher among non-whites as a whole than among whites (even when controlling for job level). The Labour Force Survey shows that the gap between white and non-

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white unemployment rates is at least as wide at higher job levels as at lower. For example, the ratio between white and non-white unemployment rates for men is 1:1.8, but for those with higher level qualifications it is 1:3. (DoE, 1988, quoted in Cross, 1992). Factors such as age, region, and level of qualifications did little to explain the gap in unemployment rates between white and non-white groups.

There is now less divergence in unemployment rates between ethnic groups as a whole and whites, but there is still a substantial divergence among ethnic groups. There is even great variation between the various South Asian groups, probably reflecting religious differences. Muslim men (a large proportion of whom are Pakistani or Bangladeshi) generally have much higher unemployment rates than Hindu and Sikh men (most of whom are Indian or African Asian).

Figure 4.1 : Unemployment Rates, 1984-90
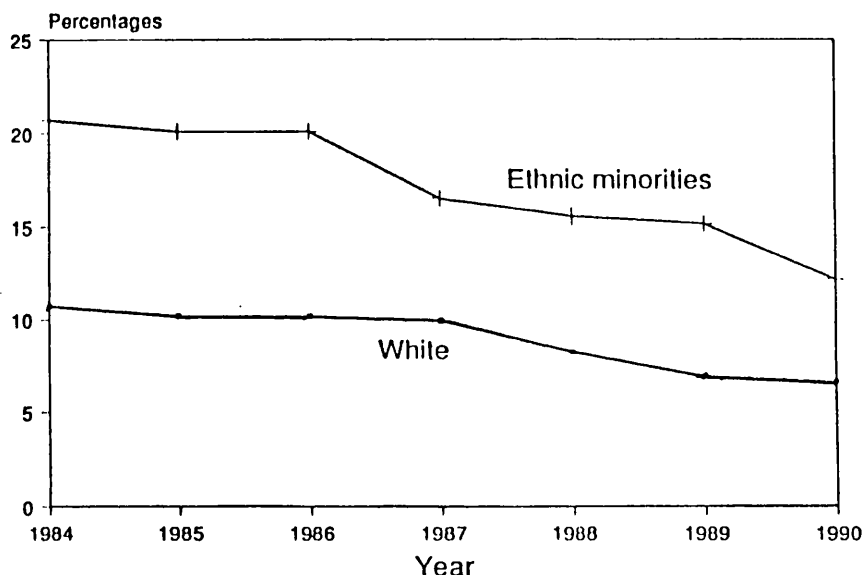
Source : Labour Force Surveys 1984-90 (GB), quoted in Jones, 1993

The difference in unemployment rates between various ethnic groups and whites is greatest in the young age groups (16-24). Due to the relatively young age structure of non-white ethnic groups, they have proportionally more people in the school-leaving, first-job category. It is in these age groups that most ethnic minorities who have been educated in Britain fall, suggesting that differences in vulnerability to unemployment between ethnic groups are likely to persist, although a move to higher job levels by some ethnic minorities may decrease the differences. (Jones, 1993).

The last two PSI surveys also showed that unemployment among ethnic minorities is hyper-cyclical (that is, that ethnic minorities are more vulnerable than whites to rising unemployment, but as unemployment falls, they tend to re-enter the labour market more quickly). While there has always been a gap in unemployment rates between ethnic minorities and white people, the gap tends to widen substantially at times of high and rising unemployment (Figure 4.1). Ethnic minorities (with their origins in recent waves of migrant labour) are deeply affected in employment terms both by recession and by restructuring. With continuing high rates of labour market participation and the age profiles skewed towards the young, they are likely to be major victims of recession and restructuring wherever it occurs. (Cross, 1992).

Workers with lower job levels (often non-whites) are more vulnerable than others to unemployment. From a position of relatively high levels of employment in the early years, non-whites are now being forced disproportionately into the ranks of the workless. Economic recession means that a higher proportion of non-whites than whites will be unemployed, which gives more power to racist propaganda using non-whites as a scapegoat for the country's economic troubles. (Ward and Cross, 1990, quoted in Cross, et al, 1992). In addition, the government sees unemployment as an aggregation of individual choices, and not a matter of structural changes in the form and nature of the economy. This fundamental mistake lies at the heart of the government's policies to help alleviate economic and social deprivation. (Townsend, et al, 1987).

To some extent, the more an ethnic group is concentrated in an area of limited opportunity, the more that group as a whole will suffer from the constraints of those districts. However, it does not follow that their position relative to whites will be influenced by where they live. In fact, "race" tends to make more of a negative difference in areas of the city where non-white people are less likely to be found, and it is here that non-whites do worst compared to whites. However, this does not apply to South Asians whose bimodal distribution relative to whites holds true in both the inner city and the suburbs. (Cross, 1992). Differences in unemployment rates cannot be explained simply by the residential pattern of the ethnic groups, as many enumeration districts with high unemployment are within easy reach of lower unemployment areas.

4.4   The Importance of Education in the Ethnic Segregation Process.

It is likely that part of the disadvantages faced by non-white minorities is related to their education. There are important differences in educational background between people from the various non-white groups. Of the many adaptive responses possible, the most

important is the degree to which ethnic minorities are able to utilize the education and training systems in order to obtain the skills required by a rapidly changing labour market. It is important to look at education, as it is necessary to establish how far qualifications and training explain differences in job levels and unemployment rates, and to establish whether education can alter the relative position of non-whites in Britain.

As an increasing proportion of Britain's non-white population are born and educated in Britain, one might expect a narrowing of the gap between whites and non-whites in qualifications. However, it appears that some groups that are trapped in a vicious circle, in which social and material disadvantages contribute to (and are partly attributable to) an educational performance which is poorer than that of the indigenous white population. Despite this, there is now a strong force among some non-white ethnic communities (such as Indians, African Asians, and Chinese) which is driving them to develop beyond the social and economic niches which they have filled for the last 20 years or so. The clearest example is the drive towards educational attainment.

After housing and the local economy, education is the third of the key factors in the passing on of a life of multiple deprivation. The expectations of teachers and parents, and the amount of contact which parents have with the school which their children attend, affects the children's achievements. (Counter Information Services, 1977). Generally, the children of people with lower incomes and poor educational attainments do badly at school, although this association is much less marked among some ethnic groups. This is obviously not genetically transmitted, but is passed on via social problems down through generations. Parents' circumstances provide the environment in which the child grows up, which in turn affects his/her school life, through either educational performance, or through behaviour at school. Many children come from families where arguments, disruption and instability (often involving violence), are everyday occurrences. Given the enormous impact of home environments, schools in deprived areas cannot work as purely educational institutions. Time needs to be spent trying to resolve some of the parents social and domestic problems which interfere with children's learning. It helps if young children have nursery education to mix with other children of all ethnic groups. This is important in both helping young ethnic minority children to speak English (if it is not the language spoken at home), and to improve racial tolerance and relations between the various ethnic groups.

Children from some ethnic groups are more likely to have home backgrounds that are more overcrowded, more insecure, and English may not be the language spoken at home. Racism among teachers (although there is no doubt that cases exist) is an

unlikely explanation for poor performance, as some Asian groups often out-perform whites. However, the British secondary-education system is largely an irrelevance to the needs either of society and the economy as a whole, or of its individual members as human beings. Its major effective function is to provide valuable certificates to a minority which can be traded against more secure and better paid jobs, while the majority leave with either worthless certificates or none at all. Children of Afro-Caribbean origin suffer from additional disadvantages, in particular the very high proportion of single mothers and the greater proportion of working mothers with unsocial hours of work. White children facing similar combinations of disadvantages also usually do badly at school.

Some pupils from poorer families (particularly fourth- and fifth-year pupils) have part-time jobs, many of them working in shops, supermarkets, and small factories to bring in the money that they need, but which parents cannot provide. Some Bagladeshi children work in the garment trade workshops, and although this is illegal, it is not uncommon in the poor Bangladeshi community in Tower Hamlets. Some Bangladeshi parents reason that since their children will work in the garment industry when they leave school, they might as well learn the trade before and earn some much-needed money for their families. (McAuley, 1991).

People of Afro-Caribbean and (particularly) South Asian origin are substantially more likely to continue education after the age of sixteen. Afro-Caribbeans are more likely to leave school at 16, and to continue education in some other institution (usually to complete trade apprenticeships). This partly reflects the education system in the Caribbean, which followed traditional schooling to 15 with a well-developed apprenticeship system, but with little higher education. South Asians, however, are generally either well-qualified (mainly African Asians, and Indians), or very poorly qualified and may not even speak English (mainly Bangladeshis and Pakistani), with very small proportions of them undertaking trade apprenticeships. This reflects the well developed higher education system in some of these countries, and the high proportion who receive little or no formal education (mainly the rural dwellers). In these Asian countries, education was traditionally seen as more important for men than women, and this is reflected in the higher proportion of women from the Indian sub-continent who have never received any formal education. This is particularly true of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women (who are generally Muslims). Job related training in current job was found to be similar proportions in the various ethnic groups, although details varied.

It is impossible to find a completely satisfactory way of comparing the qualifications of different ethnic groups, as the value put on each type of qualification varies with the circumstances in which it is assessed or needed. One way of partially avoiding this problem is to group qualifications together according to whether they are vocational/professional qualifications, or academic qualifications (including teaching qualifications).

The 1991 Labour Force Survey was used in the forth PSI study, and showed that the relationship between social class (and job level) and continuing education is far weaker among non-white ethnic minority youths than among white youths. A larger proportion of non-white ethnic minority youth are now staying in full-time education compared to the third PSI survey (Brown, 1984), carried out in 1982. There is evidence that this greater propensity to continue formal education after the age of 16 is being reflected in a narrowing of the gap between levels of educational attainment between non-white ethnic minorities and whites. Although it would be expected for qualifications to be positively related to age, the disparity between non-white ethnic groups and whites is less in the younger age groups (who were educated in Britain), particularly for women. However, the gap between the various ethnic groups is widening, as African Asians and Indians become increasingly better qualified, while Bangladeshis and Pakistanis remain generally poorly qualified.

Numerous studies of pupil performance were carried out by the Inner London Education Authority until the early 1990s, when it was disbanded. The results of a 1990 ILEA report showed that South Asian pupils (except Bagladeshis) were ahead of other groups (even whites) in terms of exam (O'level) performance. This implies that most South Asians are at least as well equipped as white people to respond to the growth of lower level white-collar work.

Immigrants in Britain are victims of a wide range of discriminations in education and training. Since the early seventies, qualifications and sometimes even experience from New Commonwealth countries, have often not been recognised here. Some immigrants wishing to improve their chances of employment have applied for grants to study at college, only to be told by the education departments that they are not eligible, as they already have a degree. Local Education Departments do not therefore give grants to immigrants who obtained a degree in their country of origin, but neither will these people's qualifications be recognised if they applied for a job.

For many South Asians living in Britain, lack of fluency in English can be a disadvantage in itself, and contributes to other aspects of racial disadvantage, such as in housing, employment, and education. There exists a strong relationship between fluency in English and job level. Difficulties with English language are worse among certain South Asian groups (such as Bangladeshis and Pakistanis) than others (such as Indians and African Asians), and are almost invariably worse among women from South Asian groups than men. As a consequence, some South Asians who lack English language skills may seek employment in workplaces where South Asians are already an established part of the workforce (often in companies run by South Asians), and where English language skills are unnecessary. It is very important for these people (particularly women) to learn to at least speak English, but it is also important for them to preserve their mother-tongue. To this end, some local authorities now have Asian-language classes for British-born children of Asian parentage who do not speak their parents language.

It has been estimated that about 160 different languages and dialects are spoken by children in London schools, with over 70 in one London borough's schools (Brent's) alone. (London Borough of Brent, 1994). The language needs of ethnic minority pupils has a direct link with their educational achievement. Under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966, local authorities may receive grants to help them pay for the employment of staff to help meet the needs of non-white communities. The Home Office grant pays 75% of the salary costs of such staff, with the local authorities making up the remainder. It is mainly used for teaching English as a second language. However, many local authorities can no longer afford to pay for these posts, as the government modified the system in 1992, following an efficiency scrutiny. (Reference Services, Central Office of Information, 1991).

The relatively young age structure of the non-white population means that non-white groups have proportionately more children of school age than whites. Most of them will have been born in Britain, but may still have special needs in schools because of their different culture, religion, or first language. Questions about education have arisen particularly in certain areas where there is a concentration of Muslim school children, mainly regarding the school clothes of Muslim girls, sex education, single-sex schools, and the availability of halal meat. Asian parents' attitude to their daughters' education varies widely depending on their religion, background in their own country, and education.

Racial intolerance start young. Children and youths from different races sometimes segregate themselves, even in primary schools, while secondary schools are also becoming increasingly segregated. Some playgrounds are dominated by one racial group to the exclusion of others. Social life is important in the integration of school children. Sports facilities in schools are not as common as they once were, and so outside school sports facilities are vital in helping children learn to socialise outside of their ethnic group. Youth clubs also often end up segregated, usually despite the good intentions of the organisers. What is needed is careful management to prevent youth clubs becoming segregated. Youth groups should be defined in terms of their interest, and not in terms of their cultural or racial background.

Racism is not uncommon in schools, and children from non-white groups may feel, or may actually be, threatened on the journey to and from school. In the 1980s in two schools in Northolt in the borough of Ealing, Indian children were sent home half and hour early, therefore missing the last period, in order to avoid racial confrontations between white and non-white school children on their way home from school. St. Greens School in Tower Hamlets does not follow up racist attacks on its school children, and even tries to have the Asians removed from the school so that there will be less trouble. Asian children have a reputation for being weak, and even Afro-Caribbean children side with white children against Bangladeshis.

Chapter 5 : Ethnic Minorities and the Planning System

5.1   Recent Research and the Fallacy of a "Colour Blind" Approach to Planning.

The British planning system has generally been "colour blind", in that it has avoided any reference to racial groups, and therefore has the potential for indirect discrimination. This means that plans, policies and standards which do not recognise the different and special needs of the various ethnic minority groups could unintentionally discriminate against these groups. As indirect discrimination in housing, employment and education manifests itself in planning (which underpins many resource allocation decisions), planners should take steps to compensate for this in their policies and plans, to ensure that they are not indirectly discriminating against ethnic minorities. This is **not** positive discrimination, as some planners believe (Krishnarayan, et al., 1993). It is not enough to simply assume that the needs and aspirations of ethnic minorities are met by "colour-blind" procedures and practices.

Decision makers, planners and councillors come from communities with particular cultural values. The decisions which they make about developments are based on their cultural standards, and may therefore have discriminatory effects on members of different ethnic groups, particularly since the majority are white. There is evidence (Munt,1991, quoted in Krishnarayan, et al, 1993) that a lack of explicit recognition of the needs of ethnic minorities in planning policies can put them at a disadvantage within the development control process.

Although the Home Office is the government department with general responsibility for race relations matters, each department, including the Department of Environment, should promote equality of opportunity. Under the Race Relations Act 1976 (S.71), every local authority has a duty "to make appropriate arrangements with a view to securing that their various functions are carried out with due regard to the need to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination and to promote equality of opportunity and good race relations between the different racial groups." This requirement applies to all local authorities' functions, and must therefore form a part of their town planning services. Section 19A of the Race Relations Act was inserted at a later date, and states that "It is unlawful for a planning authority to discriminate against a person in carrying out their planning functions." However, indirect discrimination still exist within the planning system.

The policy contained in Guidance Notes constitutes a material consideration, which local planning authorities, and the Secretary of State, must take into account in exercising their planning powers. The Welsh language (DoE/Welsh Office circular 53/88) has been used as a material consideration in determining planning permission (to sustain a way of life). However, the DoE/Welsh Office advice on the implications of the Race Relations Act 1976 for planning practice, contained in DoE Circular 19/86; WO Circular 57/86 para.22, is totally inadequate as a guide to positive action. It suggests that the Act is simply an administrative help for ethnic minority communities, rather than a source of obligations for planning authorities. General advice on planning for ethnic minorities can be found in only two guidance notes, PPG12 and RPG3.

PPG12 *Development Plans and Regional Planning Guidance* (para.5.48) states that the Regulations require planning authorities to have regard to social considerations in preparing their general policies and proposal in structure plans and UDP Part 1s. It continues that, "in preparing detailed plans too, authorities will wish to consider the relationship of planning policies and proposals to social needs and problems, including their likely impact on different groups in the population, such as ethnic minorities, religious groups,....and disadvantaged and deprived people in inner urban areas." Social considerations are seen as relevant in looking at the need for affordable housing, measures for crime prevention, sport and recreation provision, making provisions for land for schools and higher education, for places of worship and other community facilities. Authorities which also wish to consider wider social factors when taking a view about how they hope to see the social pattern of their communities develop, must use reasoned explanation or justification. The underlying approach however (para.5.51), must be "to limit the plan content to social considerations that are relevant to land-use policies." (DoE, 1992).

RPG3 *Strategic Guidance for London*, states that as one of London's particular strengths is the distinctive identity and character of its many localities and communities, Unitary Development Plans should reflect this local diversity and vitality. As Britain's ethnic minorities are concentrated in London, particularly in inner London, all planning considerations should include the different cultural, ethnic, religious and demographic implications to ensure that planning does as much as is possible to secure equality for ethnic minority groups.

Research into the subject of planning for ethnic minorities can be traced back to 1970, when the Greater London Council compiled its "Race and Planning Guidelines". The

GLC's Ethnic Minorities Committee established an Ethnic Minorities Unit to help implement its aims, to secure racial equality, and to assist ethnic minorities in general. In 1979, a joint Royal Town Planning Institute / CRE working party was set up to examine planning for ethnic minorities, and the fallacy of adopting a colour blind approach to planning. RTPI regional branches were invited to take part in this study, but. only the North West branch responded. A working party was set up to hold a conference on the subject with planning professionals from the North West. The proceedings of the Bolton conference were published as "Planning for a Multi-Racial Britain" (Madden, ed., 1981). The working party did not try to provide prescriptions for planning for ethnic minorities, but ways of developing general guide-lines for action.

The conference highlighted the ignorance of most professional planners about the needs of different ethnic groups. Racial stereotyping and misconceptions were common, particularly in dealing with applications for ethnic places of worship. Places of worship and religious schools were often located in ordinary houses, particularly when the user group in the area was reasonably small. It was noted that ethnic minorities often faced great problems in trying to get basic religious provisions for themselves, even after the community had raised the necessary money. A few local people were usually able to mobilise enough political power to prevent an application being given permission, or being subject to irrelevant planning conditions. These often feeble objections were usually on the grounds of car parking or landscaping. There were also frequent complaints from the public about unauthorised use of dwellings as places of worship or religious schools. It was common for Enforcement Notices to be issued to prevent places of worship and religious schools from functioning, causing them to change location regularly. (Madden, ed, 1985). This is particularly unfair, as most traditional churches in this country have not been subject to planning permission as almost all were erected prior to the Town and Country Planning Act 1947.

The Royal Town Planning Institute's pioneering work on this subject was a joint RTPI / CRE report published in 1983, also titled "Planning for a Multi-Racial Britain". (CRE/RTPI, 1985). The underlying theme of this report was the need to incorporate a "racial" dimension into planning practice. The GLC published its proposed alterations to the Greater London Development Plan in 1984, after adding a chapter on race equality and planning for ethnic minorities. (GLC, 1984).

In 1985, the GLC published "Planning for a Multi-Racial London: Report of Findings". This report stressed the need for town planning to incorporate an active race equality dimension, in line with the 1976 Race Relations Act. The GLC was concerned that

plans should take into account the particular needs of the ethnic minority population. It proposed that London borough councils should promote and improve opportunities for ethnic minorities in their areas by identifying their social, religious and economic needs, and by formulating appropriate policies to meet those needs. The report argued that incorporating different ethnic needs into planning decisions is as important as taking into account variations in age structure or employment patterns. However, despite the advice of the 1983 joint RTPI / CRE report, most London boroughs were still adopting a "colour blind" approach to planning. Only a few boroughs had taken some ad hoc steps towards planning for ethnic minorities, but not as part of an overall strategy. Lambeth and Newham were the only councils to implement proper race equality strategies in planning, although Brent had also taken steps in that direction to a lesser extent.

At that time, a high level of commitment to race equality was therefore only found in the more radical authorities, which had high concentrations of ethnic minority residents. Most of the information collected by local authorities in the survey, amounted to a simple breakdown of the population and its characteristics. Very few authorities had positive practice in encouraging the use of their planning services by ethnic minorities. Only four authorities claimed to have simplified their Development Control Policy for the benefit of those who may have problems understanding the planning process. Consultation was generally through local Community Relations Councils, or through only well established ethnic groups. Generally, most planning departments were unaware of the details of the 1976 Race Relations Act, and their obligations under it. (GLC, 1985).

In 1993, a RTPI-commissioned study "Ethnic Minorities and The Planning System" was published. The research was centred around a survey, interviews and case studies of 135 local planning authorities with larger than average ethnic minority populations. The study argued that town planning lags behind other areas of local government in acknowledging the diverse needs of ethnic minorities, and that there is little race awareness in planners or elected representatives. It examined the practices of planning authorities in the light of the pioneering 1983 study, "Planning for a Multi-Racial Britain". The study showed that central government gives almost no encouragement or guidance to local planning authorities on ethnic issues, and there is a need for legal or professional codes of conduct in how to deal with certain situations. (Krishnarayan, at al, 1993).

The study identified three typologies of local authority, according to how they deal with planning for ethnic minorities. The first type adopts a colour-blind approach, and does not even acknowledge the problem. The second recognises that there may be certain policy areas which may warrant special policies for ethnic minorities (such as places of worship), but only has a few, ad hoc policies. The third type of authority has comprehensive, formal policies within its planning framework, to cater for the special needs of ethnic minorities.

There is now widespread acknowledgement in local government of the principals of equal opportunities, particularly in employment. However, even good corporate intentions do not always find their way into planning practice. The survey showed a great variation in how seriously planning authorities view equal opportunities and ethnic minority planning issues. This ranged from attaching no corporate importance to equal opportunities, to having formal corporate equal opportunities policies, a central equal opportunities or race relations unit, and clear institutional mechanisms for securing a planning system which does not indirectly discriminate against ethnic minorities.

Councils with small ethnic minority populations generally attached less importance to their race relations obligations, and many even denied that there is a problem in the way that the planning system deals with ethnic minorities. Other authorities, particularly the more "radical" London authorities which have relatively high ethnic minority populations, generally have better practices in planning for ethnic minorities. (Krishnarayan, et al, 1993). Voluntary planning organisations often have good practice this field too. For example, Planning Aid for London employs a Race Officer, who keeps detailed profiles of their cases and volunteers, and liaises with ethnic minority representatives.

The 1994 annual meeting of the RTPI Race Relations Panel with branch ethnic minority liaison officers showed that branch activities in relation to promoting racial awareness in planning has been maintained or increased. Some branches have even begun to survey local planning authorities to determine what level of monitoring was taking place. The possibility of the CRE producing a Code of Practice for planning was discussed at the meeting, and the RTPI was urged to make a formal proposal to the CRE. A draft guidance note on how planners should respond to racist representations has been prepared by a member of the RTPI Race Relations Panel, and should soon be published.

Race equality is an increasingly important, although fluctuating issue within the Royal Town Planning Institute. Its importance has increased since the early 1980s, but "race

and planning" now needs to be seen as central to planning practice, and not just a fringe issue or a luxury.

The 1993 study suggested three indicators from which the level of race awareness in local authorities can be ascertained. These are monitoring the ethnic origin of people making planning applications, the existence of a procedure for dealing with racist objections and representations (particularly for places of worship), and the existence of a Departmental Action Plan. Consultation procedures are also important. (Krishnarayan et al, 1993).

5.2   The importance of monitoring and understanding the composition of an area's population in order to plan for it.

Ethnic monitoring is acknowledged as an important means of ensuring that equal opportunities policies are being put into practice. It can help to identify where discrimination is taking place. Only monitoring can provide hard data about the outputs of the development control process. By monitoring planning applications, the implications of planning policies for various sectors of the population (including ethnic minorities) can be ascertained.

It is not enough to just count the numbers of ethnic minority individuals or households in an area, as ethnic minorities may suffer more discrimination in areas with few others from the same group. Some ethnic minority groups (such as Chinese) are fairly evenly distributed, and most planning authority areas will contain only small proportions of them. However, this does not mean that their needs can be overlooked just because there may only be small numbers in an area. There are cases where authorities with small ethnic minority populations have to deal with applications involving large ethnic minority groups.

Furthermore, planning issues in an area might involve people from outside that area. The 1993 survey showed that authorities with smaller than average ethnic minority populations often questioned the relevance of special policies and procedures for ethnic minorities to their work. However, all planning authorities need to know about good practice in planning for ethnic minorities, regardless of the proportion of ethnic minority groups in their area. Hertsmere Borough Council has a small local population of ethnic minorities, but is home to the large Krishna Consciousness theological college, which was frequently visited by large numbers of Hindus from all over the country. The

number of visitors was increased by the scarcity of Hindu temples in Britain. The Bhaktivedanta Manor was originally a residential training school for nurses, and when the land was acquired by the International Society for Krishna Consciousness in 1973, Hertsmere Council felt no change of use would be involved. However, in 1986, an enforcement notice was served, prohibiting the use of the college for public worship and public entertainment. (Minton, 1994).

In 1989, a public inquiry was held, but the appeal against enforcement was dismissed. Subsequent appeals were also dismissed, and the matter has now been taken to the European Court of Human Rights. In recent years there have been many objections from local people, who claim that the nearby village of Letchmore Heath cannot cope with the through-traffic generated by the large number of visitors (over 50,000) which the college gets each year. On 16/3/94, the enforcement notice first served in 1986 became live, and Hersmere Borough Council closed down the temple to the public, as it had not yet received planning permission for change of use. However, the Hindu worshippers may once again be able to use the college, if the planning authority accepts their new proposal which involves a change of use to include permission for public worship on religious festival days. The proposal also suggests the creation of an access road to allow the worshippers to reach the temple from the A41, by-passing the nearby village, but is still fiercely opposed by locals.

Local Authorities need to know why ethnic minorities settled where they did, and how this might affect their attitudes to their environment. It is also important to look at the trends of ethnic minorities in the local areas, and nationally, to be aware of the issues which affect ethnic minorities which relate in some way to land use. For example, the convergence of lifestyles between some ethnic minority populations and the majority population will have important implications for their needs and aspirations.

The 1993 report found that monitoring the interaction between the planning system and different ethnic minority groups is still uncommon in local planning authorities, despite its acceptance in areas such as recruitment. Very few authorities monitor the ethnic origin of applicants for planning permission, and fewer still undertake systematic ethnic monitoring of other aspects of the planning system (such as enforcement or complaints). No planning authority yet monitors the representations made in relation to planning applications or policies. Many authorities (such as Cardiff City Council) still feel that monitoring is tantamount to positive discrimination, and that it will be difficult to explain the reasons for it to residents.

It is important to monitor applications for planning permission, to ascertain if there is any significant difference between the refusal rates for different ethnic groups. Any large discrepancies between groups could indicate policies which have differing effects on various ethnic groups. This would indicate whether the needs of ethnic minorities are being met by the planning system locally. Monitoring is best done by attaching a monitoring form to the planning permission application form (as is done in Hackney). Leicester, who monitor the ethnicity of applicants for planning permission, found that for the same class of application, more non-white applicants were refused permission than white applicants. They then introduced a pre-application discussion, with an interpreter and the rates of refusal converged.

5.3 The importance of consultation with ethnic minority groups in the plan-making process.

It is important to have well established lines of communication with local ethnic minority communities, and to have regular meetings. However, few planning authorities have the institutional machinery for consulting with ethnic minority groups. Only a few planning authorities have some type of Community Forum at which ethnic groups in the area can be properly consulted about their needs and aspirations. These usually take the form of regular meetings, which are generally attended by Community Liaison Officers, the local Race Equality Council, and representatives from the local ethnic population. Joint liaison committees, or other council committees with co-opted membership can also play a vital role in keeping communication with ethnic groups open.

Posts for planning officers such as Race Adviser or Ethnic Minority Liaison Officer can be partly funded by central government under S.11 of the Local Government Act 1966, with the remainder of the salary coming from the local authority's budget. However, in recent years, some authorities (such as the London Borough of Islington) have found these posts under increasing threat as government support has been reduced, and as local government is restricted by financial constraints.

An important part of consultation is to ensure that the planning system is understood by the ordinary members of different ethnic groups. Simplifying and / or translating standard letters, and providing translators would improve the service which planning authorities offer to ethnic minorities, and might lead to more applications from ethnic minorities being granted planning permission. Very few planning authorities currently translate or simplify standard letters, although many more translate their leaflets.

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5.4 Ethnic minorities and Development Control; applications, representations, objections, refusal rates.

The 1976 Race Relations Act makes it unlawful to put pressure on, or to instruct another person to contravene the Race Relations Act. This has implications for planners receiving racist representations. An objection can be seen to be racist where people are objecting to the proposed development not on planning grounds, but on the grounds of the racial origin of the applicant.

There still seems to be a lack of concern among local planning authorities about racist representations which they sometimes receive. The 1993 survey showed that only a few authorities send out standard letters from their Race Equality (or equivalent) Units, in reply to racist objections. (Krishnarayan, et al, 1993). Very few planning authorities have procedures or guidelines to advise officers how to deal with racist representations. The best practice in this respect is found in Planning Aid for London. Elected members and councillors should be informed of racist representations, but action is rarely taken against the racist objectors. The CRE found that some planning authorities ignore the unlawfulness of some representation, and some have actually acted on racist planning representations, so flouting race relations legislation. They may have the fairly understandable reason of wanting to keep racial conflict to a minimum, but by accepting racist objections, the planning authority is itself guilty of indirect racism, and of acting unlawfully.

This happened in St Peters, Tower Hamlets in early 1994, when an application was made for the change of use of a corner premises from a bar to a mosque, in an area with a large proportion of Muslims. The Neighbourhood Planning Department received a petition of 2,500 signatures objecting to the proposed development on the grounds of inadequate car parking space for a mosque. Objectors at the Committee meeting suggested that there was no need for another mosque in the area, as there was already one in the same area. No account was taken of the fact that many Muslims visit a mosque five times every day to pray, and so need one near to where they live or work. The Planning Committee decided to accept the petition, and to take account of threats from members of the local white population about the increase in racial conflict and abuse which would occur if the mosque was given permission. The application was rejected by the Committee on the grounds of "amenity and nuisance", although this was clearly not the real reason for refusal. While it is understandable for planning authorities

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to wish to minimise racial conflict in the area, threats and racist representations should never be taken into account when making a decision on a planning application.

5.5 Incorporation of the special needs of ethnic minorities in Plans and Policies.

A fair number of planning authorities now **claim** to have policies which reflect the special needs and aspirations of ethnic minorities. However, the 1993 RTPI commissioned report found that about 65% of these authorities only have special ethnic minority policies relating to places of worship or community facilities. Far fewer authorities have policies on more main-stream issues such as housing, employment, and safety and security in design. The most common planning policies particular to the needs of ethnic minorities are regarding places of worship and community facilities, followed by (in descending order) housing, employment, safety and security in design, increasing participation in leisure, retention of specialised and local shops, and general policies (Krishnarayan, et al, 1993). Leicester has specific policies for ethnic minorities in shopping, education, housing, and so on. Leicester's Local Plan contains a policy (H16) to prevent large houses from being sub-divided. The justification for this is that there is a need to retain larger properties in an area with a significant number of large households and extended family groups. This in turn, reflects the ethnic composition of the area. Hammersmith UDP contains policies on community facilities and buildings for religious use, such as policy C55 Premises for Community Groups. The use of policies which encourage the retention of existing religious and community buildings in circumstances where their loss would not be easily replaceable should be encouraged. However, many policies appear to be simply ad hoc responses to particular local problems, rather than well-considered responses to ethnic minority needs, formulated as part of a broad strategy of positive action.

There is little sensitivity in most planning authorities regarding the application of standards such as house extension, or residential density standards. For example, residential density and size standards are based on the needs of the majority white population, and do not recognise the special needs of different ethnic groups. By adapting standards in certain areas of ethnic minority concentration to better suit the needs of ethnic minority groups, planning authorities are recognising the diversity of a multi-cultural society. Adapting standards does not equate with a relaxation of standards, nor need it create a second class environment. Although **anyone** in an area with specially adapted standards can use these standards regardless of their ethnic

origin, there is evidence that this does not lead to an increase in planning applications from people who are not members of ethnic minority groups, and who do not really need these new standards (Krishnarayan, et al, 1993).

The main unresolved problem with having special policies and standards to recognise the different needs of ethnic groups, is that planning permission runs with the land, creating an anomaly when a building is sold by a member of an ethnic minority group to someone who would not have been granted permission for the same development if he/she had applied in his/her own right. It would, however, be very unwise to opt for personal planning permission, as it which would be unlawful under the Race Relations Act 1976, and would result in increased racial conflict.

Policies and plans should be updated throughout the period of the plan, as although planning usually takes a fairly static view, the population of an area is constantly changing. Policies and standards should not become vague or too flexible in order to cater for the needs of ethnic minority populations.

General commitment can be increased if plans describe how the policies which make no particular reference to the needs of ethnic minority groups will actually benefit them. An example of this is the chapter of proposed amendments to the Greater London Development Plan (GLC, 1984), which deals with implications of different policies for ethnic minority groups. Hackney's UDP also contains a chapter of this kind. However, few planning authorities require their planning officers to draw attention to the implications for ethnic minorities when writing committee reports on planning applications, although the number of authorities has increased slightly since the 1985 GLC survey. (Krishnarayan, et al, 1993).

Since the late 1980s, an increasing number of local planning authorities have begun compiling Departmental Action Plans, and some are reviewing them annually. Departmental Action Plans are statements of intent, relating particular actions to general objectives, and concentrating on proposals for action. They demonstrate the positive impact of a corporate "push" for better practice in combating racial disadvantage. The best ones, such as Calderdale's, include short term performance targets (to measure progress), responsibilities for implementation, and annual reviews. County Councils tend to produce Departmental Action Plans which relate to their roles as employers, while some Metropolitan Districts and London Boroughs have broader-based plans, which deal with service delivery and planning policy, as well as recruitment and employment.

These plans have great potential for encouraging planning authorities to take a considered and comprehensive view of how they might ascertain, and cater for, the needs of ethnic minorities. However, continuing pressure to reduce the activities of corporate equal opportunities units in local authorities may deprive planning authorities of advice and encouragement in producing such plans.

5.6 Area-based vs blanket policies.

Areas of urban deprivation are often marked by a relatively low provision of services and facilities to people who need them most by virtue of their economic poverty. The wide range of social problems in these areas poses complex administrative problems. These problems may be found elsewhere in the cities and the rest of the country, but they are most concentrated in these urban areas. "The great unevenness of the geographical distribution....underlies all discussions and controversy about racial disadvantage and the policies required to deal with it." (Smith, 1976; 17).

"Area enrichment" policies involve diverting financial resources to deprived areas in order to improve housing, environmental, and other standards for all the population, regardless of skin colour. Although area-based policies are "colour-blind", it is better to benefit all the disadvantaged people in an area, than none at all, and area-based schemes may contribute to the equality of treatment of all groups in some areas. All disadvantaged groups share many needs, although there **are** still needs particular to specific groups. Area policies will automatically benefit both whites and blacks, and will help to eliminate the social and economic roots of racial prejudice and racial hatred at the same time. However, this approach is not relevant in areas which are relatively prosperous, even though they may have high proportions of ethnic minorities, and in some areas it may result in gentrification.

The problem with general area-based policies, is that in treating all residents equally, ethnic groups (particularly non-white groups) will still suffer from indirect discrimination, and will generally be more disadvantaged than the rest of the local population. Blanket policies, such as policies, plans and planning standards to meet the special needs of ethnic minorities for certain classes of application would help to ensure that ethnic minority groups do not continue to be indirectly discriminated against by the planning system.

The government's successive area-based views on urban policy, such as Urban Development Corporations, Simplified Planning Zones, and City Challenge areas, have been laid on top of previous ones in London. This started with the Urban Programme, which was originally meant to channel government funds to areas with acute housing, educational, health and welfare needs. At the start, emphasis was put on education and social services. The government's commitment to positive discrimination referred to areas, not groups in the population. Finance was provided for inner city renewal through a variety of agencies, ranging from the Urban Aid programme to the Housing Acts. The Urban Programme gave specific grants through local authorities to many thousands of inner city projects each year. In 1989-90, about 12% of the Inner Area expenditure was spent on projects specifically for ethnic minorities. More recently, the Urban Programme has become part of a much broader and better funded strategy for inner city revitalisation, and so has a greater potential for improving the quality of life of a large proportion of the non-white population.

City Challenge was initiated in 1991 by the then Secretary of State for the Environment, Michael Heseltine. City Challenge represents the most cohesive form of urban regeneration so far, as it includes training, housing, environmental improvements, planning, economic development and transport issues, and provides a vision of how an area can develop. City Challenge is about empowering the local community, and improving the general climate of the area. Bids are made for the £37.5 million government funding, to be spent over five years. This money is also used to "lever" in extra money, particularly from the private sector. There are now about 30 City Challenge schemes in Britain, with 9 in London (including the Spitalfields, Dalston, and Harlesden City Challenges). The boundaries of the bid areas are drawn up on political grounds by councillors. In the future, much of urban policy may be dominated, like City Challenge, by partnerships. Although partnerships can be quite difficult to organise, and can cause a great deal of conflict, they offer a promising alternative for the future.

The annuality of the City Challenge funds is one of its serious flaws. The amount received each year is the same (£7.5 million), although it would be better for it to increase incrementally over the five years, as expenditure generally increases over the five year period. If one year's money is not spent in that year, it is lost forever, as it cannot be used in subsequent years. City Challenge is output driven in that the City Challenge Committees have to report their 23 core outputs to the Department of the Environment every year, despite the fact that the effects of most schemes are usually only seen in the medium to long term.

There is a widespread need for housing and neighbourhood renewal throughout the country, and London in particular, in both the public and private sector. Several million properties, both public and private are in very poor, and often uninhabitable conditions. The people living in these run down council estates and private homes are mostly people suffering some form of social deprivation, including a high proportion of ethnic minorities. The need for attention is becoming more acute as parts of the deprived areas are revived by docklands-style development partnerships, retail developments, cultural and tourist amenities, and city promotion schemes, all in sharp contrast to the situation in nearby but less fortunate neighbourhoods.

Central government appears to have little in the way of a coherent housing policy for the 1990s and beyond. During the 1980s, the main government commitment was to demunicipalise council stock, although policies to increase the amount of housing association property have been more successful. Fortunately, there is now a new type of initiative (still in its early days) in which partnerships of local authorities, housing associations, residents groups, employment and training agencies, and private sector firms undertake local urban renewal. The appropriate arrangements flow from a localised assessment of the needs and resources available. The multi-agency partnership approach to neighbourhood renewal often involves a mixed tenure approach to housing provision, and the council estate is therefore not considered as a separate entity, but part of a wider neighbourhood. (Carley, 1990).

The London Borough of Westminster entered into the spirit of Chinatown, Soho, by helping to emphasise its Chinese character. Massive oriental arches have been erected at each end of Gerrard Street, and Chinese-style telephone kiosks and street signs with Chinese characters have also been set up in the area. In parts of Tower Hamlets, around Brick Lane, street signs are written in both English and Bengali. These small initiatives help to add character to already vibrant ethnic areas, but should always be done tastefully.

It is not enough to assume that "area based " approaches to deprivation will equitably disperse resources to both white and non-white groups. It is important to reach as many disadvantaged people as possible, but local authorities also have a legal duty not to discriminate. Therefore, both area-based approaches (such as City Challenge and Urban Programme) and blanket policies (such as special policies and standards) are needed. Both approaches are needed to ensure that racial justice, and the broader objective of alleviating social and economic disadvantage overall, are met.

Chapter 6 : Conclusions

6.1 Interpretations

As was previously explained, segregation levels and indices vary depending at what scale measurement is made, as does the cause of that segregation. Until the 1991 census figures were published last year, the only 100% national figures available on numbers of ethnic minorities were only surrogate measurements (country of birth). Afro-Caribbeans are more segregated than Asians at regional level and at larger levels, so that they are more commonly found in large cities, particularly in London. Asians are more evenly spread throughout the country, and are in large concentrations in some cities in the North of England, and in some suburban areas. Employment is one of the main determinants of location of immigrants at large scales. Afro-Caribbeans may be more segregated at these scales because of their concentration in certain levels and types of employment, whereas most Asian groups (with the exception of Bangladeshis and Pakistanis) have job levels more similar to the majority population.

The 1991 census results on ethnic origin showed that Afro-Caribbeans are most concentrated in Inner London, while Indian groups are found mostly concentrated in four boroughs in outer London (although there are smaller concentrations in inner London too). Bangladeshis are only concentrated at high levels in one borough, in inner London. One possible explanation for the different locations of concentration of black groups and Bangladeshis in the inner city, and the concentrations of Indians and some other Asian groups mostly in the outer boroughs, could be housing.

Most South Asians (with the exception of Bangladeshis) attach great importance to property ownership as a means of achieving social status and economic security. They are found concentrated in those outer London boroughs which have higher proportions of owner occupation, and where house prices are generally lower. The boroughs of Ealing and Brent have higher proportions of households in owner occupied housing (63.8% and 57.7% respectively) than in council rented property (15.8% and 17.6% respectively), and both have Indians as their main non-white ethnic group. Afro-Caribbean and Bangladeshis are found concentrated in inner London boroughs which have high proportions of council rented property. Tower Hamlets and Hackney have higher proportions of households in council rented property (58.3% and 47.9% respectively) than in owner occupied housing (23% and 26.9% respectively), and Tower Hamlets has Bangladeshis as its main ethnic group, while Hackney has most black Caribbeans. However, Bangladeshis in the outer London suburbs such as Brent

and Ealing are found more concentrated in the owner-occupied sector, although numbers in both boroughs are small, and so may not be meaningful.

The 1991 figures showed that at borough level, Bangladeshi and Indian groups are more segregated than any of the black groups, as they are concentrated in fewer boroughs, where they make up higher proportions of the total population. The highest proportions of any one ethnic group at borough level are Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets. Apart from Tower Hamlets, Bangladeshis are only found in substantial numbers in one other borough in London. Indians are the second most concentrated group at borough level, with five London boroughs having proportions of Indians of or over 13% (the highest being Brent with 17.2%), while none of the black groups had concentrations of over 12.6% in any London borough. Afro-Caribbean populations are found more evenly spread over the London boroughs (particularly inner London), although concentrations are highest in inner London.

I found that South Asians are also more segregated than Afro-Caribbeans at ward level in the four London boroughs I chose. The highest concentrations of any one ethnic group at ward level are Indians in Northcote (67.1%) in Ealing. The second highest concentration was Bangladeshis in Spitalfields (63.3%), Tower Hamlets, followed by Indians in Glebe, Ealing (59.9%). In no ward which I studied, were Afro-Caribbeans found in such high concentrations as these Asian groups. The highest population of any black group which I found in one ward was in Roundwood, Brent (30.1% black Caribbean). Levels of concentration depend on whether groups are lumped together, although South Asians are still more segregated than blacks. For example, if the black population is taken as a whole, then Roundwood in Brent has a black population of 42.7%, but Northcote in Ealing has a total Asian population of 78.8%.

At ward level, the distribution of council housing in a borough may play a part in determining where the different groups settle. The location of Afro-Caribbeans will be determined partly by the availability of council housing, while Indians will tend to locate in areas of cheaper housing for sale. At these finer levels, the location of the various ethnic groups is also determined by cultural similarity to the host population, the previous existence of concentrations of ethnic groups in an area, presence of kinship ties (leading to chain migration), and existing religious and cultural facilities. Other determinants include points of entry into Britain or employment of one particular group in an area.

Smith found that at enumeration district level, where cultural similarity to the host group and ethnic group ties are most important in determining segregation levels, ethnic groups such as Pakistanis had higher indices of dissimilarity than groups such as Afro-Caribbeans (who have more similar culture and language to whites than Asian groups). There were also high indices of dissimilarity in London between Pakistanis and Afro-Caribbeans, and even between people from various Caribbean Islands. (Smith, 1976, quoted in Jones, 1991).

It is important not to over-generalise in discussing issues affecting ethnic minorities. It is necessary to recognise the needs of diverse ethnic groups, and to understand their needs in service provision in detail, beyond simply counting numbers. The 1991 PSI survey (Jones, 1993) concluded that a complex pattern now exists which can no longer be adequately summarised as a simple contrast between relatively well-off whites and poorly-off non-whites. Within the ethnic minority population there is an increasing disparity between the circumstances of the various groups. The findings of the fourth PSI survey suggest that South Asians contain both the most (the African Asians) and the least successful (Bangladeshis) of the ethnic groups in Britain. Afro-Caribbeans tend to fall somewhere between these two extremes, while Chinese appear to be in a similar position to African Asians and Indians. This is because some groups are better placed to develop ways of overcoming the constraints set by discrimination. This may be explained not by length of residence, but by the histories and traditions of different groups prior to and after migration, and their dependence on certain sectors of the labour market. Some ethnic groups are suffering long-term unemployment because of the disappearance of the manufacturing base (which they depended on for employment), and the fact that the service industries which took their place could not cope with the recession. Since the previous PSI survey in 1982, general circumstances have changed little for people of Afro-Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin, who remain concentrated in lower-level jobs, and are subject to much higher rates of unemployment than other ethnic groups. (Jones, 1993).

Although racial disadvantage persists, it is by no means universal. Increasingly, members of non-white ethnic minority groups (particularly Indians, African Asians, and Chinese) are breaking out of their disadvantaged situations, often by getting involved in shops, restaurants, small businesses, certain professions or education. It is important for local authorities to recognise and acknowledge the value and importance of the ethnic communities and their supporting institutions, yet simultaneously give people the choice to move, so that those who want to move, can. Local planning authorities can make provisions for the type of businesses most popular among various ethnic groups. This

may involve changing standards or altering regulations as to what is permissible in an area for activities such as mini-cab companies, take-aways and fast food restaurants.

Studies of segregation rarely consider the role of central government in a systematic way. However, in Britain, national legislation has been influential in determining the location and quality of ethnic minorities' housing opportunities, which has built the foundations for racial segregation. (Smith, 1989). In every sphere of life, the immigration of Afro-Caribbeans and Asians was not something which British society had prepared itself for in terms of social policies, and the policies which did emerge were the product of panic and ad-hoc arrangements. (Madden, ed. 1981). The existence of special needs of ethnic groups in Britain derives partly from their newness to this society and country, and partly from their cultural backgrounds. There are also factors such as which are specific to ethnic groups, such as racial discrimination (and the "colour bar") and language differences.

Non-white people are so identified with the problems of disadvantaged areas that many statistical indices designed to define problem areas have included concentrations of people born in the New Commonwealth as part of the definition of such areas, along with overcrowding, lack of amenities, unemployment, and so on. This logic is false, as non-white people are concentrated in these areas and employment niches because they were the least attractive to the white population, rather than being the cause of the problems. It is also misguided because of the enormous variety in standard of living among ethnic groups, and because it implies a simple link between non-white people, and poverty and deprivation.

London's non-white population is commonly made the scapegoat for the deprivation of certain areas, and these misconceived attitudes are perpetuated, particularly at times of economic recession. If the deprived areas had investment in housing, infrastructure, employment, training and education, and environmental improvements, the life chances of many would be improved, and conflicts over scarce resources would decrease. It is towards these goals that policy decisions should be directed, as well as ensuring that the planning service offered does not further discriminate against ethnic minority groups. It is also important to develop various spheres of life (such as sport, recreation, and community facilities) in which different ethnic groups can interact and mix with each other. Increases in deprivation may lead to some ethnic groups being further concentrated in areas of decline and disadvantage, enabling further scapegoating to occur.

Ethnic concentration has traditionally been interpreted as a symbol of cultural isolation and withdrawal, which ultimately hinders integration into the wider society. At present, the situation in Britain is highly fragmented and could develop in a variety of directions, from a move towards colour-blind class politics, right across the spectrum to an immutable caste-like separation of non-white groups. Much now depends on directions taken by the second generation of British born non-whites as they take over leadership of their groups from the immigrant generation. (Sarre, 1989). The future of London as the world's most cosmopolitan city now depends on whether it proceeds towards assimilation of ethnic minority groups, or accepts pluralism.

Progress in the field of planning for ethnic minorities has undoubtedly been made since the early 1980s, although sensitivity to the needs of ethnic minorities is still not high on the agenda of most planning authorities. The 1985 study showed that planning and race issues have progressed further in local planning authorities where there is an individual officer with a particular interest in race relations matters. This does not indicate any great level of commitment by the authority, as when that person leaves, the work will probably not be continued at the same level. It is unrealistic and unfair to place the entire obligation for securing race equality in town planning onto individual initiatives made by professional town planners. They also need a supportive framework of legislation, regulations, procedures and advice, and the back-up of elected members who will have the final say as to what policies are adopted and what development is given permission. The great variety of different authorities makes it vital to have a variety of approaches in creating a framework of advice for local planning authorities.

Council cutbacks due to rate-capping are restricting what can be done in this field. For example, Haringey had to remove its Race Relations Unit, and Brent Planning Department had to remove its Race Relations Adviser. Cut-backs have also led to emphasis on speeding up the Development Control process, even when this involves a reduction in what can be done. My questionnaire results show that good practice is found in boroughs with strong corporate interest in this field of planning, with central Race Equality Units, and with specially funded posts such as Community Planner (or equivalent) post in the Planning Department.

Of the four boroughs which I studied, the best practice was found in Hackney, which is a strong Labour borough, and is very committed to Equal Opportunities and Race Relations throughout the council. Brent had the second best practice, although after a very strong start in 1983, progress in this field has slowed down, with less commitment from the Council as a whole. The Planning Department did have a Race Relations

Adviser in 1983, although this post had disappeared by 1994, as did the Equal Opportunities Unit. Ealing Council's record in planning for ethnic minorities has never been as good as Hackney's and Brent's. From a poor start in the mid-1980s, the Planning Department has been slow to improve its policies and practices, with no help from the council's Equal Opportunities Unit (which deals only with employment and not service delivery). Tower Hamlets did not answer my questionnaire, and although it had made some progress by 1985 (GLC, 1985), political struggles and confusions have since halted any efforts to improve practice. Racist representations and objections have been treated as valid, and have been taken into account by the Planning Committee. Practice in this field may improve now that the borough is back under Labour control.

The results of the 1993 RTPI commissioned study show that institutional constraints inhibit greater activity in promoting race equality in planning. These institutional constraints broadly fit into three types:-

*   lack of encouragement and guidance from central government to local planning authorities. References to planning for ethnic minorities are only found in two planning guidance notes, and there is no centrally co-ordinated message.

*   low profile and lack of understanding of planning among corporate equal opportunities officers and units.

*   the continuing uncertainty, and even ignorance, among planners of how direct and indirect (institutional) racism may manifest itself in planning, and of the significance of fundamental procedural devices such as monitoring.

A few boroughs go as far in provisions for ethnic minorities as government advice (such as PPG12) suggests. The government should therefore give greater prominence to the recommendations of PPG12 (para.5.48) and RPG3 (para.3), and should provide guidance on how to evaluate policy along these dimensions. The CRE need to know more about planning, and the constraints that planners work under, in order to prepare a Code of Practice, as it has for other areas of local government. While it is true that the sensitivity of the planning system to the needs of ethnic minorities is still not high on the agenda of most planning authorities, it is also true that planning cannot command the same attention as housing, employment and refugee matters, which are more important to ethnic minority groups. "The implications of the Race Relations Act for personnel, social services, housing and education, for example, appear to be understood far better,

and to be of more significance within planning authorities, than its implications for planning." (CRE / RTPI, 1983).

6.2   Recommendations for future good practice.

Local authorities are in a position to be able to influence local public opinion on race relations. It is important to plan in a sensitive way when dealing with areas of racial conflict, so that the local authority is not seen to favour any particular racial group. Councillors and planning professionals should attend training courses on race relations, so that they are aware of their legal obligations, and know how to deal with such issues as racist objections. Good professional practice involves being sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the whole population, including ethnic minority communities. Gans argues for a "user-oriented" planning, involving planners not only carrying out professional work as servants of the community but also expressing their views on what they think ought to be done. A bottom-up, pro-active, community based approach to planning for ethnic minorities is needed. He argues that policy on poverty and race should be made more effective before we start thinking about comprehensive plans for cities. He says that academic planners ought to suggest policies, even if they are "currently impractical or politically unfeasible". (Gans, 1991).

The Greater London Development Plan was approved in 1976, but contained no section referring to the need to eliminate unlawful indirect discrimination in planning practice. However, Chapter 6A, "Race Equality and Ethnic Minorities" of the Proposed Alterations to the Greater London Development Plan (1984) is an example of good practice in formulating policy to plan for ethnic minorities. Policy ETH1 deals with policies, and specifies the duty of London Borough Councils to improve opportunities for ethnic minorities in their areas by identifying their social, religious and economic needs, and by formulating appropriate local plan policies to meet those needs. It specifies nine areas which should be examined and taken into account in implementing the Plan's policies. These are, demographic considerations, housing, employment, health services, religious buildings and burial grounds, travellers and Gypsies, shopping, transport, and meeting places. Policy ETH2 deals with consultations, and specifies that in their statutory and informal consultation arrangements on planning matters, London Borough Councils must take specific steps to consult with and involve ethnic minorities.

As no strategic body now exists to govern London, there is a need to collect and disseminate information on good practice and initiatives taken by other planning

authorities across the country. If any authorities have proved in court that social issues have had land use implications and are therefore material considerations, they should inform other planning authorities about it.

A small number of planning authorities (mainly in large conurbations) have consistently taken race equality seriously, and over the last decade have built up expertise and experience on which others can draw. There is evidence that more planning authorities (such as Ealing) are, or are contemplating, introducing race equality initiatives, such as in depth monitoring, to help eliminate indirect discrimination against ethnic minorities in their service. In the 1985 GLC report, of my four case study boroughs, Brent had the best practice in this field, followed by Hackney, Tower Hamlets, and lastly, Ealing. By 1994, this had changed, and Hackney now has the best practice of the four boroughs, with Brent coming second, and Ealing and Tower Hamlets still having fairly poor practice in planning for ethnic minorities. The 1993 study found that about 11 local authorities in England and Wales have, over the last ten years, developed quite good all round strategies. It found that good practice in this field is found in Leicester, Sheffield, and Islington. Some of the most progressive of this work in planning for ethnic minorities is in Labour-controlled authorities, particularly in London. (Krishnarayan et al, 1993).

I suggest that action is needed from three sources to improve planning for ethnic minorities:-

1. **Central government** (DoE and Welsh Office and the Scottish Office Environment Department) should produce advice (planning policy guidance) on race and planning which:-
- suggests that planning authorities should satisfy themselves of the implications of policies for various sections of the population
- provides guidance on how to undertake policy evaluation (monitoring and consulting)
- draws attention to the legal obligation of planning authorities under the Race Relations Act (service delivery)
- stresses that particular uses of the built environment can erode or sustain ways of life, and so racial and cultural diversity is a material consideration in decision making in planning
- gives greater prominence to the recommendations of PPG12 (para.5.48)

2. **The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE)** should draw up a Code of Practice for planning, to cover:-

- involvement in planning policy-making through consultation procedures
- the consideration of applications for planning permission, and other procedures associated with development control
- good practice in ethnic monitoring of a range of planning authority functions

3. **The Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI)** should produce advice on best professional practice which considers:-

- policy formation
- service delivery (planning applications, enforcement, representations, monitoring, and so on)
- recruitment and training

The RTPI have taken an important first step in acknowledging the subject, by commissioning the 1993 report. What is needed now is not set rules for all local authorities, but advice, which could come in the form of a PPG and a CRE Code of Practice. To improve their practice in planning for ethnic minorities, **Local planning authorities** should draw up Departmental Action Plans, to identify objectives, actions (and responsibilities), resources, and performance indicators. They should also make the introduction of ethnic monitoring a priority (including refusal rates, enforcement, and representations), and should initiate regular discussions with ethnic communities in the area (particularly those groups which may have been excluded from the policy-making process in the past). With advice from central government, the CRE and the RTPI, together with examples of good practice from authorities around the country, local planning authorities would have every opportunity to improve their planning practice so as not to discriminate against ethnic minorities.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Classification of Ethnic Groups from the 1991 census of population

Ethnic group classification	
Code	Category
0	White
1	Black Caribbean
2	Black African
3	Indian
4	Pakistani
5	Bangladeshi
6	Chinese.
7	Black other: non-mixed origin
8	British
9	Caribbean island, West Indies or Guyana
10	North African, Arab or Iranian
11	Other African countries
12	East African Asian or Indo-Caribbean
13	Indian sub-continent
14	Other Asian
	Other answers
15	Black other: mixed origin
16	Black/White
17	Asian/White
	Other mixed
18	Other ethnic group: non-mixed origin
19	British -ethnic minority indicated
20	British - no ethnic minority indicated
21	Caribbean island, West Indies or Guyana
22	North African, Arab or Iranian
23	Other African countries
24	East African Asian or Indo-Caribbean
25	Indian sub-continent
26	Other Asian
27	Irish
28	Greek (including Greek Cypriot)
29	Turkish (including Turkish Cypriot)
30	Other European
	Other answers
31	Other ethnic group: non-mixed origin
32	Black/White
33	Asian/White
34	Mixed White
	Other White

For the purposes of output on ethnic group, the full classification of 35 codes have been condensed into 19 categories:

"White"	includes from the list above	0, 26-29, 33
"Black Caribbean"	includes from the list above	1, 8, 20
"Black African"	includes from the list above	2, 10, 22
"Black Other"	includes from the list above	7, 14, 15, 17
"Indian"	includes from the list above	3
"Pakistani	includes from the list above	4
"Bangladeshi"	includes from the list above	5
"Chinese"	includes from the list above	6
"Other Asian"	includes from the list above	11-13, 23-25
"Other"	includes from the list above	9, 16, 18-19, 21, 30-32, 34

Source : London Borough of Brent, 1993

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Appendix 2 Proportion of Residents of each Ethnic Group by London Borough

Note: No comparable statistics available for 1981.

Area	Total persons = 100 per cent	Ethnic group - percentage									
		White	Black Carib-bean	Black African	Black other	Indian	Pakis-tani	Bangla-deshi	Chinese	Other groups	
										Asian	Other
GREATER LONDON	6,679,699	79.8	4.4	2.4	1.2	5.2	1.3	1.3	0.8	1.7	1.8
Outer London	4,175,248	83.1	2.7	1.3	0.7	6.5	1.4	0.4	0.7	1.6	1.5
Inner London	2,504,451	74.4	7.1	4.4	2.0	3.0	1.2	2.8	1.1	1.8	2.3
City of London	4,142	92.7	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.7	0.5	0.2	1.4	1.5	1.1
Inner London boroughs											
Camden	170,444	82.2	1.8	2.7	1.0	1.7	0.4	3.5	1.5	2.3	2.8
Hackney	181,248	66.4	11.2	6.8	4.0	3.5	1.0	1.8	1.1	1.4	2.9
Hammersmith & Fulham	148,502	82.5	5.9	2.5	1.8	1.6	0.8	0.5	0.7	1.3	2.5
Haringey	202,204	71.0	9.3	5.5	2.3	3.6	0.7	1.5	1.1	2.3	2.7
Islington	164,686	81.1	5.1	3.6	1.9	1.5	0.4	1.6	1.3	1.4	2.1
Kensington & Chelsea	138,394	84.4	2.5	2.2	1.1	1.2	0.6	0.5	1.1	2.8	3.6
Lambeth	244,834	69.7	12.6	6.5	2.7	2.1	0.8	0.7	1.3	1.2	2.3
Lewisham	230,983	78.0	10.1	3.7	2.5	1.2	0.3	0.3	1.0	1.3	1.6
Newham	212,170	57.7	7.2	5.6	1.6	13.0	5.9	3.8	0.8	3.0	1.4
Southwark	218,541	75.6	8.3	7.2	2.2	1.2	0.4	1.0	1.3	1.2	1.7
Tower Hamlets	161,064	64.4	3.6	2.4	1.1	1.0	0.7	22.9	1.1	1.1	1.5
Wandsworth	252,425	80.0	6.1	2.9	1.7	3.1	1.7	0.4	0.8	1.8	1.7
Westminster, City of	174,814	78.6	3.7	2.8	1.1	2.0	0.7	2.3	1.6	2.9	4.3
Outer London boroughs											
Barking & Dagenham	143,681	93.2	1.2	0.6	0.4	2.0	1.2	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.5
Barnet	293,564	81.6	1.0	2.1	0.5	7.3	0.8	0.4	1.3	2.9	2.0
Bexley	215,615	94.2	0.7	0.4	0.3	2.4	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.5	0.6
Brent	243,025	55.2	10.2	4.1	2.2	17.2	3.0	0.3	1.1	3.6	3.2
Bromley	290,609	95.3	0.9	0.3	0.3	1.1	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.6	0.8
Croydon	313,510	82.4	4.9	1.6	1.1	4.7	1.1	0.3	0.5	1.5	1.9
Ealing	275,257	67.7	4.4	1.6	1.1	16.1	2.7	0.3	0.9	2.7	2.6
Enfield	257,417	85.9	3.7	1.6	0.9	3.5	0.4	0.8	0.4	1.4	1.4
Greenwich	207,650	87.3	2.5	1.9	1.0	3.4	0.6	0.2	0.8	1.1	1.2
Harrow	200,100	73.8	2.2	0.8	0.7	16.1	1.2	0.3	0.9	2.3	1.8
Havering	229,492	96.8	0.6	0.2	0.2	1.1	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.4
Hillingdon	231,602	87.7	0.9	0.4	0.4	6.7	0.9	0.4	0.5	1.1	1.1
Hounslow	204,397	75.6	1.1	1.1	0.5	14.3	2.6	0.3	0.6	1.9	2.0
Kingston upon Thames	132,996	91.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	2.3	0.6	0.1	0.8	2.5	1.3
Merton	168,470	83.7	2.9	2.0	0.9	3.4	1.3	0.5	0.7	2.7	1.8
Redbridge	225,218	78.6	2.5	1.1	0.7	10.2	2.8	0.8	0.7	1.3	1.3
Richmond upon Thames	160,732	94.5	0.3	0.2	0.2	1.6	0.2	0.2	0.5	1.0	1.2
Sutton	168,880	94.1	0.7	0.4	0.3	1.6	0.3	0.2	0.5	1.0	0.9
Waltham Forest	212,033	74.4	6.8	2.8	1.7	3.3	6.3	0.9	0.6	1.6	1.6

Source : 1991 Census of Population, Table J

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PLANNING DEPARTMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Does the Council have a Conservative/Liberal Democrat/Labour majority?

2. What proportion of the Borough's population is non-white (from 1991 census?)

3. Does the Council have a Central Race Relations/Equal Opportunities (or equivalent) unit?

    If yes, does your Department liaise with this unit over planning issues?

4. Are there any staff within your Department with special responsibility for race relations matters?

5. Are the staff in your Department aware of their legislative position under the Race Relations Act 1976?

6. Are the staff in your Department aware of the recent RTPI commissioned report on planning for ethnic minorities?

7. Have your Department's public information leaflets been translated into the ethnic minority languages relevant to your borough?

8. Do you use translators to deal with non-English (or limited English) speaking customers? (Give details).

9. Do you monitor:-

    a) location and numbers of ethnic minority populations
    b) the impact of planning policies on ethnic minorities
    c) other issues, e.g. refusal rate for planning permission by ethnic group, enforcement (give details).

10. Does your Department undertake research and/or liaise with ethnic minority groups to ascertain the needs of those ethnic minority groups in your area?

11. Are there any special procedures, policies or guidelines adopted by your Development Control Section in dealing with applications relating to the special needs of ethnic minorities for:-

    a) Places of Worship
    b) Community Facilities
    c) Business/Retail

12. Do you have any procedure for dealing with racist representations/ objections against planning applications?

13. When writing Committee Reports on planning applications, are your staff required to draw attention to the implications for ethnic minorities:-

    a) on all applications
    b) on defined categories (please specify), eg. places of worship
    c) where in their judgement it is relevant

14. Have there been any recent (last 12 months) applications where the special needs of ethnic minorities seemed to be a material consideration in reaching a decision? (give details).

15. Can you suggest any other ways of ensuring that the needs of the ethnic minorities in your Borough are met in the planning service you offer?

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