

**Immigrants and the youth service : report of a committee of the Youth Service Development Council.**

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# Immigrants

## and the Youth Service

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REPORT OF A  
COMMITTEE  
OF THE  
YOUTH SERVICE  
DEVELOPMENT  
COUNCIL

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# IMMIGRANTS AND THE YOUTH SERVICE

*Report of a Committee of the Youth Service  
Development Council*

LONDON

HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

1967



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## FOREWORD

This report makes an important contribution to our thinking both on immigrant problems and on the Youth Service. It will, in the first place, help us all to understand much better what it means to be a young immigrant: his family and social background, the problems he faces in coming to terms with his new community, his needs and his aspirations.

Secondly, the report brings home the need for urgent action, not only on the part of the Youth Service—though there are valuable practical suggestions as to how this Service might help the cause of integration among the younger generations of immigrants—but of a much wider range of people and agencies within and outside the Education service.

For their part, the Government accept all the recommendations directly affecting them and I am issuing a circular to the local education authorities, voluntary youth organisations and other bodies who share with us the partnership in the Education service, drawing their attention to those parts of the report which affect them specifically and calling for a comprehensive review of their present arrangements and for positive action along the lines recommended.

But I commend the report to a wider field even than this: to other local authorities, to the churches, to employers and trades unions, to social workers of all kinds, to universities and colleges, to student organisations—and indeed all those many and varied groups, whether of the host community or immigrants, who, as this report points out, have a part to play.

This is a communal problem. It can be solved properly only by the community as a whole. Every responsible organisation has a duty to do all in its power to implement the report. I ask each of them to consider the report in detail and to determine how best it can implement the recommendations that affect it. I am confident that this will be done and that the Government's lead will be followed.

I propose to ask all those authorities and organisations concerned to let me know, by the end of next year, of the progress they have made and the difficulties they have encountered so that all of us can keep the situation under continuing review.

ANTHONY CROSLAND.

July 1967.







## PREFACE

*"It is not enough that men should vote; it is not enough that they should be theoretically equal before the law. They must have liberty to avail themselves of the opportunities and means of life; they must stand on equal terms with reference to the bounty of nature. Either this, or Liberty withdraws her light."*

(Henry George).

The presence of an immigrant population has become one of the major social issues in Britain today. Seen from one perspective, the situation is neither unique to this country nor unprecedented in our history. In many of the industrial societies of Western Europe, the need for additional manpower has led to the recruitment of labour from former colonial territories or from Southern Europe. Britain itself has known previous eras of immigration, and has often shown towards the immigrants a somewhat ambivalent attitude in which a traditional liberalism and tolerance, in welcoming those whom religious, political or economic circumstances brought to this country, was accompanied by resentment and suspicion as the presence of the newcomers made itself felt in the midst of the host society.

These same elements can be discerned today. But the problems of adjustment and adaptation are nowadays intensified by attitudes about colour and race and by the sheer size of this latest wave of migration. Indeed, these factors of colour and scale give a new dimension to the problems of acceptance.

Many of the immigrants are British citizens, whose history and traditions are linked to those of Britain. War service or a patriotic and perhaps idealised conception of Britain as the mother country, as a Christian country, will have given some at least a hopeful predisposition towards life here. If they fail to find a proper place in the British community, their failure will be ours, both as individuals and as a society. It would mean that the lessons of the past are going unheeded, and that a breach is being allowed to develop at the very time when the peoples of the world are moving, however slowly, towards the greater understanding and co-operation which are the foundations of a secure peace.

Seen from this perspective, the situation is indeed new and unique, and presents our society with a challenging new opportunity. It will involve us in learning to appreciate one another's differences, and to respect the dignity, equal rights and equal responsibilities of all.

Integration must of necessity be a long and arduous process, requiring good will, patience and sustained effort on the part of immigrants and established residents alike. This is no small task. But a start can be made by considering those who are in some ways alienated from the good our society has to offer. We trust that in this co-operative effort, some of the ills of our society will be removed. This is a challenge not only to those directly involved in areas of immigrant settlement, but to the whole community. It concerns each one of us.



This report is concerned particularly with young people. Each generation has its own outlook and ideas. Young people today often demonstrate their awareness of the needs of others and of their suffering—whether this be due to wars, deprivation or social prejudice. Their idealism could be harnessed to developing the society which will be theirs, as an open society in which individuals may develop their talents and contribute to the life of an integrated community freely and without fear of prejudice or discrimination. This challenge is still open, and our performance now will set the pattern of our society for generations to come.

(Henry George)

The presence of an immigrant population has become one of the major social issues in Britain today. Seen from one perspective, the situation is neither unique to this country nor unprecedented in our history. In many of the industrial societies of Western Europe, the need for additional manpower has led to the recruitment of labour from former colonial territories or from Southern Europe. Britain itself has known previous eras of immigration, and has often shown towards the immigrants a somewhat ambivalent attitude in which a traditional liberalism and tolerance is well-known, but which is often accompanied by a certain degree of suspicion and prejudice. The presence of the immigrants made itself felt in the midst of the host society.

These same elements can be discerned today. But the problems of adjustment and adaptation are nowadays intensified by attitudes about colour and race and by the sheer size of the latest wave of immigration. Indeed, these factors of colour and race give a new dimension to the problems of acceptance.

Many of the immigrants are British citizens, whose history and traditions are rooted in those of Britain. Why, then, is a problem and perhaps a racialised conception of Britain as the mother country, as a 'British country', and their status at least a hopeful provision towards the future. If they fail to find a proper place in the British community, their failure will be ours, both as individuals and as a society. It would mean that the lessons of the past are being forgotten, and that a chance is being allowed to develop at the very time when the peoples of the world are moving, however slowly, towards the greater understanding and co-operation which are the foundations of a secure peace.

Seen from this perspective, the situation is indeed new and unique, and presents our society with a challenging new opportunity. It will involve us in learning to appreciate one another's differences, and to respect the dignity, equal rights and equal responsibilities of all.

Integration must of necessity be a long and arduous process, requiring good will, patience and sustained effort on the part of immigrants and established residents alike. This is no small task, but a task that can be made by considering those who are in fact alienated from the good our society has to offer. We must first in this cooperative effort, some of the ills of our society will be removed. This is a challenge not only to those directly involved in areas of immigrant settlement, but to the whole community. It concerns each one of us.

## CONTENTS

	Page
I INTRODUCTION	1
II DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND	2
The Demographic Background	2
The Social Background of the Newcomers	4
Conditions in the United Kingdom	6
Second and Later Generations of Young Coloured Immigrants	6
III EXAMINATION OF TERMS OF REFERENCE AND COMMITTEE'S POLICY AND AIMS	8
Terms of Reference	8
Policy and Aims—The Meaning of Integration	9
Policy and Aims—Integration in Practice	11
IV THE CIRCUMSTANCES AND NEEDS OF YOUNG IMMIGRANTS	15
The Meeting of Cultures	15
The Young Immigrant and his Family	18
Between Two Cultures	20
The Young Immigrant and Society	22
The School	23
The Transition to Employment	25
Further Education	28
V THE YOUTH SERVICE—MEETING THE NEEDS—THE PRESENT SITUATION	30
Introduction	30
The General Picture	31
A Positive Approach	35
<i>Bristol</i>	35
<i>Sheffield</i>	37
Surveys	39
"Young and Coloured" A Survey by the Youth Development Trust, Manchester	39
A Survey on Immigrants in Bradford Youth Groups	40
Y.M.C.A. Survey in Brixton	41
The Coloured Teenager in Birmingham	42
Project by Young Christian Workers in Wandsworth and Lee	42



<b>VI</b>	<b>THE YOUTH SERVICE—MEETING THE NEEDS—THE WAY AHEAD</b>	<b>44</b>
	The General Approach	44
	The Kind of Provision—The Basic Choice	46
	Separate Provision	47
	Uniformed Organisations	48
	Multi-racial Clubs	50
	Young Immigrants in Community Service	52
	The Role of Young Adults in Integration	53
	The Youth Field Worker	57
	The Youth Service and Other Agencies	58
	<i>A Question of Co-operation</i>	58
	<i>The Youth Service and the Schools</i>	59
	<i>The Youth Service and Employment</i>	60
	<i>The Youth Service and Further Education</i>	60
	<i>The Youth Service and the Churches</i>	60
	<i>The Youth Service and Social Workers</i>	61
	<i>The Youth Service and Community Relations</i>	61
<b>VII</b>	<b>CONCLUSIONS</b>	<b>63</b>
	General	63
	A Question of Attitudes	63
	Initiative and Action	63
	<i>Training and Recruitment</i>	63
	<i>Information</i>	64
	<i>Voluntary Service</i>	65
	<i>Planning at Local Level</i>	65
	<i>Planning at Neighbourhood Level</i>	66
	Conclusion	67
	 Appendix A   List of Evidence	 69
	 Appendix B   Distribution of Immigrant pupils in maintained primary and secondary schools in January, 1966	 71
	 Appendix C   Statistics relating to immigrant pupils in three local education authority areas in January, 1966	 76
	 Index	 81



## I. INTRODUCTION

1. This Committee of the Youth Service Development Council was appointed by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State with responsibility for the Youth Service and for the education of immigrants, in December 1965. We were given the following terms of reference: "*To consider the part which the Youth Service might play in meeting the needs of young immigrants in England and Wales and to make recommendations.*"

2. We have met as a Committee on 13 occasions and received oral and verbal evidence from local authorities, Youth Service associations, youth officers, youth leaders and a number of persons and organisations concerned in various ways with the welfare of immigrants—particularly coloured immigrants whom, as will be explained later, we regarded as our particular concern. We are grateful to all those who have so readily shared their knowledge and experience with us. A full list is given in Appendix A. We were particularly grateful to have the presence throughout our deliberations of a representative of the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, as observer.

3. To gain as much experience of the problems as possible in the relatively short time available, the committee members carried out a number of field visits, reporting their findings and impressions to their colleagues. In addition, the Committee held a two-day seminar at Wolverhampton attended by various people having a personal knowledge of immigrant problems, particularly in relation to the Youth Service in the West Midlands. These included not only local authority officials from the Education, Youth Service, Welfare, Youth Employment and Medical services, but also representatives of industry and a wide range of voluntary bodies. More particularly, however, we met immigrants, not only adults but a number of young people. The Committee is most grateful to those who helped to organise this seminar, which, through intensive examination of specific problems, as well as general discussion, did much to illumine for the Committee the many facets of their task.

4. Our report begins with a description of the demographic background, and of the social situation of the immigrant and host communities. In the light of this we re-examine our terms of reference and define our policy and aims. We then consider the circumstances and needs of young immigrants, which leads to our discussion of the ways in which the Youth Service can meet those needs, both within itself and in co-ordination with other agencies in the community. The report ends with our conclusions and recommendations.



## II. DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

### The Demographic Background

5. The present wave of immigration by citizens of the Commonwealth started with the first world war and the arrival of coloured seamen and pedlars in sea-ports such as Cardiff, Liverpool and London. In the second world war, coloured men served in the armed services—8,000 West Indians were in the Royal Air Force—and some stayed on in the United Kingdom when the war ended, whilst others, who had gone back to their homelands and been dissatisfied with the conditions they found there, returned as immigrants at a later stage.

6. Migration to Britain on a larger scale started in the early 1950s in the case of the West Indians, in the late 1950s in the case of Asian migrants. There were a number of reasons for this renewed influx: membership of the Commonwealth, difficult economic conditions in their own homelands compared with full employment in Britain, the hope of a better life in Europe, with greater educational opportunities for their children, improved travel facilities, among others.

7. Immigration increased after 1955 and it was estimated that by 1961 there were more than a quarter of a million coloured immigrants in the United Kingdom, about four times as many as there had been in 1951. Figures of new admissions reached a peak in 1961 and the first half of 1962, in anticipation of the Commonwealth Immigration Act which introduced a system of controls. The level of immigration was sustained after that date, as larger numbers entered on work vouchers or as dependants. The 1965 White Paper restricted the issue of vouchers for workers coming in for settlement to 8,500 per year (including 1,000 Maltese). But in addition several thousands of dependants may be expected to arrive over the next few years.

8. More recent figures of the immigrant population in the United Kingdom, based upon the 1966 population census, will be published later in the year by the General Register Office. The last general estimate of total immigrant population was given as 820,000 at the end of 1964 by Mr. E. J. B. Rose of the Survey of Race Relations. The breakdown by nationality was as follows: 430,000 West Indians (60 per cent from Jamaica); 165,000 Indians; 100,000 Pakistanis; 125,000 from other countries, notably African countries, Aden, Ceylon, Hong Kong and Malaya. Other Commonwealth immigrants include 60,000 Cypriots, 30,000 Maltese, 60,000 Australians and New Zealanders and 60,000 Canadians. It is virtually impossible to collect figures from immigrants themselves, but it is generally estimated that there must be about a million coloured immigrants in this country today.

9. This means that coloured immigrants constitute rather less than two per cent of the total population of this country. But they have tended to concentrate in particular cities and towns. A rough estimate of coloured immigrant distribution was given by the Survey of Race Relations in 1965. It was made up of figures collected from a number of sources and did not include children born to immigrants in this country. This estimate showed that the highest numbers were: 350,000 in the Greater London area (or 4.2 per cent of the total popu-



lation); 70,000 in Birmingham (6.3 per cent); 12,500 in Bradford (4.1 per cent); 12,500 in Nottingham (4 per cent); 10,000 in Manchester (1.5 per cent); 10,000 in Liverpool (1.3 per cent), with smaller concentrations in other cities and towns.

10. Even within areas such as these, the immigrant population is not evenly spread but tends to concentrate in particular neighbourhoods. For instance, in Birmingham the immigrants are concentrated mainly in three or four of the 81 square miles of the city. Thus, while the average figures may themselves appear high, the proportions of immigrants in particular neighbourhoods may be far higher and may often reach 50 per cent or more.

11. We were particularly interested to see the figures of immigrants in the school population, collected by the Department of Education and Science, as these would represent the potential participants in the Youth Service in the immediate future. Allowing for the fact that these figures are related only to schools with ten or more immigrants, and that some allowance must therefore be made for immigrants in the remaining 90 per cent of the schools in this country, these figures show that the percentage of immigrants in schools reflects the general situation in this country in January 1966. There were 130,000 immigrant school children, i.e. those born abroad or born in this country of parents having emigrated to the United Kingdom on or after 1st January 1956. This, out of a total of seven million children in schools, represents 1.8 per cent. But again, these numbers are not evenly spread and in some areas there are schools where the percentage of immigrant children may exceed 50, or even 60, per cent.

12. A closer examination of these figures by age groups shows that the immigrant percentage at secondary level, namely 1.5 per cent, is appreciably smaller than the primary school percentage of two per cent. This indicates that the percentage in the Youth Service should rise by a third in the next few years. In Appendix B we extract the figures for the four national groups with which we are mainly concerned in the areas of main immigrant settlement, and these are further broken down to show the distribution by age.

13. We can derive from these figures some idea of the rise we might expect in the percentage of immigrants in the Youth Service age-range. Allowing for the fact that the school figures relate to only 10 per cent of the schools in this country, and also for subsequent arrivals of immigrants, we may assume that the total of immigrants in the Youth Service age range must now be more than two per cent, and may be as much as  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Allowing for further immigration, and for the larger numbers in the younger age groups, we may therefore expect that the proportion will, in a few years, rise to between  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and 3 per cent. In Birmingham, for instance, it was suggested, in January 1966, that the proportion might go up four times in the next ten years.

14. Even this, however, may not be a very useful indication. We have already seen, in paragraphs 9-11, how the immigrant population is concentrated in certain districts and how the school population in those districts may well contain 50 or 60 per cent of immigrants. The Youth Service in such areas must expect similar proportions.



### **The Social Background of the Newcomers**

15. The danger in considering immigrants and their background, is to over-generalise. This could conceal, first, the points of similarity that exist between the coloured immigrant and the white citizen of the United Kingdom, and, secondly, the great variety that exists among the immigrants themselves—even those from the same country.

16. Many of the immigrants feel greater affinity with the people of the United Kingdom than is sometimes realised. Religion provides a common bond for some and so, for others, does common war service. It may be, as in the case of West Indians, because of the common language. For others, such as doctors, nurses and skilled workers, it may be their occupation that provides the point of contact. Thus the emphasis in this report on differences, which is necessary in order to understand the situation, should not be allowed to obscure the points of affinity which exist, and which could be exploited, nor to produce a false picture of local situations in Britain. This point was underlined for us by field visits paid by one of our members to a number of immigrant families in Oxford—seven Asian and five West Indian. Here, largely as a result of better housing, the atmosphere was more outward-looking and attitudes were distinctly more hopeful about future prospects.

17. On the other hand, between immigrant groups themselves there are differences which are not generally appreciated. Consider the Caribbean Islands, homeland of the West Indians. They cover an arc 1,500 miles long and the islands have known variously Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch and British influences. The vast majority of West Indians who have come to Britain are Christian, but here too there are differences: in Barbados the local religion is mainly Anglican in form, in Jamaica both Anglican and Baptist, and in Trinidad largely Roman Catholic. Also, within each immigrant group, social distinctions make for very considerable differences. For instance, the Pakistani doctor or student may feel he has little in common with the Pakistani villager coming here to work in a factory, especially if they come from different parts of their country and have different languages.

18. We referred in paragraphs 9 and 10 to the concentration of immigrants in certain places. We have also to take into account the fact that immigrants of different origins tend to cluster together. For instance, Slough has many Indians, few Pakistanis; Bradford has many Pakistanis and Indians but relatively few West Indians; Luton has a large percentage of West Indians and smaller numbers of Indians and Pakistanis. Focussing yet more finely, immigrants from a particular country may, in a particular area, be predominantly rural in background, or predominantly urban, and there are other major social categories which affect the needs, expectations and behaviour of people.

19. All this has impressed upon us the need to avoid any hasty generalisation: a first necessity must always be to know the general social characteristics of the population, or combination of populations, taking root in a particular locality, and to know also the ways in which these localities differ from one another. Solutions which have met with success in one place may not be applicable elsewhere—the receiving community is different just as the incoming population is different.



20. Another distinction which it is necessary to keep in mind was touched upon at the beginning of this report, namely the ebb and flow of immigration, and the consequences of this. A first wave of immigrants came between the wars and a second started after the war and has continued up to the present time, with the peak in 1961-62 to which we referred in paragraph 7. This pattern has had its effect on the children of these immigrant families. It is important in this respect to distinguish between those born in the United Kingdom and those born before their families left their homelands, and then again, within the latter group, between those who came at such an early age that they will have most of their education here and those who had most of it in their countries of origin.

21. Moreover, the trends and patterns of settlement have varied. Migration from the West Indies has usually been on the basis of family settlement, with the husband often arriving first and being followed not long after by his wife and children. The Asian men on the other hand have tended to come alone and, at least for quite a long time, stay alone, sending money home to support their families; increasingly however they are being joined by their dependants.

22. Command of the English language also differs for different groups. West Indians have a form of English as their mother tongue, though the idiom is unique, and there are some islands where a French "patois" is spoken. For Africans, English is often a second language learnt at school. Indians and Pakistanis, especially the women and the older men, may have little or no English.

23. A major factor in the background of most immigrant groups is the sense of family. In the case of Indians and Pakistanis this may be closely connected with ancient social customs and religious practices. Indian civilisation has evolved a complex system of family relationships. Even when they are in the United Kingdom, Indians may feel themselves tied in close allegiance to their "extended" family, composed of a number of interrelated married couples with their children, whether they be here or in their native villages in the Punjab or Gujerat. A similar emphasis on the family characterises the Pakistani.

24. In the case of West Indians, on the other hand, the host community has to come to terms with the fact that legal marriage is not the most usual family arrangement. Instead, one often finds either a union of the parents, of varying degrees of stability, or the children may be brought up by the mother. If the mother is working for their keep she will often leave her children with a female relative, in which case there may be a geographical separation, with the relatives living in another area of the United Kingdom or even in the West Indies. However this pattern may now be changing and marriage becoming more usual.

25. Religious requirements may manifest themselves, particularly in dietary customs. Hindus and Muslims have prohibitions and eating arrangements different from those usual in this country, and there are ordinances forbidding tobacco to the Sikhs and alcohol to Muslims.

26. One other factor which is often overlooked is that very many immigrants come from rural communities in their homelands and find themselves, for economic reasons, in urban areas when they come to the United Kingdom. Thus



they have a problem of adjustment quite beyond the obvious one of adjusting to a new country. The Gujarati peasant who goes to work in Calcutta, taking his family with him, faces almost as many problems of adjustment and risks of disappointment, different in kind rather than degree, as he does by going to Bradford—and his plight is reminiscent of the problems that arose in this country when the Industrial Revolution attracted throngs of hopeful people from the rural areas into the urban slums.

### **Conditions in the United Kingdom**

27. The Committee have detected a tendency to ascribe faults to immigrants which are really consequences of the social and economic conditions prevailing in the United Kingdom. Some of the difficulties which immigrants encounter are not peculiar to them, but are the lot of all deprived groups in our society.

28. Underlying all that may be said about conditions in this country is the fact that ours is a differentiated, and to a large extent stratified, society. This means that employment opportunities, the quality of housing, the size of school classes, the convenience of school buildings, the leisure to devote time to getting things done in the community, may be differentially distributed in an English town. There are areas in our towns where the provision of many of these facilities is below the average. Here live populations who have for generations had less than their share of the good things of life which others take for granted, and who have been unable to organise themselves for the common betterment. It is into areas such as these that many, though not all, immigrants come in the first instance. They thus find themselves entering communities already overwhelmed by economic and social forces which they cannot control. Others come into areas where this possibility is a very real fear. In these areas, immigrants and existing inhabitants share a common difficulty in benefitting from the opportunities for development which the Welfare State is intended to afford.

29. In other respects, however, the immigrants have their own specific problems: for most, learning the English language; for some, finding an outlet for a strong drive for betterment through formal education; for others, the opportunity to be sociable and at ease outside the home. The way these needs can be satisfied may for a while call for provision very different from that which is suitable for the existing local population.

30. Here we begin to see foreshadowed some of the problems which will face those of us who seek to do something about these problems: the feeling aroused in many people when they see general social problems being solved only for a coloured immigrant group; mutual incomprehension and contempt for the values in life which other groups prefer; a clash of cultures.

### **Second and Later Generations of Young Coloured Immigrants**

31. Earlier in this section we referred to the successive waves of immigration, and then considered in particular the needs of newcomers. But there are other children of immigrants, including those falling within the Youth Service age range of 14-20, who were born in this country. These present their own distinctive problems, and it may be added in passing that many of them have found it hurtful to be confused with new immigrants. Because of their colour, they



have experiences in common with more recent arrivals, but many of their needs, expectations and opportunities are in other respects different. The colour difference makes them at present unacceptable to sections of the white population in the most important choices of life: work, housing, association, marriage. Yet, until these children leave school, many of their experiences will have been those of the local white children, experiences unfamiliar to their own parents or to other first generation immigrants generally.

32. We are convinced that these children, whom we refer to as the "second generation", present a specific and major problem for the future. Not only are they more numerous but they have been entirely educated in this country, and will not, from that background, be prepared to accept a second-rate status, or marks of prejudice, which the newcomers might be more inclined, at least initially, to tolerate. Conversely, however, it is in this second generation that we see the best hope for an integrated society, provided we make correct and sufficient provision now.

33. A group with a somewhat similar problem, though its origin is different, is to be seen in children of mixed parentage. These children, many of whom, because their fathers were coloured seamen, live in the larger seaports, identify neither with the immigrant nor the indigenous population. Often enough it might be the white mother who passes on to her children her own sense of social rejection and reinforces this in a feeling of antagonism to both sides. Here again, sympathetic understanding is called for if the dangers of the situation are to be faced.



### III. EXAMINATION OF TERMS OF REFERENCE AND COMMITTEE'S POLICY AND AIMS

#### Terms of Reference

34. We interpreted our terms of reference in the light of the foregoing preliminary examination of the background situation. In the first place, having identified where the main problems arise, we decided to limit our study to them, and in particular to interpret "immigrants", for purposes of this report, to denote "coloured immigrants"—that is, those from Africa, India, Pakistan and the West Indies.

35. Secondly, we decided to interpret "young immigrants" to mean those born overseas or born in the United Kingdom of immigrant parents, and to distinguish between the various "generations" of immigrants referred to at the end of the previous section of this report.

36. Thirdly, we had to examine our interpretation of "Youth Service". We came to the conclusion that we could not do better than repeat the definition of the aims of the Youth Service by Sir John Maud, which were quoted in the Albemarle Report\*:

"to offer individual young people in their leisure time opportunities of various kinds, complementary to those of home, formal education and work, to discover and develop their personal resources of body, mind and spirit and thus the better equip themselves to live the life of mature, creative and responsible members of a free society."

37. We have therefore interpreted our terms of reference as requiring us to look into the generality of the needs of young people, not only their leisure needs, and we shall consider the Youth Service as one of many agencies, within and outside the Education Service, intended to help them in various aspects of their life to find their proper place in the community at large. Nor, for reasons which will become apparent, do we confine ourselves to the accepted Youth Service age range of 14-20.

38. We feel justified in taking this broader view by the fact that within the Youth Service itself—and indeed in the Youth Service Development Council—there is in progress a re-examination and fresh evaluation of the role of the Youth Service. In this debate some would seek to move away from the more formal and organised approach and try to meet the needs of that large number of young people who find no solace in the Youth Service as it is at present. Others would seek to break down the distinctions between various parts of the education and social services so that the needs of people of all ages, for all types of educational, recreational and social activity, might be viewed as a whole and continuing process. All this led us to the view that we should consider the needs of young immigrants in as wide a context as our terms of reference would allow. We explain our own views on the role of the Youth Service later in this report.

39. Finally, we realised from the outset that immigration is a vast and complex subject and that even if we had the breadth of expert knowledge that would be needed, a comprehensive survey would be out of the question. The situation is

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\* "The Youth Service in England and Wales", Cmnd. 929, H.M.S.O., February 1960.



too urgent. Instead, we have aimed selectively to throw light on some of the problems of young immigrants and to suggest possible courses of thought and action. Our objective has thus been to stimulate personal involvement and action now, rather than to seek all the answers to every problem.

40. We are glad to learn that the comprehensive survey which we could not undertake is, however, under way. In 1963 the Institute of Race Relations received a substantial grant from the Nuffield Foundation to carry out a five-year investigation of race relations in Britain. As a part of this investigation a number of studies are being carried out in different parts of the country into various aspects of the subject. We understand that the results of these investigations will be published separately as they are completed; among them is a study of the aspirations and achievements of West Indian school leavers and a study of the mixed coloured community in the Bute Town area in Cardiff and the extent to which it has come to terms with its environment. We understand that the final report of the Survey may be expected in 1969.

### **Policy and Aims—The Meaning of Integration**

41. Having thus clarified our terms of reference, a general statement is needed about the broad policy and aims of the Committee in the light of which we set about our work. The first nettle we had to grasp, and so must everyone else who seeks to do anything about the problem, is the question of integration. We recognize that the integration of peoples from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds is a long process. Britain is a highly organised and still relatively stable society, with its own history and culture. It is not easy for peoples from countries with equally distinct histories and cultures to gain entry to, or win acceptance in, Britain. British society today, however, is itself the result of the flowing together of different peoples and traditions. Indeed, the ability to absorb and learn from new peoples is a measure of a society's capacity to adapt to changing circumstances.

42. In considering what alternatives to integration exist as a long term goal, we accept that individuals and groups should be free to choose the relationships with others which they prefer. But we are concerned to define a policy within which this freedom can exist. It is in this sense that we discuss the alternatives below.

43. We reject the idea of several *segregated* societies, because this implies that the immigrants should be kept and maintained as separate entities, with social intercourse between them and the host community restricted both by law and by custom. This pattern is unacceptable to us on moral grounds. A second alternative is the concept of *accommodation* between the immigrant and host communities. This has been defined by Rashmi Desai\* as a situation in which "immigrants accept the relationships available to them and act on them with some degree of conformity, but do not share the bulk of attitudes which are part of the host society." This idea, too, we reject, for we do not believe it to be a satisfactory relationship between people. A third choice is the *assimilation* of immigrants to the host society. This is a situation in which, as Mr. Desai describes it, "immigrants come to share . . . the attitudes, behaviour and values of the

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\* R. S. Desai "Indian Immigrants in Britain", London, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1963.



social group within the host society with which they identify themselves." This concept, also, we reject. It requires immigrants to give up their own background and become entirely absorbed in the culture and values of the host society. Such a solution could only be imposed at very great personal and social cost. Further, it presents a one-sided picture of the situation, with immigrants adapting to the host society, while the host society remains unchanged. We envisage, rather, that in the course of learning to live together, both sides will change and adapt.

44. The aim which we, therefore, recommend is the *full integration* between immigrants and the host community, and between the various immigrant communities themselves. We accept as a long term aim the definition of integration given by the Home Secretary in his address to a meeting of voluntary Liaison Committees at the Commonwealth Institute, 23rd May 1966: "Integration", he said, "is perhaps a rather loose word. I do not regard it as meaning the loss, by immigrants, of their own national characteristics and culture. I do not think that we need in this country a 'melting pot', which will turn everybody out in a common mould, as one of a series of carbon copies of someone's misplaced vision of the stereotyped Englishman.... I define integration, therefore, not as a flattening process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance. This is the goal. We may fall a little short of its full attainment, as have other communities both in the past and the present. But if we are to maintain any sort of world reputation for civilized living and social cohesion, we must get far nearer to its achievement than is the case today."

45. We assume that the long term aim is to create conditions in which the young immigrants, whatever their origins and whether or not the United Kingdom is to be their permanent home, should be able to settle happily in this country without prejudice and in close relationship with the indigenous population, and that they should be able to enjoy the social and recreational amenities they prefer, find work according to their individual capacities and so contribute to the life of the whole community. This is what we understand by integration. In this report we will concentrate on the achievement of this aim in terms of the immigrants and the host community, for we believe this to be the final and necessary stage towards total integration between all groups resident in Britain.

46. The role of the Youth Service in realising this aim is inseparable from that of other agencies. It can do something to assist in the integration of young immigrants, but not in isolation from those agencies. Though the Youth Service is mainly concerned with the use of leisure, it can and should also contribute to other spheres: to the home, to education and to work. Conversely, what happens in these spheres affects the way leisure is, or can be used. Integration is a co-operative social process and to be successful requires the support of all those agencies which bear upon the welfare of individuals and the life of the community.

47. We recognise—so far as the Youth Service in particular is concerned—that integration will be given concrete meaning by the interaction of immigrants and hosts, and that different people will act in different ways. We also accept that the desire to pursue cultural activities deriving from their countries of origin may at times imply some degree of separation of the immigrants from



the host community. We believe that the preservation of varying cultures can enrich the quality of the whole society. We further believe that there are reasons which justify arrangements for young immigrants to meet separately with members of their own group. One such reason, at any rate initially, is to acquire a sufficient mastery of spoken English, so as to enable them to take their appropriate place in the classroom and at work. Another reason may be the need to meet socially with their own people in order to find congenial company and to gain confidence in a strange land.

48. We therefore interpret the word integration, in the context of the Youth Service, as embracing segregation in this particular sense. The term segregation however, carries so many overtones and associations which we reject, that we prefer to use the words "differentiation" or "separate provision". We shall point, in this report, to some of the dangers of differentiation, even as an interim measure. We are anxious that institutions which are established as temporary measures should not become permanent fixtures, except insofar as they are a completely free choice. We shall make clear, however, our reasons for recommending, at this stage, separate provision as one way of meeting certain pressing needs on the part of young immigrants. Such short-term differentiation is intended to speed us towards the long-term goal of full integration as we have defined it.

#### **Policy and Aims—Integration in Practice**

49. It is one thing to state that integration is our aim, and to propose this as a goal to be worked for by such agencies as the Youth Service. But no one can be forced to integrate, any more than mutual tolerance and respect can be legislated into existence. What can be done is to try to put our aim into practice, by finding appropriate institutions and arrangements which will facilitate contact, and encouraging and supporting mutual tolerance and respect. We can try so to formulate our ways of meeting the needs of young people—young immigrants among others—as to create the opportunities for integration on an equal footing.

50. When we come to consider ways of putting our aim into practice, however, we at once become aware that people have different ideas about the way integration should work out in actual situations. It is a human failing, common to most of us, to arrange facts and values selectively, especially when these relate to a subject so emotionally charged as the relationship between peoples with differently coloured skins. In this way we create stereotypes of what we think is the real world, and this shapes our thinking and feeling when we approach practical issues. For example, some of the misunderstanding between immigrants and the host community seem to us to be due, at least in part, to the differing ways in which the two communities perceive each other. Only rarely are such conflicting perceptions held at the rational and conscious level. They are felt, by the persons who hold them, to be "natural" and "moral". They operate most effectively below the conscious threshold, and affect our behaviour and attitudes towards others in practice. We refer to this tendency as a "model of feeling".

51. Let us take an example of how different models of feeling cohere around one contentious point, one which incidentally is of great relevance to this report: the question of separate provision referred to in paragraph 48. There are



various models of thinking among those who work with young people and, since such models lead to action, great responsibility rests upon these people. What they do will affect the alternatives open to young people, and young immigrants in particular, for some time to come. One such model of thinking about integration, which we have met in the course of taking evidence, uses the analogy of the Welsh and the Scots to support a preference for separate provision. In most cases, the analogy is used with the most liberal and humane of intentions. Nevertheless, it can tend to confuse the issue. "Immigrants" from other parts of the United Kingdom on the whole choose to keep up Burns suppers or join Welsh-speaking societies from a standpoint of full integration in the community of their choice. No doubt there are cases of lingering suspicion about "foreigners", even if they are only foreign to that part of the country. On the whole, however, it is because they live in, or move with so little conflict into, integrated situations that—to retain something of their own identity—such people choose to keep up their native culture, language or institutions.

52. By contrast, the coloured immigrant is obliged to feel and confirm his national identity, because the door to integration has been, or appears to him to have been, closed in his face. As one young West Indian, comparing the relative inactivity of British "unclubbables" with that of immigrants, put it to us: "At least their inactivity is voluntary."

53. Our reason for examining the implications behind this common analogy is to show how popular models of thinking may conceal important presuppositions. From it we draw a distinction between the maintenance of a national identity which is a free choice and one which is an induced preference brought about by the situation in which the immigrant finds himself.

54. Arguments in favour of separate provision have been advanced from other, stronger positions. There are those who favour it as a necessary but transitional measure. This seems to us a more realistic argument, and has a good deal to commend it. Our doubts are less about the proposal itself than about how long the transition is supposed to last. Establishments which are set up for interim periods often gain an institutional life of their own, and become permanent. Unless transitional provision of the separated variety have behind them the pressure to become more fully integrated, and unless the routes from the separate to the integrated situation are mapped out in advance, we are likely to be led to take steps, for reasons of expediency, which run counter to our long-term aims.

55. There are some who support the idea of separate provision as a first step, believing that the young immigrant must find his feet and develop his own capacities and self-confidence before being thrust into the more stressful "mixed" or integrated situation. This is a position held by some adult immigrant organisations, and we have seen some examples of successful ventures based on this idea. There seems to us to be a strong case for this conception, especially where the entire responsibility is borne by the adult immigrant society, but it does not provide a model which can be universally applied. A variant is sometimes advanced by those who support separate provision on the grounds that young immigrants will "naturally" want to pursue activities among their own kind. We have already accepted this understandable desire. But, as we have also pointed out, models of thinking dictate what feels "natural". Where a club has been started for coloured immigrants, with a good atmosphere, lots of activities



and sympathetic full-time and voluntary help, the evidence is that separate provision draws the support of the young immigrants. Yet, where the prevailing pattern is an integrated one because of some external factor—for instance, where the club is school-based and therefore, like the school itself, racially mixed—the evidence seems to be that the integrated pattern is the more “natural” one, and there is less pressure for separate provision. In these mixed situations, there seems to be a demand for some separate activities but not for separate institutions. This illustration is given here to show that there is often a correspondence, which we tend to think of as natural, between what people think they want and what they are able to have.

56. Different attitudes can also be seen among young immigrants themselves. Some have specific needs which fall within the province of the Youth Service but which preclude integration in the sense outlined earlier. Asian girls form one such group. Their needs for leisure activities outside the home are not being adequately met at present, but even if they were to be met they would tend towards the segregated pattern of provision. This reflects, in matters of cultural background and parental attitudes, differences between Asian immigrants and the host community. The demand for separate provision in this case seems to us to be an authentic choice on the part of one immigrant group.

57. When we come to the case of immigrant boys, however, the situation is more complicated. We have evidence of a growing preference among them for separate provision: for “Commonwealth Youth Centres”, or for “West Indian”, “Indian” or “Pakistani” clubs, open quite possibly to young British people, but composed mainly of the dominant national group. At first sight, this too seems to be an authentic demand which the Youth Service should meet. But there is also some evidence to suggest that the demand for this kind of separate provision is not a free first choice but a forced second choice for the young immigrants, brought about by their real, or imagined, experience of the multi-racial club situation—the hostility and suspicion which they have met, or think they have met, or believe they would meet, in a club where members are predominantly white, their fear of being socially rebuffed, or of being continually “on trial”. They may have seen a multi-racial venture change into a single-race club when the coloured minority grew too large.

58. The demand for separate provision is, then, real enough, for the young immigrants. But whether it is an authentic demand, rather than the product of their experiences or fears of frustration, is another matter. We, as a Committee, recognise that young immigrants may genuinely feel more at home among other people with a similar background. But we also suspect that behind this lies the feeling that it is better to be a member of some club rather than to have no club at all. The need may have to be met; but we advise great caution in taking any steps which, however inadvertently, confirm the young immigrants’ sense of being rejected by their peers in the host society. We would certainly not want to force immigrants to give up their national identity, their unique culture and customs. Our aim is not a grey cultural uniformity. At the same time, we cannot lose sight of the fact that an over-emphasis on distinctiveness, rather than on shared values and attitudes, can widen, rather than narrow, the gap.

59. In this section of our report we have sought to take the reader with us through some of the complexities which lie in the path of integration, and to seek to explain, as fully as possible, the thinking which lies behind all the rest of



what we have to say. But it would be an evasion to conclude this section without referring to one basic idea which we have had to face in advocating, as we do, the multi-racial club solution.

60. One of the main anxieties in the minds of many people who oppose racial integration is the notion of mixed marriages. This is basic and we recognise its relevance to our advocacy of multi-racial clubs—which means a mixture of races and sexes. We fully understand the anxiety of parents about the young men their daughter may meet at a youth club, and that this may well affect their willingness to let her join. But if we are to prepare young people for normal adult life in a mixed community, it is, in our view, wrong to introduce an extra barrier. We cannot think of anything more conducive to the feeling of rejection on the part of the young immigrant, to which we alluded earlier, than that he should be apparently welcomed to a youth club, but excluded from the same relationship between the sexes as is enjoyed by the other members. In saying this we do not belittle the problem, nor the depth of feeling that lies behind this attitude. We are, however, quite clear that the possibility of an increase in mixed marriages, as an outcome of our declared policy on integration, should be faced frankly and accepted.



#### IV. THE CIRCUMSTANCES AND NEEDS OF YOUNG IMMIGRANTS

##### The Meeting of Cultures

61. In the previous section we noted that facts can be arranged selectively so as to provide different models of thinking which can then lead to different lines of action. We therefore start this section by making explicit the three main perspectives which guided our review of the evidence: the culture of the host society, the culture of the immigrant, and the contact between them.

62. We have to take into account the culture of the host society, in which we include those attitudes, beliefs and practices which people in the United Kingdom are brought up to consider moral or natural. Important among these are expectations about the way people should behave towards one another in their various roles: in the family, among neighbours, towards authorities. In particular we have to pay regard to the fact, referred to earlier in this report, that ours is a stratified society. We must therefore consider the local expression of culture in that stratum of society where the immigrants converge and live, and the relation of that stratum to the rest of society in the United Kingdom.

63. We have also to consider the culture in which the immigrant was brought up: the attitudes, beliefs and practices considered moral or natural in his own country. We have also to consider the transition from an immigrant's native environment to his new home.

64. Most importantly, we have to consider the meeting point of the two cultures in the overlap area where immigrants come to live side by side with the host population. Relevant factors are:

- (a) the views of immigrants about their new neighbours;
- (b) the views of the host population about the newcomers to the area;
- (c) the resulting conflict of views and interpretations of behaviour;
- (d) the views of those in the host society who do not live in the overlap area, but whose views influence the assessment of the situation and the formulation of policy.

65. To understand what is happening and what needs to be done, we focus sometimes on the different cultures which each community brings to the new situation, sometimes on the attitudes which are brought by each to what we have called the "overlap area", sometimes on the effects of that culture-contact, sometimes—and even more so as the report moves on to consider the steps to be taken—on the effects of contact between those in the overlap area and authorities or agencies established in the host society. We give first some examples of conflicting views of the housing situation, of employment, of health and of meaningful association.

66. In the industrial urban areas where most immigrants settle housing is often insufficient, and the only available accommodation is poor. In this situation, the pressures engendering mutual resentment and contempt between residents and newcomers are considerable. It may surprise many to learn that the immigrant is often shocked by the slum conditions, for which the kind of information about the United Kingdom which he received in his home country had ill prepared him. Most white residents, on the other hand, believe that the



new influx is directly responsible for a deterioration in standards and the aggravation of their housing problems. A study of the situation in Sparkbrook\* has shown the substance of this belief. Long established residents disapprove of the overcrowded conditions in which immigrants live. They tend to assume that this is the way immigrants like to exist. They object to the unfamiliar noises and cooking smells. They fear the deterioration of the area or a fall in housing values. "No Coloured" signs go up which, quite apart from aggravating feelings, serve to crowd the immigrants still further into certain areas. The immigrant, in his turn, is hurt by this evidence of colour prejudice, for which he has not been prepared and, more deeply, by the lack of common humanity which denies him his opportunity to achieve a better life for himself. He may also be surprised by the free way in which the local children are brought up and, in some cases, by what he considers the low standards of the host community.

67. The unappreciated factor of climate adds to the confusion of views. It is often said that most immigrants are used to crude accommodation; but it must be remembered that in their own countries a warm climate, even in winter, makes them less dependent on the home and makes up for its deficiencies. Their children are accustomed to playing outside most of the day throughout the year. It is a new and frustrating experience for them to be confined indoors by our climate.

68. We hold to the view that immigrants already contribute to the welfare and prosperity of this country and help to fill labour shortages in the public service, the medical field and in industry. On this account alone, they should be welcome and their potential encouraged. We can also understand why, in the areas where they settle, the local working man may foresee a threat to his livelihood. He may fear that it will be more difficult for him to find alternative employment when he wishes to change; or he may feel that his individual bargaining strength will be weakened when cheaper labour is available. Should the employment situation deteriorate, the tendency to resist the immigrant will grow and his insecurity will increase accordingly. From the immigrant's point of view, he finds that unskilled work is more available to him than skilled work. It is true that, at present, many of them lack the qualification for better jobs; but there is evidence that some who are qualified have to accept relatively unskilled jobs. The immigrant feels that the employees and employers alike are forcing him into further segregation, into second class citizenship.

69. Overcrowding, unfamiliar eating habits, and the alleged prevalence of tuberculosis among some immigrants, can be powerful causes of resentment. It seems to be a universal feature of inter-group prejudice that the discriminated group is perceived as threatening the purity or health of a community, thus discriminatory practices gain a dubious basis without regard to the claims of social justice. Deficiencies in the public services may aggravate this prejudice. For instance, a shortage of hospital beds, particularly in maternity wards, may cause people to resent the fact that immigrants occupy some of them. The immigrants conclude from this that they are begrudged medical care for their wives and families—all the more puzzling for the fact that many coloured people are employed on the staffs of hospitals.

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\* John Rex and Robert Moore "Race, Community and Conflict—A Study of Sparkbrook"—Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1967.



70. The spoken English of many immigrants is inadequate to achieve satisfactory communication with their white neighbours, teachers and employers, although differences may be found in each family. An Asian may have acquired some English at his work and his children learn it at school. But at home the language is likely to be the mother tongue, because of the presence of women and older dependants, some of whom speak no English at all. Thus the learning of English within the family is retarded, particularly for the older members. So long as this state of affairs continues, a barrier exists between them and the outside world. Social habits and lack of communication continue to make the immigrant, particularly the Asian, chary of allowing his children to mix with their friends and with families whose ways they do not understand and whose parents they cannot get to know socially.

71. People cannot lightly change their diet and eating habits in order to conform or join with others. The fact that the eating arrangements of Asians have a religious significance adds to this difficulty. For instance, a Hindu or Muslim boy may hesitate to go to camp with his Scout troop or eat at an English boy's home if this means the risk of contact with beef or pork, respectively, or even with utensils that have been used for these ritually unclean meats. These considerations account for the failure of many friendly overtures by British families and organisations, just as the religious ordinances forbidding tobacco to Sikhs and alcohol to Muslims may inhibit older members of these faiths from joining fully in activities with their British neighbours. Conversely, hospitality in some immigrant circles tends to carry more emphatic overtones of friendship than is the custom here. We have evidence of the confusion and offence caused when a white visitor refuses, for whatever reason, the offer of food when visiting an immigrant family.

72. Thus we see how the different perspectives may give rise to different interpretations, restrict social contact and lead to a feeling of rejection by the host or by the newcomer.

73. Perhaps one of the greatest handicaps is the inability to speak English, and this applies not only to those whose native tongue has no relationship with English, but also to those inhabitants of the United Kingdom whose education and background makes it impossible for them to catch any real meaning in the communications of those with a different education or background. There is here a problem of understanding, of communication, which goes beyond the obvious one of language. The service offered by the social worker, the planner, the organiser and the official, is often less than it might be because they do not make the special imaginative effort required. People who have not been uprooted or who have successfully lived through such a process, who have always managed their lives tolerably well, who have always known the ropes or have never failed to learn them, have to make a continual effort to imagine what it may be like to arrive from a Punjabi village to an industrial slum, confused, lonely and overawed. Words and habits, which seem normal to those who are used to them, may strike others as insensitive, puzzling, discouraging or even wounding.

74. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of considerations such as these. Many of the newcomers arrive with hopes of betterment which, with a minimum of guidance, are well within their grasp; in some cases their potential may be greater than that of some of their white neighbours with whom they may,



nonetheless, be compared unfavourably. Some of our evidence suggests a picture of people with high aspirations, who do not know the ropes, meeting unreasonable frustrations. "Is this lady's English good enough for her to follow a cookery or a sewing class?" Young people come to a building wanting to pursue some subject and are told that they cannot, because they have not the basic education or qualification, or come to the wrong building and ask for lessons in English, which are not available to them because they are still at school. Some people who deal with such aspirants see them as wanting unrealistic things, and do not regard it as part of their function to put them in touch with other sources of help.

### **The Young Immigrant and His Family**

75. Even though he may not realise it, the adult immigrant has to come to terms with his new situation in three respects. First, there is the question of how much of his native culture he keeps when he enters the immigrant situation. Second, he has to decide what sort of life he is to make for himself and his family in the overlap area in which he finds himself. Third, he is faced with the obstacles and opportunities beyond the line which divides him from the wider host society. In the paragraphs which follow, we shall have occasion to refer to these questions as dilemmas which face the adult immigrants as parents and which have a direct relevance to the needs and problems of the children.

76. Let us consider first the early days of the process of immigration. We have noted that it is fairly usual for the father to come to this country first to establish a home before his wife or family join him. If his wife comes with him, or follows soon after, it is quite common for the children, of all ages, to be left with relatives or friends at home and money sent towards their keep. There is no doubt that many parents regret having to split their family in this way, but it would be almost impossible for them to afford to bring over a family of young children at once, nor, if they did, to expect to find suitable housing for them on arrival. It is unlikely that this pattern will change and we may therefore expect a continuing series of problems arising from these separations.

77. The results of this process can be very disturbing for a child as well as damaging to the equilibrium and happiness of the family. For instance, a child may arrive to find brothers and sisters born in this country, established as members of a family in which he feels an outsider; or he may arrive with only the faintest memory of his parents, who may have left him as an infant and whom he now has to begin to live with as virtual strangers. Again, before arriving here a child may have been lovingly cared for by his grandparents or other close relatives or, on the other hand, been rather casually looked after in a large and less closely related family. In either case, the newly arrived child will have problems of adjustment. He may miss those he has left behind and who, for much of his life, have represented parental authority and love. His departure may have been a shock to him, as it is not at all uncommon for children to be given only a few days' notice of their departure for the United Kingdom. He may have had little idea of his destination, for it is unusual for immigrants to receive any clear or helpful description of the country they are coming to.

78. Whatever have been the particular circumstances of the child before his arrival in this country, it is likely that, partly depending on his age and the length of the time he has been separated from his family, he will be both con-



fused and upset. He may have been given rational explanations, but these may not have been grasped by a child who feels shocked and insecure. Immigrant children, like the war-time evacuees, carry the memory of separation with them for a long time. He may still not understand why his parents, when they left for the United Kingdom, chose to leave him behind, and particularly so if they took others of the children. Equally, after he has become accustomed to them, he may wonder why he has been suddenly separated from his substitute parents. He may thus come to regard both his being left behind and his subsequent move to England as punishments.

79. The parents too, in this situation, face difficulties. They have usually made great sacrifices to reunite their families, particularly in paying for fares, larger accommodation and new clothes suitable to the climate. It is easy to imagine the disappointment they feel when meeting their children after a long separation to find them confused, resentful and withdrawn—for the children themselves may be unaware of the causes of their disturbed feelings and unable to discuss them with their parents. Very often parents can be helped to understand the background to their children's problems; but it is not always easy for them, particularly when in their own lives so much importance has been attached to struggling for material well-being.

80. Once reunited with their families, the immigrant children are quickly taken to be enrolled at school. With recollections of their own struggle for a basic existence, this will be a proud day for the parents. They assume that their child will learn to speak English in his new school and, in due course, will reap other benefits from his education. Many parents, not having experienced our education system, cannot fully appreciate the nature of the handicaps which their children will face at school. We shall describe these later in our report, and also refer to ways in which the schools can positively help the young immigrant to find his feet in the new society.

81. There is, however, one singularly unfortunate category of young immigrant who misses these opportunities. He is the 15 year-old who comes just after school-leaving age and goes straight into a job or, sometimes, joins the unemployed. There appear to be few helping agencies in touch with him, unless he, a stranger in a strange land, somehow takes the initiative himself.

82. Many immigrant families have to work very hard to make ends meet. Fares from their homelands have to be paid for, housing and equipment for their new homes provided. Many are able to get only the lowest paid jobs and both parents may be working overtime. Like many other children in the community, young immigrants will often have to look after themselves when they come home from school until their mother returns from work. This problem is all the more difficult for those in a strange country with few friends. Few youth clubs are open before six p.m., so there is nowhere to go and little to do except visit the cafés or roam the streets. In any case, immigrant children are often discouraged by their parents from visiting clubs, and not all clubs give them a welcome.

83. Many immigrant parents have the resource to survive, and even advance themselves, in these adverse conditions. For them, life means hard work. Leisure is seen as yet another opportunity for improving their children's education. More than most people they feel that their children are "on trial" and must



not only emulate but excel other children. They are therefore anxious that their children should not waste their time, and feel that the pursuit of pleasure for its own sake is frivolous and unjustified. There is also a fear that young people, if allowed this freedom, may be led into bad habits. The economic struggle also means that those children who are working may give up the major part of their earnings to support the family, and this again marks them off from any of their English counterparts.

84. Most of the first-generation immigrant families still carry with them the ideas about family life, the upbringing and discipline of children, which are common in their countries of origin. Their discipline can be strict and sometimes corporally administered, a factor which can lead to a great deal of resentment when the adolescent compares the treatment he is getting with that received by his white contemporaries. It is usual for parents to wield full authority in the family and to expect to be consulted by their children over most things that they do. Although there is no doubt about the affection of immigrant parents for their children, the younger members of the family may be forced to stay very much on their own. Money spent on toys and games is very often seen as wasted, and parents, either by tradition or because of other heavy commitments, cannot spend much time in activities with their children. In addition the atmosphere of give and take common today between European adolescents and their parents is foreign to them. Immigrant parents do not expect their decisions to be seriously challenged. Any child who does this runs the risk of being seen as rejecting his whole family, their standards and their hard-won position.

85. Many immigrant parents keep a specially tight rein on their daughters. With Asian families this custom has religious backing. With West Indians the religious influence is not so strong, but they also fear that allowing independence to adolescent girls will lead to trouble. They do not like their daughters to have boy friends other than those who have seriously demonstrated an interest in marriage. They are anxious about allowing their daughters to take part in social activities where boys may be present.

86. In short, immigrant parents often expect their children's leisure to be disciplined and purposeful, if possible directed towards further education and, particularly in the case of Asians, separate from the opposite sex. It is important to appreciate this when trying to understand the reluctance of parents to let their children join local youth clubs.

### **Between Two Cultures**

87. Since, for the reasons we have touched on, immigrants are mainly concentrated in certain urban areas, their separate ethnic identities will tend to be preserved and this will impart itself to the immigrant child. But at the same time, he will also be influenced by people outside his own group, for example, a friendly teacher, or the white friends he makes at school. As long as these two sets of influences complement each other in giving the child a sense of security, or at least as long as they do not actually clash, there is no problem. But, when they do clash, as they must on occasions, the child is faced with a difficult problem of adjustment. He cannot afford to weaken the ties with his own family and ethnic group, yet at the same time he cannot remain immune from the other social influences with which he now comes into contact in his daily life.



88. Thus the child, living on the margin of two cultures, has difficulty in knowing who he is and what is expected of him, and this may lead to misunderstandings and conflicts between parents and children. Deviations from the traditional values will dismay the more conservative parents, while the children in turn may resent their die-hard attitude. Despite parental reluctance, the children must acquire the basic elements of their new culture if they are to make their proper contribution to it. Somehow, the self-confidence of these children has to be preserved, they must be made to feel not unwanted intruders but part and parcel of the community in which they are going to live and work.

89. Children already of school age may find the attitudes and behaviour apparently encouraged in British schools confusing. If they were used to a different educational discipline in their native countries, they may see only the freedom in British schools and overlook the constraints. Children who arrive in the United Kingdom below school age, or are born here, have a better chance of succeeding. But even here there are difficulties. The child is exposed to a variety of influences at school and mixes with many different people, often of other religions. His contacts may therefore be far wider than those of his parents, whose only friends or neighbours may be fellow immigrants. He is constantly meeting children of other races, particularly white children, and from different social and religious backgrounds. His English may be better than that of his parents, and he can sometimes use this as a form of revolt by refusing to speak his native language at home. In less extreme cases, while it can be very useful for parents to have their child as interpreter, it can also be rather humbling that he can more readily and quickly grasp the opinions, attitudes and norms of the new country than they can.

90. Soon the child also becomes aware that his parents are stricter in many respects than those of his white contemporaries. He senses a conflict between the values of his parents and those accepted by the local community. He may wish that he had the same amount of pocket money as his friends, their freedom to do as they wish in their leisure time, their freedom to mix with members of the opposite sex. He realises that such behaviour is not the privilege of a rebellious minority alone, but is generally accepted by those in authority in the host community, by teachers and parents.

91. It is difficult for immigrant parents to know what to do for the best. They are not sure about the standards prevailing in their new community, as so many of the conventional indications of these standards have disappeared. If they are very strict, their children may rebel. If they allow them their freedom, they fear that they may not know how to use it. For instance it can be upsetting for those parents who have tried to copy the attitudes and standards of their white neighbours, and allowed their daughter a greater degree of freedom, to find that because of her innocence this freedom has been abused or that the girl associates with unsuitable companions. Or again, they may be confused about the implications of "dating" in this country: they may assume it to be an indication of serious intentions on the part of the young man rather than part of a casual friendship. In the case of Asian immigrants, restrictions will not be confined to general conduct but also extend to matters of dress and hair-styles.

92. For their part, the immigrant children will notice that their teachers, their friends' parents, the social workers and youth workers with whom they may be in contact, also regard their parents as too strict and authoritarian—even



unfeeling. They may also come to realise that some members of the community are strongly critical of immigrants' attitudes and way of life. These opinions may not be stated openly, but children are quick to sense unspoken attitudes and thus feel acutely the pull of two sets of adults who, perhaps unwittingly, have become rival influences.

93. The fact that an immigrant child has to face this problem of dual authority highlights the importance of special efforts to gain the co-operation of the parents. Most immigrant parents come in contact with far fewer white people than do their children. They may have confused ideas about the methods and motives of white parents who seem to be less strict. In this kind of situation they may be upset if, without any reference to themselves, their standards are challenged. It can be helpful for them to discuss and compare their attitude with others, and to air their fears about the results of changing their standards and customs. They may be willing to risk more if they feel that the people with whom their children are in contact understand and sympathise with their own point of view. If they grow to trust the people who are trying to help their children, it is possible that they may become more willing to accept and try out new approaches.

94. Our conclusion is that it is impossible to over-emphasise the need for a personal relationship between those working with immigrant children and the parents. This can be time consuming, but it is well worth the effort.

#### **The Young Immigrant and Society**

95. In turning to consider the young immigrant in relation to society and the social provision made for young people generally, we accepted that many of the problems he has to face are created by social factors. A survey undertaken by students of the Westhill College of Education on teenage attitudes in one area of Birmingham, to which we shall refer in more detail later, showed that "Many of the difficulties of coloured immigrants in Birmingham appear to be general to their social class rather than their colour. The figures suggest that they are suffering some of the 'relative deprivation' of the urban working-class youngster in the older neighbourhood. . . May it not be that part of what we thought was colour discrimination was simply an aspect of the structure of social privilege?"

96. However, as the survey in Sparkbrook has shown, the handicap of race and colour is the main difficulty, and we ignore it at our peril. It is a very obvious *visible* difference and it has two important consequences in its own right. One is that the difference in colour has somehow led people to the mistaken assumption that every coloured person is an uneducated, unskilled manual worker, and this affects his employment and housing opportunities. The other is that the difference in colour creates special problems at the stage of courtship.

97. Thus, while the young immigrant shares a social position, and burden, with other white youngsters he experiences some of the problems to a greater degree. The transition to employment will perhaps provide his severest test, and we propose to examine this in some detail. What we wish to underline here is the fact that, where discrimination is likely to manifest itself, the tensions arising from divided allegiance and divergence in culture, social habits and even religion can be intensified, and that this creates special needs on the part of the young immigrants calling for sympathetic understanding and careful handling.



98. Prejudice is thus a barrier to normal personal relationships. Yet it is only through such relationships that we can hope to establish the channels of communication and understanding which a healthy, integrated society needs. This is far preferable to negotiation between different groups, each conscious of its own identity and of the differences which separate it from the others. But personal relationships involve a two-way process. Most of the evidence we have received is critical, as often as not rightly, of the local community. But there is a need for the immigrant also to accept the idea of integration, to keep an open mind about the people around him and to make the effort involved in achieving better communication. The more he remains apart, the more likely is it that he will develop a sense of rejection, attributing the intolerance of a few with whom he has come into contact to the majority whom he does not know. This could lead to a pattern of prejudice where the bigotry of one side was matched by the resentment of the other. In any case, one thing leads to another and coloured immigrants will tend to play the role which is defined for them by discrimination.

99. In this connection, it seems to us that the immigrant communities in Britain are handicapped by a lack of information and articulate leadership. We would like to see a greater involvement of immigrant professional people, doctors, teachers and others, in the lives of their less well placed compatriots. We also feel that immigrant students might well play a part here, by involving themselves in the lives of their communities and helping, as their educational advantages will have fitted them to do, in dispelling the fog of misunderstanding which is the greatest barrier of all.

100. If we are to attack prejudice at the root, the way preconceptions and attitudes are developed needs careful study. Research into the development of race awareness suggests that the pattern of prejudice begins to form as early as three or four years of age\*. The child is quick to pick up the views of his parents, his teacher or other children and so develop standardised ideas reinforced by personal observations of physical and national differences, behaviour, dress or manners. He comes to categorise people as stereotypes and to associate himself with a particular group, regarding others as "them". They may in turn lead to experiences of confusion, and even rejection, which will puzzle and hurt him.

### **The School**

101. We have already referred, in paragraph 80, to the importance and high hopes which most immigrant parents attach to their child's opportunities for education in this country. But we recognise that formidable problems face both the child and the school if these hopes are to be realised in any degree. Although some of these problems derive from obvious barriers to progress, such as the child's lack of an adequate knowledge of English or the general social deprivation, others again certainly arise from the special position of these children in being strangers—and coloured. We are convinced that the schools offer the best opportunity for a reduction of these problems; certainly, if the battle is lost in the schools it is unlikely to be regained elsewhere in our social system.

102. A major task facing the schools is therefore teaching English to the immigrant children. This will be their new medium of instruction for all purposes,

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\* Mary Ellen Goodman: "Race Awareness in Young Children". Collier—MacMillan, 1964.



and until they attain a fair degree of competence in both spoken and written English, and can listen with understanding, they will not be able to take a full part in ordinary lessons or profit from what the school has to offer. They will have many new things to learn and much leeway to make up; the school's teaching methods and discipline will often be unfamiliar and bewildering to them; and they need every possible form of assistance if they are ever to become fully effective in their use of English.

103. To these difficulties are added the problems of social and cultural deprivation which the immigrant children share with the other children in the neighbourhood. We have already described, in paragraphs 28 and 66, the type of area in which immigrants frequently find themselves living; here we would draw attention to the recommendations of the recent Plowden Report,\* which, in relation especially to nursery education and to "educational priority areas", are particularly relevant to the needs of immigrant children. The lack of social amenities and the poor state of many school buildings in these "twilight" areas mean that, at a time of general teacher shortage, local education authorities find it particularly difficult to give these schools the generous staffing ratios that are essential if the special educational needs of the children are to be met. Immigrant children, like other underprivileged children in such areas, often do not use words very precisely; their poor vocabulary and inadequate command of complex sentences lead to an inability to express any great variety of abstract ideas. Moreover, standard methods of testing ability are not geared to the special circumstances of immigrant children, whose performance, particularly in verbal tests, may not reflect their true potential and so may increase the appearance of educational backwardness which they often present. On the other hand, in terms of personal motivation and parental incentive, many immigrant children may have the advantage over their white counterparts.

104. Another task facing the school is helping the social adjustment of the immigrant children—aspects of which were discussed in paragraphs 87-92. Assuming that most of these children will stay here permanently, it is vital that they be guided and encouraged until the point is reached when they can take their place in society without fear, hesitation or timidity. Any attitude of "teach them to speak English and all the rest will follow" would be both complacent and unfortunate. This is true of all immigrant children but is especially relevant to those reaching school leaving age. We have been told that many of these children are choosing to stay on in school for a considerable period after reaching the age of 15 in order to improve their English; they may also be fearful of leaving the protection of the school and venturing into employment, and they will need extra help and support during this difficult period.

105. It seems important to us that the schools should take a major share in the task, already referred to in paragraphs 93-94, of promoting contacts with the parents of their immigrant pupils—a point which we shall also make when we turn to the Youth Service. We know that in Wolverhampton, for instance, two welfare officers, themselves immigrants, are engaged on this task. In Birmingham, a headmistress is forming a club of Asian mothers to help them learn about this country and its language. In Huddersfield, and also in one of the special reception centres for older immigrant children in Bradford, language

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\* "Children and their Primary Schools", Vol. I, H.M.S.O. 1967.



classes for immigrant mothers are held in school after the pupils leave. In Haringey, five classes have been established for adult students who are, for the most part, parents who cannot speak English; these classes are held in schools but run under the auspices of Adult Education Centres. These and many more are valuable contributions and, while we recognise the extra trouble they involve for all concerned, we hope that they will proliferate.

106. Finally, in our consideration of the part the schools can play, we come to the unique opportunity they have to promote healthy multi-racial relations. It would appear that younger children mix together cheerfully and unselfconsciously, but that by the time they reach the end of their secondary schooling immigrants are already tending not to associate so naturally with the other children. There is also some indication that contacts made in school do not carry over into out-of-school activities or into after-school life.

107. Immigrant children of higher ability seem to succeed in becoming accepted at school irrespective of initial prejudice. But the position is more difficult for those who are of lower ability or are less well adjusted socially and who may have experienced rejection. These children, whose insecurity may be expressed by rebellion or apathy, need to be assured that the effort asked of them will be appreciated. Equally, the other children must be helped to understand the fallacy of stereotyping and of holding rigid preconceptions about their coloured fellows. If older school children can be helped to understand how these prejudiced attitudes are formed, it may serve a valuable purpose in preparing them for a more balanced adolescent and adult life.

108. The appointment of a coloured teacher in some schools is found to have resulted in a more open-minded attitude to immigrants. Sometimes, too, a coloured pupil emerges as a popular leader in a school and can do much by his prowess and example to gain prestige for his people. There is, however, a danger here. Although such examples can be of great benefit in a school, it is misleading to suggest that because one immigrant pupil is accepted in this way all the others are similarly accepted by their fellows; this is by no means the case.

109. A valuable contribution to the life of a school can also be made by and through the pupils' own cultures. We would draw attention to the initiative taken by the Haringey Commonwealth Citizens' Committee in stimulating more interest in Commonwealth countries by promoting a different country each month for particular study in the schools. A list provided by Commonwealth High Commissions, giving details of available films and speakers, is circulated to all local head teachers through the local education authority. Within the schools, children from the chosen country are encouraged to describe it and demonstrate their folk-songs, dances and crafts.

### **The Transition to Employment**

110. Whereas the school can, and often does, act as a bridge between white and coloured residents the latter's experience in getting work often has the reverse effect. The extent of prejudice in the employment of young immigrants has become a controversial issue and we are conscious of the need for care in approaching this subject. We accept that it may be reasonable for employers to refuse some immigrants if their general education or their command of English are insufficient. This would affect particularly those youngsters coming



to this country at about 15 years of age who get no schooling here at all, or those who have so little time at school here that their lack of English makes it difficult to assess their true worth.

111. But there are other coloured youngsters, who were either born here or came here sufficiently early to get most if not all their schooling in British schools, whose true ability ought to be evident. So far these have been in the minority, but their numbers will increase year by year. The Plowden Report mentions that there were, in 1966, 57,000 West Indian, 24,000 Indian and 7,800 Pakistani children in English schools. The next decade, as these young people come onto the employment market, will be the testing time for our success in integrating them into our society. If they suffer in competition for jobs appropriate to their abilities, this could be discrimination, and we would condemn it for the harm it does to the individuals concerned and to the morale of other young immigrants, for the economic loss it causes to the community and for the effect on us all of living in an unjust society.

112. There is no general evidence of this kind of prejudice. But there are plenty of examples of the illogicality which can occur—for instance, despite parity of qualifications it causes less surprise in some areas if an immigrant works as a doctor or lecturer than as a waitress or sales-girl. The community accepts gratefully the ministrations of coloured nurses in hospitals but we have heard of cases where there is objection if coloured girls serve food or other goods in shops. Again, the chances of a young immigrant's obtaining an apprenticeship can vary with the circumstances in individual areas and on the degree of competition from local youths.

113. The reason given by some employers for rejecting coloured people is that it is to meet the wishes of the customer, or of some members of their staff. There may be little or no evidence of this claim, and it is thus difficult to place responsibility where it belongs. But there is clearly an urgent need to change such attitudes wherever they exist, as they are a cause of anxiety and resentment.

114. Evidence from the Inner London Education Authority on this subject has already been widely reported in the press, but we would quote the following passage as it is representative of many of the reports we have received:

"The experience of the youth employment service this summer has been that it is generally possible to place immigrants in employment which is commensurate with their abilities. This result, however, has been achieved through the patient and persistent efforts of youth employment officers since the placing work is often difficult and takes much longer than with English boys and girls of comparable ability. Some sectors of industry and commerce are virtually closed to some immigrants. Examples are banks, insurance companies, some retail sales work, some radio/T.V. servicing, etc. . . . Coloured girls seeking office employment, for instance, may well have to attend several interviews with different firms before being accepted and some employers tend to demand a higher standard from coloured boys and girls than they do from local white children. This often results in boys and girls hastily finding work for themselves in situations which make less demands on their abilities."

115. In connection with the above-quoted evidence, we have been informed by the British Insurance Association that out of 162,946 staff employed by insurance companies, 640 are coloured.



116. We were glad to note the initiative of the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants in calling a conference on "The Position of Coloured Workers in British Industry", in February 1967, attended by leaders of industry and the Trades Unions among others, at which the dangers, as well as the opportunities, of the situation were frankly discussed.

117. The most valuable and widespread means of creating proper contacts between young people and employers is through careers guidance in schools and the Youth Employment Service. Many local education authorities arrange visits to local firms and special careers information is prepared for immigrants in need of help. The task is twofold: to make young immigrants aware of employment possibilities and to give employers an opportunity to meet and get to know them. An interesting development has occurred at the Baptist Mills Secondary School in Bristol, which will be referred to in another connection in Section V of this report. Here a special evening course was set up to prepare young immigrants for the entrance requirements of a Trade Training Centre.

118. The evidence we have received suggests that the Youth Employment Service, in co-operation with the secondary schools, has addressed itself actively to the many problems of enabling immigrant boys and girls to obtain employment appropriate to their abilities and on equal terms with other school leavers. In January 1965 the Central Youth Employment Executive issued a memorandum seeking the help of local youth employment committees and officers in stressing the importance of spoken English, co-operating with schools in supplying information about employment opportunities and requirements to immigrant children and their parents, persuading employers that "immigrant young people of above average ability may be suitable for a wide variety of jobs" and sponsoring local consultations about the problems of employing young immigrants. The Executive are keeping the situation under continuous review.

119. Youth Employment Officers have a vital role in helping young immigrants. Their function is to provide careers information and vocational guidance to all school leavers, to follow up the careers of young people in employment until they reach the age of 18, and to provide the essential link between employers with vacancies and the applicants for jobs. In addition, they have an important function in helping young immigrants to take a realistic view of their own abilities, since many are ignorant of the standards of entry and training which may be required, and accordingly set their sights too high. When an inadequate command of English is a handicap to a young immigrant, he may be encouraged to attend a special language course or stay on longer at school. From there, if the facilities exist, he can go on to pre-apprenticeship and other vocational courses available at further education establishments. In view of the existing problems, enhanced as they will be by the greatly increased numbers of young immigrants entering the employment field in the coming years, Youth Employment Officers will need support and a strengthening in their task.

120. The importance of all these efforts on behalf of the young immigrant is considerable. His resentment of the prejudice against him when he seeks a job which he regards as within his abilities can readily be understood—particularly if the school he has just left had encouraged him to expect a successful career. It must be a considerable shock to realise that it is only his colour that holds



him back. This lack of acceptance is borne out by our evidence. For instance: "The problems of placing the immigrant into employment are in some ways similar to those experienced with the physically handicapped child; both suffer from a handicap, one physical the other social. . . . There are differences however, according to the country or origin . . . it is more often some form of racial prejudice when the West Indian is concerned." (London Borough of Haringey).

"Colour, while not being a barrier to obtaining skilled employment, does have a distorting effect on the employment experience of the immigrant group as a whole as compared with local school leavers." (Manchester County Borough).

121. Another local authority, Luton, which had reported that there was no special problem in the placing of immigrants in employment, nonetheless noted: "The school-leaver has personal difficulties because sometimes he is mystified by the fact that his white counterpart obtains suitable employment and he does not." This is a situation which, as we have already pointed out, could lead to serious trouble as a new generation of coloured youngsters, born and educated in Britain, emerge expecting the same opportunities as those with comparable qualifications.

122. The Central Youth Employment Executive are reasonably optimistic about the general situation—although they point out that the present economic restrictions may adversely affect the situation. The Westhill project, to which we have previously referred, reported that the work experience of those immigrants they had asked in Birmingham was good and few of them had found colour to be a difficulty in finding jobs. But we have since gathered, for instance from the conference referred to in paragraph 116, that the picture is not uniformly good, and that there is certainly no cause for complacency. In any case, the important question is not only to know whether young immigrants obtain jobs but whether the jobs they get match their abilities and whether, once in employment, their prospects of progress and promotion are as good as those of the other employees. Nor is it right that they should find it more difficult to be accepted for a job than white young people whose qualifications are no better than theirs.

123. We recommend for consideration the example of areas such as Slough, where young immigrant workers are encouraged to make social contacts by the association of firms with youth and community centres, to join youth organisations and to take up further education. All these are ways in which the young immigrant may be made to feel less isolated when he makes that great stride from school into the new and adult world of employment.

#### **Further Education**

124. Further education has a major role to play in helping young immigrants to improve their written and spoken English, their general education and their vocational qualifications. It can be a great help to immigrant youths who arrive in this country after the school leaving age with little or no English. The Department of Education and Science Circular 7/65 "The Education of Immigrants" records the Secretary of State's view that it is a function of the further education service to introduce adult immigrants to English ways of living and to help them speak English. The Circular expresses the Government's hope "that



employers will give all possible encouragement"—granting time off, helping with fees, accommodating classes on the firm's premises—"to their employees to attend these courses". In the view of the Committee, these suggestions are particularly relevant to the needs of young adult immigrants.

125. Our evidence shows a growing provision for the immigrant in further education. Apart from vocational, general studies and recreational classes, and courses which are open to all for whom they are appropriate, special arrangements have been made by local education authorities in colleges of further education, evening institutes and other centres to teach immigrants the English language and, though less frequently, English culture. In a number of cases the initiative has been taken by a voluntary organisation, perhaps assisted by the local education authority. There are classes started by immigrants' associations, groups based on churches, or on meetings for other purposes, such as one for women centred on an ante-natal clinic.

126. The young immigrant benefits directly and indirectly from provision such as this. The full-time English and preparatory courses for those over school leaving age are especially valuable as they may facilitate entry to general education and vocational examination courses leading to technical or professional qualifications. Such courses often have a special appeal for young immigrants and their parents.

127. Viewing its contribution in more general terms, a further education establishment, where full-time and part-time students assemble for a specific purpose and where they are free to associate, formally and informally, in a variety of situations, may well be one of the most effective integrating media. In this respect it must be considered alongside the Youth Service as an important means of helping young immigrants to establish themselves in this country.

128. Our evidence suggests that courses leading to academic, technical or commercial qualifications appeal especially to immigrants, although some take them "with the misguided incentive that any course will ultimately lead to a degree or professional qualification".

129. Finally, the further education institutions, along with the schools and the Youth Employment Service, can do much to help with educational problems of immigrants. So often their aspirations for themselves or their children are based on improving their status through educational qualifications. They need full information about what is available and wise guidance on making their choice of course. Special thought needs to be given to the method of preserving and imparting this information—even the fact that it is in English can be an additional barrier to immigrants.



## V. THE YOUTH SERVICE—MEETING THE NEEDS—THE PRESENT SITUATION

### Introduction

130. We are convinced that the Youth Service has a special role to play in the process of integration which we have defined as our aim. It can bring young people together in their leisure time and, through shared activities, provide opportunities for friendship and mutual understanding which will be valuable to them in the wider community in which they find themselves. This is not to overlook the fact that participation in the Youth Service is entirely voluntary and that many young people, immigrants and residents alike, may have no use for the facilities it provides. We have also pointed out (in paragraph 37) that the Youth Service must not be considered in isolation but seen rather as one of several agencies available to help young people in the transition from youth to adulthood, from education to employment.

131. We indicated earlier (paragraphs 36-38) the kind of Youth Service we see emerging. It needs to be out-going and community-oriented, because it is concerned with the life of the young person as a whole, and it needs to establish contacts with the main spheres of influence in his life: the home, school or further education, employment and, in some cases, his religious group. We do not regard the young person's part in this as at all passive. We want a Youth Service that is a constant challenge to each of its members to involve themselves with one another, and thence in the community.

132. We thus want to see a flexible, creative Youth Service, sensitive to the wider needs of young people and to the ever-changing pattern of their interests. This in turn calls for understanding and imaginative participation by adults working with them, for initiative in finding ways of stimulating and channelling enthusiasm and encouraging a positive contribution from all those concerned. At times it may need special initiative from adults to develop a sympathetic understanding of the newcomers in our midst, a perception of the common human elements which underlie the more obvious differences of customs, creed and colour. At other times the younger generation, with its absence of colour bias, will set the older an example.

133. Mr. Maurice Foley, when he was Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Home Office, said that the next five years will be of crucial importance in setting the pattern for times to come. Our own valuable discussion with Mr. Foley left us in no doubt of the seriousness of this warning and we urge all concerned with the Youth Service to take it to heart. We cannot afford to be complacent, to assume that, left alone, problems will sort themselves out. We must question the assumptions that the Youth Service will naturally and in its stride assimilate what amounts to a new dimension of its task, that young immigrants will be able, unaided, to make the transition expected of them, that social integration will naturally follow from integration in the schools, and that no special action is therefore necessary within the Youth Service or the other community agencies.

134. Instead, we see an urgent need to look at the situation clearly and objectively, to take steps now to shape the Service for its coming test when the larger numbers of immigrants at present in school reach Youth Service age. They must be given the fullest opportunity to develop their talents and make their own



distinctive contribution. It must be realised that the potential benefits are not to be measured in terms only of helping the young immigrants to find their feet. We believe that by promoting the acceptance of immigrants at the level of the younger generations we can assist in the formation of a new spirit of tolerance and understanding in the community—first, by the direct effect on that generation whose experience will be broadened by the contact, then by the percolating effect of the association of the young people through to their parents and families. By this means the next generation will be less handicapped in their efforts towards a good society.

### **The General Picture**

135. We start this section by examining the extent to which the Youth Service has so far attracted young immigrants and the ways in which this has been done. In giving examples from the evidence we received, we do not mean to imply that other areas or organisations have not taken useful initiatives which we could have quoted. But the general picture is far from encouraging, and our impression has been that such examples as have come our way were not as typical or as frequently to be found as we would have liked. We have described in some detail what has been done in two areas which illustrate the possibilities of a more positive and comprehensive approach. We conclude this section by referring to certain survey projects which seem to us to have special significance to this general review.

136. The extent to which the Youth Service has attracted immigrants has varied according to the level of acceptance of immigrants in the local community and according to the range of services available for young people generally. Where immigrants have joined a youth club or group in small numbers there is evidence that they take part in the activities like other members and mix well. But when they join in large numbers the situation seems to be much more difficult and there are fears, based on what has happened in some places, that these large incursions can drive out existing members and change the character and composition of the club.

137. There seem to be considerable variations in the degree of effort made to meet the needs of immigrants. Often we have gained the impression of a Youth Service which, being under-staffed and under-provided with buildings and equipment, is reluctant to take on what must seem an additional burden. Shortage of sporting facilities is a particular handicap, because it is these which often make a special appeal to young immigrants.

138. But, over and above any shortage of Youth Service facilities, we detect a lack of awareness of the special needs of young immigrants, almost a "take it or leave it" attitude, which is no better for being based on the philosophy that to make any special effort is itself a form of discrimination. We accept that special efforts can be over-done and may, by a patronising tone or an implication that coloured people are essentially different, do more harm than good. But we are convinced that some special effort, handled tactfully, is nevertheless needed if the Youth Service is to play a proper part in helping these new young citizens. In Bristol, for instance, personal contacts are made by youth workers through the schools, through the immigrant and other churches, and directly with immigrant families; these contacts then lead to introductions to suitable youth clubs. In



Nottingham, teachers have been asked by youth leaders to make sure that immigrants know they will be welcome at their clubs and how to set about joining them. Again in Nottingham, a clergyman visits immigrants in their homes and this has led to the club at his church having a 50 per cent coloured membership. In Blackburn, too, church clubs make a special attempt to encourage immigrants into membership through their chaplains.

139. Some of the evidence we received threw useful light on the varying success of different organisations in attracting immigrants. Thus:

"The most successful organisations in attracting coloured immigrants in the area are the uniformed ones and particularly the Boys' Brigade and the Boy Scouts. Possible reasons for their success are, partly that they are mainly based upon churches attended by the boys' parents and are, therefore, accepted as worthwhile, and partly because of the appeal of parades, brass bands, uniform and discipline. Some of the Authority's youth centres have attracted large numbers of immigrants and here the appeal has been in some cases the facilities for games and athletics and in others the fact that taking part in a class activity did not necessarily involve taking part in social activity. A few, but very few, examples are known of established clubs with a membership of mixed races and a substantial number of immigrants." (Inner London Education Authority).

"During the past five years it has been interesting to observe the increasing number of immigrants belonging to uniformed groups in the Willesden area. The majority of young people in these organisations are in the 7 to 15 age group, i.e. Boys' Brigade, Girls' Brigade, Brownies, Guides, Cubs and Scouts. The highest immigrant membership is to be found in Youth Groups attached to churches and this is reflected by the number of adult immigrants in the congregations. There is a tendency for young immigrants to favour single purpose groups where they are able to follow a specific activity i.e. athletics, cricket, swimming, netball, etc. In particular an interest has been shown in athletic pursuits." (London Borough of Brent).

140. The ratio of immigrants who are members of youth clubs and organisations is small, though increases are reported in recent years. One reason for this is that the number of immigrants in the Youth Service age range is low. We also note the success of the uniformed voluntary organisations. The Girl Guides reported an increase in recruitment of immigrants and also that they now have a few immigrant adult leaders. The Cadet forces have for many years had a good number of coloured members in Cardiff and Liverpool, but latterly numbers joining units in Birmingham, Bristol and elsewhere have also grown. Immigrants join the Junior Red Cross readily, and are integrated in their groups both in and out of school, as well as in the adult branch. The Boy Scouts Association, while not yet satisfied with the effort made in recruiting immigrants to their movement, reported a greater awareness of the situation than there was, say, three years ago. The Boys' Brigade was another organisation which reported an increased immigrant membership—amounting in one London unit to nearly half the total of 100. They also reported that an attempt to run a separate group had failed and that racially mixed groups are preferred.

141. Amongst other voluntary organisations, religious associations are well placed to achieve integration. The National Council for Catholic Youth Clubs reported that there was no problem or pressing need so far as Catholic immi-



grants were concerned—the common religion of their members created the necessary bond. We have noted that research is being undertaken by the Young Men's Christian Association in Stockwell and by the National Association of Youth Clubs, who have held consultations between youth organisers and leaders in areas of immigrant concentration.

142. Another clearly distinguishable strand in the present pattern is the attraction of sports and athletic activities. Apart from evidence already quoted, this is borne out by evidence from Newcastle, where immigrants are prominent in many teams and have represented the Northumberland County Association of Boys' Clubs in soccer and athletics. The most popular sports seem to be cricket (especially among West Indians), football (among the Indians), swimming, netball, athletics, judo, boxing and weightlifting. We do not regard these activities as the be-all and end-all of the Youth Service, but simply one of the many aspects of life and leisure that need to be encouraged. Nevertheless, if it attracts young immigrants to the Youth Service in the first place, this is a factor that should be considered carefully and, where appropriate, exploited.

143. Another successful line of approach seems to have been through contacts with schools. This line has been followed with some success in Birmingham, Bristol, Dudley, Nottingham, Haringey and Merton. The Chief Education Officer of Dudley wrote: "Integration for social intercourse stands a greater chance of success if it comes as a natural development of the integration of school life. I place greater hopes of future success in this field than in any other."

144. The Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme was reported as an agent of success with immigrants, particularly in Bristol, Dudley, Luton, Walsall, Islington and Paddington. In Dudley, we were told, "a considerable proportion of the secondary schools are engaged in the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme as an extra curricular activity for scholars over the age of 14 from which there could be direct progression to the Youth Service."

145. Involving immigrants in community service is another valuable approach, which has been tried out with success in Birmingham, Bristol, parts of London and in Blackburn—where one church club is seeking to attract immigrants via a social service group, in which members work in pairs and offer help in any way they can in a given area. We shall refer to the question of community service again later.

146. We have been interested to hear of the links established with immigrant organisations and liaison committees. In Camden, we learnt of the valuable work done in this direction by a voluntary organisation: "The Camden Committee for Community Relations (on which the Borough Youth Committee is represented and which is attended by the local Youth Officer) endeavours to maintain contacts with immigrants in its area, using immigrant voluntary workers for the purpose. Jointly with other voluntary organisations in its area the committee organised in August 1966 a five day 'holiday course with a purpose' at the L.E.A's outdoor pursuits centre in Surrey."

147. In the London Borough of Hillingdon another example of co-operative activity caught our attention; it illustrates the point we have already made about the part immigrants themselves can play in the process of integration.



Following a study by the Ickenham Hall Youth House of the situation of Indian immigrants in the Borough, an ambitious programme of folk songs, dances and plays was presented at a local theatre by members of Ickenham Hall and a group of young Indians, to audiences of about 1,000 people. The show was called "Triveni—Dove-tail", the Indian and English words expressing the idea of a confluence or fitting-in.

148. One fact that emerges clearly from our evidence is the dearth of immigrant leaders, particularly ones who have been trained as youth leaders. We assume that there would be no difficulty in finding local education authorities and voluntary organisations who would welcome the opportunity of employing such people in interesting and worthwhile posts where their special knowledge would be of great relevance. The task then is to find people among the immigrant community able and willing to come forward for training. We urge the training committees and establishments to be on the look-out for such candidates.

149. Similarly, there are few employed as detached workers in the Youth Service who have special assignments to work with immigrants. But we were glad to read the following in evidence from the Inner London Education Authority:

"In Tower Hamlets, as part of an experimental project concerned with unattached young people a field worker is employed in the Spitalfields area and he is working with young immigrants as well as English young people. One inner London borough employs a full-time worker to work with immigrants and another borough is contemplating such an appointment. The Notting Hill Social Council has the services of some voluntary field workers and a full-time director is shortly to be appointed, with the aid of grant from the Gulbenkian Foundation, to direct the work of integration."

150. Again, the Birmingham local education authority have appointed an Assistant for Youth Work at the Institute of Further Education at Sparkhill, which is an area with a large immigrant population. He has "been making contact with schools and immigrant organisations in the area to establish links with youth clubs and to endeavour to bring a greater number of young immigrants into clubs provided both by the local education authority and by voluntary bodies."

151. We now turn to the organisation and provision of clubs specifically for immigrants. Until quite recently, the tendency has been for such clubs to be set up by the immigrants themselves. In some instances, these form a part of the local Youth Service. In the London Borough of Ealing, an Indian Youth Club was established at Southall in 1965 through the initiative of two young adult immigrants; although not restricted to immigrants, the club's membership in practice is almost entirely Asian. They join with other clubs in inter-club visits, youth camps and concerts and the Indian youth leaders have taken part in conferences and attended training courses along with leaders from other youth clubs. In Wolverhampton, the immigrant groups also co-operate with the local system, and their representatives have been co-opted on to the Youth Advisory Committee.



152. These examples of separate provision, closely linked with other local enterprises, are reassuring. Nevertheless, we have already (in paragraphs 47-58) voiced our misgivings about this kind of provision as a general rule, because we fear that local education authorities may increasingly go in for this solution, which we regard as almost always a second-best solution and one which runs the risk of becoming a permanent form of segregation.

### A Positive Approach

153. We promised earlier to consider in greater detail the approach to the problem made in two specific areas—chosen because they exemplify a positive, planned approach, contrasting with the piece-meal attempts and *laissez-faire* attitudes which exist in some areas.

#### *Bristol*

154. The Youth Committee of the Bristol local education authority have taken an active interest in the affairs of immigrants in the city over a number of years. In 1960, when it was realised that problems were likely to arise in two particular areas of the city where immigrants had settled, they decided to take special steps which it will be of interest to describe here.

155. First, after consulting the Bristol Council of Social Service, the Committee approached the Joseph Rowntree Trust and obtained a grant which enabled them to meet the salary and expenses of a youth field worker for five years. This worker, who was appointed in 1962, was "to investigate the problems of a multi-racial community and to make recommendations for integration". To supervise the project, the Youth Committee appointed a Steering Committee. Secondly, on the recommendation of the Youth Committee, the Authority decided in 1962 to develop the Baptist Mills Youth Centre as a multi-racial establishment, converting a disused school for the purpose and appointing a teacher-leader to be in charge.

156. There is little doubt that these two steps have done much to establish a healthy multi-racial atmosphere in Bristol. It does not follow that similar steps would be precisely right for other areas, but the important lesson is that whatever steps are appropriate must be taken early, before wrong attitudes are taken up and opportunities for constructive action are lost.

157. There has been notable success in attracting young immigrants to youth clubs. Nearly one third of the immigrants in the 14-18 age group belong to some youth organisation in the city. The youth worker acts, in fact, as a community worker whose contacts extend, on the one hand, to the other relevant agencies in the community—youth organisations, schools, churches (both immigrant and non-immigrant)—and, on the other hand, to the homes of the young people, to secure the understanding and support of the parents. All this means that there is much preparation before a young immigrant boy or girl is introduced to an appropriate club and so the risk of disappointment, on either side, is reduced.

158. The Baptist Mills Youth Centre stands as an example of an open, multi-racial club. It works in close association with Baptist Mills Secondary School. The present membership of the Centre is 250, and the proportion of immigrants, at about 40 per cent, reflects the proportion in the locality. The majority (about 90) of immigrant members are West Indians. The policy of the club is to get



members to take as full a part in the Centre as possible. Activities develop naturally and inter-group visits are encouraged. To its members, the appeal of the club is primarily social. In the course of an interesting talk with the club leader, Mr. Atherton, we gathered that the members tend to shy away from notions of "race", and do not like too much fuss to be made about the multi-racial aspect of their club.

159. It was not always plain sailing. When Mr. Atherton joined the club in March 1964 there was a certain amount of tension between coloured and white groups within the club and it had in fact been closed for a time. But reason prevailed when it was realised that serious trouble would lead to permanent closure. For the next 18 months the atmosphere in the club was one of "withdrawal"—that is, the two racial groups existed side by side, and reasonably peaceably, but with little real contact. Then a judo class which was originally patronised entirely by the white youths became all coloured after one or two West Indians joined it. At this stage the club leader and his assistants began to be regarded not only as sympathetic adults, prepared to help with individual problems, but also as arbiters between the groups. Finally, however, there came a third stage when two West Indians were elected to the members' committee in an open election. This caused something of a break-through and the previous withdrawal has been modified to the extent that some 10 per cent of the membership now move freely and naturally within the club and recognise no special allegiance to either group. The judo class has become racially mixed, and all the activities of the centre are decided by members. Inter-club visits are encouraged in order to develop social confidence and the ability to accept strangers.

160. It seemed to us worth recounting the story of this interesting Centre. Anyone who expects dramatic changes and simple solutions might be disappointed. But careful preliminary planning, patience and tact do eventually produce results. Interesting also is Mr. Atherton's analysis of the reasons for the change in the atmosphere of the Centre. First was the election of the two West Indians to the committee. Then there was the contribution of the field worker, who helped to establish sympathetic lines of communication with young immigrants and their families, and prepared them for the venture of joining a racially mixed club. It was important that more than half of the club members were still at school and so had a common ground of experience which led to easier contacts in the club. By contrast, experience at work seemed to drive people apart, though Youth Employment Officers and those schools which organised meetings with parents and work adjustment courses for school leavers, often helped to neutralise this. We have referred already (in paragraph 117) to one interesting development here.

161. The general atmosphere of enquiry, of examination of problems and experimenting with possible solutions, led to a number of interesting developments, of which we propose to describe just two more. One was the Youth Service training course for young West Indian immigrants, run by the Training Committee of the Bristol Youth Committee. The course was spread over seven weeks, and included one residential and one non-residential weekend. It was directed by the Bristol Youth Organiser, under the supervision of the Youth Service Officer, with three youth workers acting as tutors. The course was attended by 12 young West Indians who were allotted to various youth groups and youth clubs. The course included information on the Youth Service, tutorial



group meetings, practice of youth leadership in youth groups and participation in social and recreational events. Visits were organised to various places of interest in Bristol, the intention being to make the students feel part of the community with a contribution of their own to make. The residential weekend, held on a farm, was perhaps the high point of the course. This introduction to the Youth Service had a marked effect on the students by widening their interest in the community and several of them decided to undertake further training for youth work.

162. The other notable development is the Anglo-Caribbean Club. Although it has a national origin, this club is in fact open to members of all racial groups. The membership has varied between 35-45, of whom about 75 per cent are West Indian and the rest English (including university students); there are also some associate members from a nearby public school. There are at present more boys than girls because of the reluctance of many West Indian families to allow their girls out at night. The club meets once a week in premises let to them by the Toc H Association at a nominal rent. The programme, decided upon by a members' council, is informal, usually with a short organised introductory session—a conference, talk or film. Guest speakers have included a magistrate, a television producer, and a police officer. Visits are organised and there have been weekend outings. One important part of the club's activity is community service; it organised a Christmas party for 300 children and is an active member of "Service 9"—the Bristol Community Service Association.

163. Other activities in Bristol have included pre-Group training in Scouting for immigrant boys—designed with the aim of "preparing the boys to accept and understand the spirit of scouting, and of informing parents of the meaning and procedures of the Scout movement"—as well as conferences, holidays abroad, and participation in the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme. These and other developments are too numerous to describe in detail. Enough has been said to indicate why we chose Bristol as one illustration. It provides an example of imaginative endeavour, of constructive action taken in time, from which six features emerge and seem to us to be worth stressing:

- (a) community involvement;
- (b) a reaching-out to meet young immigrants;
- (c) the strengthening of links with parents and schools;
- (d) the encouragement of contacts with a wider circle of young people;
- (e) the training of voluntary part-time youth workers;
- (f) the cumulative effect of enthusiasm, with one initiative leading to another.

#### *Sheffield*

164. The other example we thought worth describing is in Sheffield. Here again we were interested to note how co-operation has existed at many levels—from the local education authority to individual groups of young people acting on their own initiative.

165. In June 1965, a weekend course entitled "The World Around Us" was arranged for senior members of local education authority youth clubs. One of the speakers was Mr. Eric Irons, who described some of the problems facing



coloured immigrants in this country. This aroused such interest that some of the young people who attended set up a study group to examine the situation of West Indian immigrants in Sheffield and the contribution which young people of all nationalities might make to promote better understanding within the community. The study group consisted of 17 members of local education authority youth clubs and 10 young West Indians (all between 16 and 21 years of age), assisted by nine adults, of whom five were West Indians and four Youth Service workers. This group's report "West Indians in Sheffield" gained one of the six International Co-operation Year awards. It highlighted the lack of social contact between immigrants and local residents and recommended the setting up of a West Indian Centre as a first step to integration. The relevant part of the report reads:

"West Indians need a place where they can be among their own people and learn to develop self-confidence. Within their own centre they could impart information about British ways and customs, deal with members' problems, develop groups for such activities as a calypso choir, a steel band, a cricket team and thus make a distinctive contribution to the social and cultural life of the city. They would be able to extend hospitality to the host community and not always be on the receiving end of any joint venture."

166. As a result of this report there was established, in May 1966, with the help of the local authority's Youth and Community Officer, the Crookesmoor Youth Club, which aimed primarily, but not exclusively, at attracting West Indians. Four months later the club had proved its worth and responsibility for it was taken over by the local education authority. Through the club, about 100 of the 150 young West Indians in Sheffield were contacted. The club meets under West Indian leadership on three evenings a week, with an average attendance of 60 on a Friday. Its aims are to meet the special needs of young immigrants by providing a place where they can be sure of acceptance and to promote their contacts with others by inviting guests and by taking part in activities with other clubs—in games and sports leagues, social evenings, camps, festivals, conferences and inter-club visits.

167. The club has however another purpose—it provides a training ground:

"The Crookesmoor Club will enable Youth Officers to help other youth leaders to learn more about immigrants, to analyse their own prejudices and to see their responsibility for encouraging the right attitudes among their members. It will enable members to begin to know West Indians as individuals and as people in their own right."

168. The local education authority do not claim that the club is the complete or only answer, though they see it as a positive first step to integration and understanding. Indeed, it is only right to record that there has been criticism of the venture. A letter from Mr. F. H. Pedley, Chairman of the Keighley International Friendship Committee, published in "Youth Service", \* summed this up as follows:

"If one were to accept that the Youth Service should provide separate facilities for each racial group then one might just as logically accept that racial groups should live in separate communities of their own—and if one accepts this the road to apartheid is wide open".

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\* "Youth Service" Vol. 6 No. 9. November 1966.



169. On the other hand, the response of immigrants to the club bears witness to the need for Youth Service provision amongst immigrants. A questionnaire circulated amongst the young people in the course of enquiries by the study group had shown that a great number would not join youth clubs for fear of rejection. As the Sheffield local education authority's evidence says:

"A special problem young immigrants have to solve is how to gain 'acceptance'. Young people of the immigrant community see acceptance by the 'youth fraternity' as highly desirable but it is precisely in these areas of leisure and informal social contact that it is most difficult to bring about integration. Young people band together in their own self-selected groupings and it is never easy for young immigrants to become part of such groupings: yet the feeling of belonging to such a group is of great importance to young people."

170. We accept that there is a danger of permanent segregation in the Sheffield venture. But we applaud the effort and commend the willingness to listen to the wishes of immigrants themselves, the readiness to build on promising developments and to exploit success where it occurs rather than waiting for difficult situations to arise.

### Surveys

171. In the present uncertain situation, in which local authorities and voluntary bodies, with varying degrees of conviction, are seeking ways of defining and solving the problems which may arise, there is a need for research into the needs of young immigrants and the various aspects of social integration. We were glad, in this connection, to learn that the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants had appointed a Community Relations Panel and we shall look to them for future guidance about the problems of social integration.

172. Meanwhile, some surveys have already been carried out which we consider important enough to describe here. The examples chosen do not make up an exhaustive list, however, nor do we overlook the more practical and experimental work that has been going on. We are aware, for instance, of the valuable work done by the National Association of Youth Clubs in bringing together youth workers operating in areas of immigrant settlement to discuss common problems and make practical suggestions for coping with them. One such conference was held in Bristol in June 1966, in co-operation with the Youth Service Association. It was attended by youth organisers, youth workers, clergymen, school teachers, a children's officer and others engaged in welfare liaison with immigrant groups. One of the interesting points to come out of this conference was the realisation of the extent to which young immigrants suffer from the general social deprivation. We cannot over-stress the value of bringing people together in this way, particularly with immigrants themselves present, as a means of getting to understand the problems better. We ourselves benefited a great deal from our own meetings of this sort and we have already seen, in the evidence from Sheffield and elsewhere, how out of such meetings positive action can result.

*"Young and Coloured"—A Survey by the Youth Development Trust, Manchester*

173. The first example we look at confirms the point made in the previous paragraph that the problems of young immigrants in the transition from school to adult life are partly those of a general social deprivation, but they are made more difficult by cultural differences and by colour prejudice. It throws much light on the position of the young coloured immigrant in our society:



"What is clear, however, is that discrimination does take place in the field of employment and that even when the coloured youngster has the necessary ability and qualifications, he may be refused a job on the grounds of his colour alone. It is also clear that after leaving school the coloured child very often ceases to have close friendships with white children, often leads a quite separate social life and seldom inter-marries. These changes are, however, not only the result of discrimination, they are also chosen by the coloured child and his parents."

174. The report points out that the pattern of leisure of some young immigrants is more related to that of their parents than it is to that of their English peers. Young Asians may have little time for leisure because they work long or inconvenient hours and their free time may not therefore coincide with that of other people. Young Muslims, moreover, are restricted by religious obligations which also restrict their leisure time. Most young men do without female companionship since there are so few girls of their own race and religion, but a few do meet English girls and even fewer marry them.

175. The leisure pattern of young West Indians is shown to be basically the same family centred pattern as the Asians, though the larger number of West Indian girls makes it easier and more natural for boys and girls to meet. West Indians usually seek entertainment in the company of fellow countrymen and their contact with English youngsters was found to be almost non-existent.

176. The survey demonstrates that young immigrants show little or no interest in the Youth Service or in organised youth contacts. But the reasons for these failures are linked with other factors:

"It is clear from this survey that the Youth Service has at present little meaning for the West Indian or Asian youth. In the areas where they live the civic provision is weak or absent. There are no full-time leaders and no purpose-built centres, and the part-time leaders have usually had no training in youth work, and certainly none in dealing with the special problems of coloured immigrants. The voluntary provision is not much more successful. Again the church youth clubs have no full-time leaders and most of their part-time leaders are untrained. For the sake of all young people in these backward areas of the city the Youth Service must be improved."

177. The report of the survey concludes:

"The present generation of teenagers are still protected by the customs they, and their parents, have brought with them. But the next generation will have been brought up here and will expect to be treated like any other young person. If they are disappointed it will take much longer, and cost much more, to heal the hurt that is done. In ten years there will be twice the number of coloured youths in Manchester."

#### *A Survey on Immigrants in Bradford Youth Groups*

178. This survey in Bradford was conducted by Mr. Eric Butterworth in the Spring of 1966. At that time there were 420 youth groups operating in Bradford but unfortunately only 65 of these replied to a questionnaire—though these did include all those, numbering 19, having immigrant members. The size of the 65 groups ranged from 15 to 800 members. Of the 19 groups with immigrant members, 10 had West Indian, eight Pakistani, three Indian and two African members—all male. No distinction was made on grounds of colour.



179. On the whole, it was found that immigrant members were regular in their attendance and joined in club activities in the same way as other members. The proportion of immigrant youngsters was estimated at about 10 per cent of the relevant immigrant age groups. Of the total of 108 immigrants, 22 were members of uniformed organisations. The largest single group was 30, all West Indians, in the Y.M.C.A.

180. Mr. Butterworth's conclusion was that little attempt had hitherto been made to bring the young immigrants into the Youth Service in Bradford. Only four clubs had made special attempts in this direction, although ten others thought that such attempts should be made. There was, however, one youth club, with 24 members, run especially for West Indians at St. Patrick's Church, and another, at a school serving as a centre for teaching immigrants English which was attracting about 70 boys (all Pakistani or Indian). From this Mr. Butterworth saw the possibility of basing youth groups on schools in ways that would allow for more flexibility and more chance of success. His report goes on:

"Looking at the general situation of immigrants, it is apparent that many are concentrated in a few relatively central areas of the city. In this situation it is more likely that segregated clubs will be successful, although it should be pointed out that there tends to be very little mixing between immigrant young people from different backgrounds . . . some immigrant families are now moving away from the areas of first settlement, and it is likely that these families exhibit characteristics of adaptation to local society which might also influence their children in joining youth groups and other organisations. At present it is very difficult for many immigrant parents to understand the purposes of the youth service and many see it with suspicion as being a vehicle for subverting the values of the immigrant communities. The extent to which there is movement into organisations on an individual basis, on however small a scale, is illustrated by the fact that in thirteen cases the immigrant young person was the only member from his particular community in the group."

*Y.M.C.A. Survey in Brixton*

181. The Young Men's Christian Association has carried out in Stockwell a survey, conducted by King George's House on the basis of a questionnaire, about the attitudes of young West Indians to the Youth Service, their reaction to life in the United Kingdom and the way they spend their leisure. We were grateful to be given an interim report on this survey. It appeared that the attitudes of young immigrants to life in this country depended on their age and the length of time they had been here. The older teenagers, recently arrived, tended to talk of discrimination. The younger ones, still at school, had scholastic ambition and, on the whole, were not apprehensive that their colour would cause difficulties—though they were conscious of the need to improve their command of English and the report recommends the organisation of special conversation classes for them. The report also points to the poor living conditions of many young immigrants: "There is no doubt that inferior living conditions will always be a factor working against integration and there is the further tendency for whole areas to be almost exclusively occupied by coloured folk".

182. On leisure pursuits, games were the most popular among the boys, particularly football, cricket and table-tennis, though also mentioned were reading, music (serious and "pop"), dancing, swimming, stamp-collecting,



boxing, wrestling and judo. It is interesting that the young people listed education and the wide range of leisure pursuits as aspects of British life which particularly attracted them. They expressed a preference for multi-racial clubs—though the report notes that those they attend are probably multi-racial in name only, and in practice are entirely coloured. On this question the report states:

“We should not concern ourselves about multi-racial clubs for the first generation immigrants. We think it likely that the youths will be attracted much more to the clubs where they are in the majority. We are not here recommending segregation but . . . We think it is more important to get the young people together than to worry over-much at this stage about making them nicely 50 per cent white and 50 per cent coloured.”

183. The report makes interesting comments on the role of the churches (many West Indian immigrants who attended church in the West Indies cease to do so here): “The churches have a great challenge to meet and cannot be said to be meeting it very well. They, more than anyone, should be pursuing a policy of integration . . . The question is ‘will the church practice what she preaches’ ”.

#### *The Coloured Teenager in Birmingham*

184. We noted a similar comment in the report\* of a survey conducted in Birmingham by Westhill College of Education. This too asked “whether the churches have played their catalytic role in the matter of integration” and referred to “churches which collect large sums to support missionaries overseas yet the members are not as active as they might be in offering personal friendship to coloured residents in the neighbourhood. This seems to be a curious kind of specialisation. Perhaps local churches should address themselves specifically to this opportunity for Christian fellowship and ask what specific gestures of friendship are demanded by their faith.”

185. The survey was directed at finding out more about the experience of coloured teenagers in school and work, in leisure and youth organisations. It makes a point of distinguishing the first generation immigrants from the others, emphasises the important part the Youth Service could play in the integration into society and the importance of training for a multi-racial situation. The report also brings out the fact that many of the difficulties of coloured immigrants are general to their social class rather than their colour. Where this report differs from the general run of our evidence is over the relative success of uniformed organisations in attracting immigrants—it does not find these are conspicuously more successful than other organisations.

#### *Project by Young Christian Workers in Wandsworth and Lee*

186. The Young Christian Workers recently undertook a pilot “immigration campaign” conducted by two groups in South London. The aim was to educate young British workers about the situation of immigrants in this country and to help them establish contacts with these immigrants and with overseas students. The campaign was intended as a forerunner to a later, more concerted, effort in London and elsewhere, to involve immigrants in the work of the Young Christian Workers and, at the same time, to involve English members in the lives and problems of the immigrants.

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\* “Operation Integration Two”—The Coloured Teenager in Birmingham—Westhill Occasional Paper No. 13, Westhill College of Education, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29.



187. We were particularly interested in this venture for two reasons: the involvement of young adults themselves in the pilot schemes, and the attempt to study not only the needs of immigrants but also the attitudes and reactions of the English members. This revealed the existence of appreciable prejudice on the part of English teenagers. The campaign itself succeeded in establishing sympathetic understanding between the various groups, and the lessons learnt, of how to get to know and work with young immigrants, will be put into practice elsewhere. As a result of this exercise, a permanent committee is now to be set up in Wandsworth which will seek to increase the points of contact between young people of different races. The main lessons recorded by the Lee group were: "a realisation that lack of personal relationships is one of the main reasons why colour prejudice exists" and "the discovery that immigrants cover all social classes, from professional people to manual workers".



## VI. THE YOUTH SERVICE—MEETING THE NEEDS—THE WAY AHEAD

### The General Approach

188. It will have been seen from our review of evidence in the preceding section of this report that the amount and type of provision for young immigrants within the Youth Service varies from area to area, and while this was not, for reasons explained early in our report (paragraph 39), an exhaustive survey we have come to the general conclusion, based on the more encouraging developments which have come to our notice, that there is a clear case for a comprehensive, planned approach if the worst dangers are to be avoided. The problems we are discussing are not static ones and a *laissez-faire* attitude will not keep things as they are, but make them much worse. It is the purpose of this section of our report to clarify what we mean by a comprehensive, planned approach and to point to some of the fundamental issues which have to be faced.

189. We have noted on several occasions in the course of this report that the local situation itself varies, and it is clear from some of the examples we have quoted that successful ventures have often started from a thought-provoking study or detailed survey of a local situation. There are probably as many ways of setting about this task as there are varieties of situation. It may be on the initiative of the local authority, a voluntary body or the churches, or by direct action by immigrants and the local community. We noted a number of examples in the course of the preceding section, and another that came to our notice was a study day organised by the Yorkshire Council of Social Service under the title "The Young Immigrant".

190. Local youth committees and voluntary organisations would do well therefore to begin at the roots, by surveying the local situation with great care, identifying the different groups of immigrants and the age ranges of their children, and finding out about their attitudes—those of the parents no less than those of their children. Similarly the attitudes of the established local population, particularly of the young people of corresponding age to the young immigrants, need to be tested. With both these groups it is important to find out how they themselves feel, both because they know their own feelings best and because this is where involvement can start. It is not enough to ask one set of people, however well-informed, about the children of another group. The quality and limitations of the local Youth Service also need to be realistically assessed and a careful appraisal made of all the other helping agencies: the churches, the Youth Employment Service, the schools, further education, employers and immigrant representatives. Only by a careful preparation of this kind can sound foundations for positive action be laid. This process of discovering the facts should lead to ideas and discussions for improving the situation. These can take place within and between existing groups or in groups specially established for the purpose.

191. In this, local committees and voluntary bodies might well seek the help of the voluntary Liaison Committees which are associated with the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants. There are now 45 of them in different parts of the country and we believe they have a vital part to play as a link between the immigrant community and the local Youth Service. We also



believe that immigrant leaders or representatives should be drawn more frequently into the work of local authority Youth Committees, committees of voluntary youth organisations, local standing conferences of voluntary youth organisations and youth councils, and, on occasion, be co-opted to serve on them. In terms of the exchange of information, mutual trust and understanding, this should be to the benefit of all concerned.

192. If local initiative has tackled the first essential of getting to understand the outlook of the various groups, both white and coloured, parents and children, and helped them to understand each other's point of view a little better, there is one final contact to be made—that is between the young immigrant and the Youth Service. We shall consider shortly what kind of facilities are needed, but whatever is provided there is a threshold to be crossed and a welcoming hand to be extended. Who is to do this?

193. In our report, the term youth worker is used to describe all adults who are actively engaged in the Youth Service. Some of these are full-time leaders of large youth clubs open most of the week. Others may be occupied full-time in a detached role with young people outside the Youth Service organisations. Then there are very large numbers of part-time workers—some paid, some unpaid—who may be leaders, assistant leaders, instructors or helpers. There are also the members themselves. A club may have a variety of people fulfilling various roles within the club. Some may not be present each time the club is open, some will be concerned only with a single group activity or class within the club. We see all of these as playing a vital part in the development of an integrated membership. There may be one key person, but responsibility for carrying out club aims, policy and methods belongs to the team as a whole. Each member should know what is being attempted, should be prepared for his role in the operation and should be trained to fulfil it. The task of making the first contact with parents, sons and daughters may well be shared between the leader and others; each may meet the immigrant member during a club session, perhaps in the canteen or the games room or in the course of some other activity. All are concerned in creating attitudes and a friendly atmosphere of welcome. This calls for great tact, patience and sympathetic understanding. But the alternative, of letting the young immigrant venture into a club where he is not welcome, is very much worse.

194. Just as great a responsibility for successful integration rests on the members themselves. However well laid and well meaning the plans of the local education authority or the management committee, and however well prepared the staff to carry out these plans, success will depend on individual relationships and contracts between members. The co-operation of members is more likely to be assured where they already participate actively in the affairs of the club, in formulating policy and planning programmes, in initiating, developing and supervising activities. The Albemarle Report (paragraph 176) stresses the importance of involving "the fourth partner" (the members) in recruitment . . . "Responsibility for the unattached rests upon young people just as much as upon adults . . ." Where a club already practises forms of self-government and self-direction, the machinery will exist to enable staff and members to prepare together to receive immigrants into the club and to establish the best conditions for integration. If no such machinery exists, this may well be a good reason for establishing it. But whatever the case, it is important for the members to be prepared for this new situation and for their part in successful integration.



195. Fortunately, the youth leader and the rest of his team need not be alone in their task. They may have the range of helping agencies referred to in paragraph 190 on which to rely, and can hope to build on the general predisposition towards acceptance which the young people will have gained in the local schools. Nor are the benefits all being conferred on the newcomers. They themselves can bring much to a club—a fresh outlook, their own kind of gaiety and spontaneity, prowess in various fields, such as sport and music, a deep seriousness, experience of suffering, and ambitions for a better way of life. They can teach the English boy or girl much about the world and widen his or her outlook. Accepting immigrants into a club needs no apology or condescension.

196. Before examining the ways in which the Youth Service can play its part in a policy of social integration, we need to say a final word about the facilities provided for the Youth Service—its buildings, equipment, running costs and manpower. We have already made it clear that we see these all playing an essential part in the process of examining the local situation and stimulating local initiatives. But the rest of what we have to say calls for a new look at the whole Youth Service in an area—at its facilities and its staff—to see if it is up to the challenge that a new impetus may well involve. We have earlier described the need for a flexible Youth Service. This can have a variety of implications for the statutory and voluntary bodies who between them provide the services. They will have to consider the adequacy of their premises if there is to be any noticeable influx of members and, building programmes being limited, will have to see if more intensive use cannot be made of what is available in the area. They will have to review the equipment of clubs to see if it is not only sufficient in quantity but of the kind to attract young immigrants, bearing in mind particularly the need for games provision. They will have to see if other organisations in the area have facilities which may be made available. Finally, the staffing of the Youth Service in the locality needs to be reviewed, not only to see whether it is sufficient to cope with new members and new problems but also to consider the need for conferences or special in-service courses to prepare those youth workers with growing responsibilities for their new roles and to enable them better to co-operate with other community workers.

#### **The Kind of Provision—The Basic Choice**

197. We have emphasised the need for examination of the local situation, which can vary. But there are certain main decisions of policy which will have to be made once the local variations have been determined. The rest of this section will describe these and we will offer our advice upon the choices which in each case will face those responsible.

198. The basic choice, it seems to us, arises from the target of integration which we have set ourselves. It is between ethnically mixed or separate provision. We have already described the implications of this decision in the latter part of Section III, where we examined the meaning we attributed to the word, and we have at several subsequent points made it clear that we consider that integration would be better served through multi-racial contacts within the existing Youth Service than by separate provision. In this we are supported by evidence from immigrants. For instance, most of the West Indian families interviewed in Oxford had children involved in local activities and had English friends. While most of the parents confessed to some concern about the effects of these contacts, particularly on the score of moral standards, they were unanimously opposed to the



idea of separate provision of leisure facilities for their children, however carefully tailored to their needs. Several interesting points were made in support of this view: that there was no guarantee that these arrangements would remain interim ones and disappear when the need for them disappeared, that they would have a segregative influence when what the families needed was closer association with the community around them and that, in fact, this was an evasive, second-best solution.

199. We have to recognise that these were views of people who had been in this country a little while and whose children were, or had been, at English schools. There are rather special difficulties to face with young people who have only just arrived here, whose English may be poor and who would find the step into a typical English youth club too much to cope with all at once. Here we can see the basis of a case for separate provision, just as special immigrant classes are arranged in some schools. But, to complete the analogy, these classes are usually within a normal school and are to be regarded as strictly an interim solution until the pupil is ready to take his place in the ordinary, mixed class which is regarded as the norm. We therefore repeat our view that separate provision is right only in the limited circumstances prescribed in paragraphs 53-58.

200. With this basic choice in mind, that is between racially mixed and separate provision, we now consider various solutions, and patterns of solution, that might be suitable in various organisational situations.

### **Separate Provision**

201. We have already (in paragraphs 53-58 and 151-152, for instance) examined the case for separate provision and, while recognising that it has been found helpful in some places, explained our reasons for rejecting it as a normal solution. But we do also recognise that, out of the initiative of immigrant groups, separate, or national, groups may arise. Our attitude to these would depend largely on the motivation behind them. Where they were set up deliberately as a second-best solution, when a multi-racial solution would have been feasible, we would deplore them. Where they met a need which could not otherwise be met, we would tolerate them, on the grounds that they might be better than nothing, but would still hope that they might become integrated later. Sometimes a separate club occurs by accident—that is, when what is intended as a multi-racial club “tips over” as a result of an influx of immigrants driving out the existing members. In these cases the character and racial make-up of a club can change, quite unintentionally, and it becomes in effect a separate club. This would seem to point to the need for careful planning and phasing when introducing the newcomers into an established club whose membership has hitherto been white.

202. However they come into being, the important thing is that these separate clubs should regard themselves as related to the local Youth Service and as a bridge to help their members form a part, albeit with their own distinctive background, of the local community. It follows that where such clubs exist, their leaders should be kept in close touch with the local authority and voluntary services and made to feel a part of a general Youth Service and community venture, in which they can be contributors as well as beneficiaries. Insulation, established for whatever reason, good or bad, must not become isolation.



203. While we would not normally recommend local education authorities and voluntary bodies to make separate provision, this may be appropriate in exceptional circumstances and as an interim measure—and then not necessarily in separate clubs but rather in separate groups within clubs. The first example is the Asian girls who, as we have noted several times already, tend to be more strictly tied by custom than are the boys. The Youth Service might well see it as its function to form groups of these girls, possibly under older women of their own race, to meet initially for such activities as sewing, cooking, national dancing and craftwork. This kind of group could, under careful leadership, and with the co-operation of the parents, lead on to discussion of conditions in the new country and provide a stepping-stone into a rather freer association with mixed clubs or adult societies. Another special group are those youths who arrive in this country after school age and go straight into employment. Here again, we can see a case for separate provision, mainly for the purpose of learning English, provided it always has as its end result the helping of the young people to mix more freely with other young people as soon as they can.

204. Much the same thought was expressed in an editorial in "Youth Review" for February 1966\*:

"Maybe we shall have to accept the situation that it is pretty natural for young folk to group themselves first with their compatriots, and that we shall have to move on from that situation to the integration of coloured clubs within local groups and federations, where they can have ever increasing joint activity and co-operation with white youngsters in a wide field of interests. Then the dividing lines might well become blurred and the young people increasingly welcomed for their own effort and their own worth as individual members of the human race."

### **Uniformed Organisations**

205. We have already mentioned, in paragraphs 139-140, the success of the uniformed organisations in attracting immigrants, especially those in the younger age groups. The reasons for this are the ideology of the movements, the ceremonial, the levelling effect of the uniform and the established, well-known character of each organisation—they may have branches in the homelands of the immigrants—which is a reassurance in an otherwise unfamiliar world. Moreover, the programmes of these organisations are largely activity-based and we have noted how this too has a special appeal for young immigrants. Psychologically, we can appreciate how the "structured" basis of a unit of one of these organisations—the patrol or troop in the case of the Girl Guides or Boy Scouts, the company in the Boys' Brigade, for instance—provides an environment which can be controlled by a leader, and situations which, because they promote interdependence, loyalty and a feeling of community, are naturally conducive to mutual understanding.

206. Given this potential, we have been interested to hear of positive attempts made to attract immigrants to these various organisations. For instance, the Boy Scouts in Bristol have organised pre-Group training for immigrant boys while at the same time taking pains to explain the aims and objectives of the movement to the parents. The purpose of the scheme was defined as: "a means

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\* "Youth Review"—The National Union of Teachers in association with the National Association of Youth Service Officers and the Youth Service Association. No. 5 February 1966.



of preparing the boy to accept and understand the spirit of Scouting, and of informing parents of the meaning and procedures of the Scout Movement. The training should demonstrate in simple terms that Scouting is a brotherhood, a movement, a game and a way of life. The *modus operandi* should be: (a) To use the Tenderfoot Test as it was intended to be used, i.e. as a microcosm of the whole of Scouting. (b) To give the boy glimpses of what he will be doing on his journey through Scouting. (c) To put over to parents and boys, without obviousness, that Scouting is non-racial in the truest sense, with world-wide application and not a paternalistic white organisation." This particular course consisted of seven weekly sessions, one of which was outdoors. We were impressed not only by the scope and content of the course but also by the very careful preparation that went into it.

207. Finally, and again the example happens to be taken from the Boy Scouts, we quote here an extract from an account\* by Mr. Mike Bowley of his experiences with a Scout Troop in Smethwick. We think it imparts admirably the flavour of the situation we have been trying to describe and of how difficulties can, with forethought and patience, be overcome. This, incidentally, was a Troop attached to a church and had a West Indian Assistant Scoutmaster:

"Very few problems have been encountered in having Indian boys in the Troop. Perhaps the biggest occurs when they first join, namely their command, or rather their lack, of the English language. This makes the initial teaching extremely difficult and trying to the patience . . . Among the five boys who joined in 1962 was one whose English was good, and he would explain to the others any point they could not understand. Practical instruction, such as knotting, was not difficult to teach, and games were no problem. They were quick on the up-take and after seeing a game once were ready to join in. At first we kept them together as a complete patrol with an English boy as an experienced Patrol Leader. Some Scouters would not have kept them together, but as they were friends, and with a shortage of experienced PLs, it was thought that the method adopted would be better. At other times, when only one Indian boy joined, he would usually be placed with an experienced PL. It is important for the Scouters not to do all the work in training an Indian or any other Scout; a lot of the work must devolve on to the PL. I do not know how intensive was the English teaching at school, but within a few months their language was vastly improved. The boys seemed to pick up English much more rapidly than their parents, which has resulted in complete lack of contact at parent-Group Committee level. This is a great pity. . . .

"One big stumbling block that I thought might arise was the Promise—'I promise to do my duty to God'. Being a Church of England sponsored Group, I thought that there might be difficulty in having non-Christians in the Troop. But the Vicar had no objections, and we explained to the boys that we expected them to do their duty to their own Gods. Occasionally the rules had to be bent slightly. For instance, several of the Indian boys were Sikhs, therefore they could not wear berets like the rest of the Troop, but had to wear turbans. So when they came up for Investiture we presented them with beret badges that had a pin on the back like a brooch: They were then able to pin these in the appropriate place on their turbans. Also

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\* Scout and Guide Graduate Association—News and Ideas—January 1966—a number devoted to "Aspects of Integration".



connected with the question of religion is diet—no beef being the main requirement since the cow is a sacred animal in India. This presents the Quarter-master at a camp with a bit of a headache, but the problem is not insurmountable provided the QM can plan well ahead. For parades, like St. George's Day, the Indian boys will usually turn up for the marching but stay outside the church during the service.

"To sum up, in the experience of this one Group, the entry of immigrant boys into Scouting has been successful. There have been a few problems, but these have been minor. More important, there has been no trace of a colour bar on either side in this Smethwick Troop."

### Multi-racial Clubs

208. The task falling upon the leader and his team in a multi-racial setting is a difficult one. They need to understand the background and situation of the young immigrants in the area and to keep in mind that to venture onto new ground is especially difficult for anyone who has had previous experiences of rejection. Their acceptance of these young people in the club should be made clear from the very start. They also need to understand the feelings of other members of the club or group—their own doubts, fears and hopes (and those picked up from their parents and neighbours)—to accept these feelings and gently help the members to come to terms with them. This will be a taxing time for the leader and his team. However much they have searched and disciplined their own reactions beforehand, when actually in the situation they will discover reactions in themselves which they may not have expected and will have to face up to unexpected questions from others.

209. It is the loneliness of the club leader in face of an unfamiliar situation, with its hints of explosive possibilities, that we feel most apprehensive about in such a situation. Local authorities and voluntary bodies in areas of immigrant settlement should do all they can to bring youth leaders together, perhaps under the eye of an experienced Youth Officer, to discuss problems and exchange experiences. Just as we picture the work of a team within a club, so we see the need for the team approach in an area.

210. With all the help and good will in the world, however, there must come a moment when the future of integration in a particular club is at issue. This is how such a moment was described to us by a detached worker in a coffee-bar type of setting used by various groups, one of which was coloured:

"One of the main leader/old member friction points was that the X group had several coloured boys . . . 'We don't want no blacks'. I made it clear I did not share their views; they said they would leave *en bloc*. So I bid them farewell. It seems very clear that some leaders expect trouble and are afraid to confront members with a disagreeable decision. Better to keep the evil you know . . . The original members did leave, but there was no trouble—although how much of this was due to the fact that one coloured boy was the size of Sonny Liston . . ."

211. The youth leader in a club situation may find a wide variety of demands for activities, and varying tolerance of control and association between his English and immigrant members. Deciding how far these may be met is a difficult task, requiring flexibility in the control and activities offered by the club.



212. We cannot overstress the need for the preparation of both youth workers and club members for their roles in developing multi-racial groups. This was referred to in paragraphs 193-194. When young immigrants are being introduced to the club the leader will depend largely on the support of his helpers and his members to see him through awkward moments. Careful preparation of youth workers, club committee and club members, through discussion and consultation, may help to remove harmful preconceptions and enable the club to take pride in its multi-racial status and to face unforeseen difficulties.

213. Preparation outside the club is also important. We have already referred to the value in this connection of contacts between the youth leader and the immigrant parents. Even before that, there is a need for discussion with representatives of the immigrant community, or with school teachers, as to the club in the locality which might suit individual boys or girls.

214. So far as the actual introduction into the club is concerned, we must be cautious about suggesting any one particular way. The uniformed organisations are successful with a somewhat younger age group, in a formal framework. We consider that there is a case for introducing new members into a club, not individually, but in a small group of friends. This is particularly so in the case of coloured immigrants. In the initial stages, we would not be surprised if the separate groups kept to themselves in the club, slowly sizing each other up and becoming familiar with the new situation. If this persisted it would exercise a divisive influence on the members. Activities in racially mixed groups bring people together in a setting where each can feel secure about the extent to which he commits himself in friendship to others; so the process of integration can be accelerated by the introduction of racially mixed activities at the appropriate time. This might be by means of a film, or football, or skating. At this stage, people get to know one another. They may retreat again for a while, but gradually contacts become established and the "visibility" of the colour difference declines.

215. Even from the early stages, the flow of interest is not all one way. The immigrants may soon show their prowess at games, or dance music, and the previous members may well mix admiration, however grudging, for these accomplishments with genuine curiosity about the homelands, customs and interests of the newcomers. This curiosity offers possibilities on which to build an understanding of the different points of view involved and could lead to an enrichment of the educational and social life of the club.

216. Another way of involving new immigrant members of a club along with other members is through community service, which will be discussed in more detail later. But above all it is desirable that immigrant members should, as soon as possible, find some of their number in positions of trust and responsibility in the club. Nothing could show better that they are fully accepted, and we recall the evidence (paragraphs 159-160) that the election of two West Indian boys to the committee of the Baptist Mills Youth Centre helped to transform the atmosphere of that club.

217. Similarly, one would hope to see immigrant parents being brought into management committees of clubs. Not only is contact with immigrant parents desirable in itself, in view of the fact that the youth leader will have more of a welfare and counselling function with immigrant members than with other



youngsters, but this involvement of the parents will have its gradual effect upon the prestige and acceptability of the club among other members of the immigrant community.

218. The Youth Service Association makes an interesting point about one kind of multi-racial club which has as its aim the creation of an integrated society: "There is a need for specialist youth clubs who will start with an awareness of the implications of immigrant integration and who will attract these young people, both national and immigrant, who are prepared to recognise and respond to what is fast becoming a growing problem of world wide effect and for which it may be found there exists no adequate compromise."

219. Examples of this are the Anglo-Caribbean Society, referred to in paragraph 162, and many International Clubs. In these groups, the encounter between people from different ethnic origins is, as it were, a major "activity" of the group, and the reason for its attractiveness. In this category we would also place those groups who meet for the purpose of investigating and altering the community's attitudes towards race, to which we shall refer again later.

### **Young Immigrants in Community Service**

220. We have already referred (paragraphs 145 and 216) to the value of voluntary service in involving young immigrants in the community around them, particularly if they do this in collaboration with the local young people. It deserves a little more discussion. The value of this kind of activity is that the young immigrant is given an opportunity to make a contribution himself, rather than being only the recipient of services provided for him. It can be an unselfconscious co-operation with other young people in a common desire to help those in need, and many racial inhibitions are likely to be forgotten when the much greater problems and needs of a third party, perhaps an old-age pensioner or a chronically sick child, are faced.

221. We received encouraging evidence from several organisations working in this field that immigrants can and do play a part in community service. Task Force, for instance, reported: "We are in touch with great numbers of coloured young people who are regularly helping in community work . . . They join in with 'white' young people to help lonely and elderly people with great success."

222. Community Service Volunteers had this to say about the way the interest of young immigrants should be aroused: "We want to create an atmosphere not where young immigrants are being singled out to have good done to them, but where young immigrants will be caught up, together with other young people, in exciting projects of community action."

223. International Voluntary Service also warned about the right method of going about things: "I.V.S. takes the inclusion of young immigrants in its programme seriously but is always a little worried lest by too conscientious an approach to involve immigrants as such we might underline tensions that already exist. We therefore try incidentally and normally to involve them in our programme."

224. There are plenty of examples of projects in which immigrants have become involved: work camps, some with special emphasis on race relations, the Sparkbrook Association's holiday scheme for immigrant children and Sheffield's Youth Action.



225. One of the main questions is where to start making contact. We learned from Community Service Volunteers that in the absence of more positive and planned schemes on the part of the Youth Service or local authorities, volunteers sent by that organisation to areas of immigrant settlement make contact with schools, their task being three-fold: to start a chain-reaction, to enable the young people with whom they are working to be givers of service; to enable young immigrants to contribute, just like any other people, to any and all of the fields of need outlined; and, whenever possible, to involve mixed groups, rather than immigrants only, in projects. C.S.V. told us of some specific examples which, although arising from school-based activities, might nevertheless inspire initiatives within the Youth Service:

"Some of our volunteers are, with considerable success—in Leicester, Derby and other cities—shaming and cajoling their own contemporaries into action. In other words, they have gone to local Sixth Forms and demanded their help—taking Asian immigrant pupils to museums, to Woolworths and to other places, to improve their English and self-confidence. In this way one single volunteer can sometimes arouse an interest amongst some scores of local Sixth-Formers who have hitherto been quite unconscious of the help they could be giving young immigrants—and of the satisfaction and interest which they themselves could be getting from this contact. This is particularly evident in Leicester; there also, one or two volunteers have won the friendship and confidence of Asian leaders, and are now in a position to reach other age groups among young immigrants and to involve them in community service. Some volunteers are forging a link between their old school and the young immigrants amongst whom they are now working: a group of Indian boys from Dormers Well School in the London Borough of Ealing went to stay in English families (each with a son of the same age) at Sanderstead over the weekend before Easter. This may sound a rather simple and amateur approach. In fact, administratively, it was a complicated operation, discovering Indian parents ready to part with their children, finding English families eager to welcome them, matching the two, etc. Fortunately the experiment was entirely successful—and not only are the contacts being maintained and ideas of reciprocal visits being considered, but other volunteers elsewhere are planning to do likewise with their old schools in Wiltshire and Northamptonshire. It should not be so difficult to get something going on these lines all over Britain—with far-reaching implications."

226. Elsewhere, C.S.V. volunteers have been successful in involving immigrants of both sexes in help to the local community. In Slough, Asian girls are helping children in junior and infant schools and visiting the aged. In Southall, young Asian boys are visiting old people living alone and, in return, gaining practice in their use of English—each side gaining satisfaction from helping the other.

227. We are sure that the Youth Service has much to learn from such examples. We are well aware that many national youth organisations already interest themselves in voluntary service, but we wonder if they have fully appreciated the possibilities of involving immigrants in these efforts. There seems to us to be a case for special study here, for conferences and even courses for youth workers in immigrant areas.

### **The Role of Young Adults in Integration**

228. So far we have concentrated on meeting the needs of the adolescent in youth groups. But there is another and older group of young men and women,



who require a different approach, with greater freedom to organise their leisure so as to reflect their social, cultural and recreational interests. These young adults are not necessarily in the Youth Service; some are students—at universities and colleges of different kinds or training for various professions—and young workers. They may be members of student societies, or political and social groups, or have shown their capacity for self-expression, enjoyment and inventiveness through a “pop” culture which often transcends barriers of class or race. That being so, we have something to learn from them just as they, we believe, have something vital to contribute.

229. In catering for the young adult in the upper part of its age range, the Youth Service needs to keep in touch with the mood of the young adult generation, its culture and its idealism, its spontaneous concern for others in the community. Such an out-going Youth Service might well appeal to these young people, and they could provide an impetus towards integration. We have in mind young men and women, coloured and white, who recognise and accept the moral and social implications of integration in a multi-racial society and who would be prepared to stand up for their beliefs in an act of personal commitment. They have a major part to play now, if the poison of race prejudice is to be eradicated from our society.

230. The presence of coloured students sharpens the perception on the part of other students of the handicaps which colour brings with it in our society. Certain groups tend actively to reach out for further experience and understanding of the problem, and this in turn develops into useful action. One example is C.A.R.D. (Campaign Against Racial Discrimination) who have paired off white and coloured people in parallel quests for lodging or employment in order to illustrate inequalities of treatment. Because such groups tend to be politically conscious they may well draw in other young people who are not students. Some of these groups are formally structured, with a defined membership, aim and contribution and come together in the British Youth Council. Others are informal networks of friends. They labour under some unnecessary difficulties. Despite their youth, their value to the Youth Service is often not realised. One reason for this is that they tend to be politically active and controversial. Moreover, they tend to assume that those in authority are against them. We believe that the local Youth Service would gain from seeking the co-operation of these groups and that it could do much to help them. This need not cost money: facilities for meetings might be made available and encouragement and information given, for example about the structure of local government so that appropriate committees might be consulted. This preparation for citizenship could have valuable consequences.

231. We have specifically mentioned students, and, while we realise that they are a transitory body and, moreover, occupied with their studies, we feel that they have a distinctive contribution to make. We have no doubt that good will and sympathy exists on their side. We have noted their co-operation with the Youth Service in Bristol, Manchester and Sussex. We have also noted their involvement in immigrant problems. We understand that students at the university's teaching centre in York undertook a special project to help young immigrants with their language problems. Student teachers and students of sociology may be particularly suited, and inclined, to contribute in this way.



232. Another group of young adults who would be specially well qualified to contribute to racial integration would be those who have undertaken voluntary service overseas and are now back in this country with a knowledge and understanding of emerging countries generally; they may indeed have specific knowledge of the home cultures of some of the immigrants in this country. There are at present four organisations in the British Volunteer Programme: Voluntary Service Overseas, International Voluntary Service, the Catholic Institute for International Relations and the United Nations Association. A number of other organisations, such as the Methodist Association of Youth Clubs and the Red Cross, have their own schemes. Some of these organisations also cover other fields, but they might consider ways in which the experience gained by their volunteers could be used with immigrants in the United Kingdom. Similarly, organisations operating with immigrants in this country should consider recruiting young people with this valuable experience. For instance, two of the staff of the Wandsworth centre of Task Force were recently on voluntary service overseas and are now working in an area where there are immigrants both in the local population and amongst the young volunteer workers.

233. These are a few guide lines to the great possibilities of initiative by young adults. We hope that bodies like the National Union of Students and the British Youth Council will take every possible opportunity of encouraging their members to make the contribution which they, uniquely, can offer. We were particularly interested to note that the British Youth Council had chosen immigration as their special theme for the current year and launched this in January 1967, with an International Youth Conference on the integration of immigrants into the community.

234. We turn now to consider the Youth Service and its limited appeal to the young adult, since an adequate provision for the immigrant is bound up with a generally adequate provision for all young people. We begin by quoting from the evidence we received from the Youth Service Association: "The low recruitment of immigrants is part of a larger problem of Youth Service failing to make an adequate provision that teenagers can find valid and wish to respond to it. It may be argued that much of the work being done in clubs is still based on moral principles that large sections of the contemporary society find confusing. The provision is made by adults who tend to impose patterns of social conduct that they think are valid, but which are under severe test by the majority of young people, and even society at large. The resulting conflicts within the whole of the Youth Service and in the individual clubs, create compromise of purpose and programming that make the well-used 'work-principles' and values of 'citizenship' and character training, e.g., Challenge, Loyalty, Sportsmanship and even Christian teaching, outmoded and invalid . . . Recognising the extreme hypocrisy of people faced with the immigrant problem, the suppressed and often hidden prejudices about race and colour that exists in most of us, the moral and political involvements inherent in the situation, no normal club unit dare face the real challenge of the full implications of integration."

235. The Youth Service can, and does, provide a great variety of opportunity, but particular groups, such as the young adults, call for different approaches. We need a flexible structure in which the different cultures of these young people can find expression, while being attractive enough to appeal to a wide cross-section of them, and especially to those who want to work for integration.



In doing so, they would not need to lose their identities in coming together with other young people in common pursuits, but rather, the contact would enhance the distinctiveness and variety of the contribution that each could make. This is a more sophisticated, mature and independent version of the multi-racial solution. The aim of social integration is still the same. It is a question of providing suitable channels and incentives for young people themselves to play their part. As in Bristol, in Sheffield and in the concert organised by Ickenham Hall, their initiative and their involvement would be made easier. We consider that experiments in this direction could have far-reaching results, not only for the immigrants but also for young adults generally.

236. This approach is most easily applied to those organisations catering for the older age groups—for instance, the Young Christian Workers, the Young Women's Christian Association and the Young Men's Christian Association. In all these, the religious and international character of the organisations is a pointer to their success. We noted with interest that the Young Christian Workers' "Immigration Campaign", which we described in paragraphs 186-187, is to be followed up by a more concerted effort over the next four years. Organisations such as the Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A., and some cultural and sports centres, have a useful point of contact through their residential facilities, which give them a valuable opportunity to work with young coloured immigrants.

237. Other organisations, of a more specialised kind, may also have a part to play. The Youth Hostels Association, for instance, can help the immigrant to gain social mobility and the wider knowledge of his new country which is essential if he is to play his full part in it, while the challenge of new experiences, in new surroundings, with new people, would undoubtedly help in his social integration. The Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme is another example of an organisation which, apart from offering opportunities to young immigrants for exploring a wider environment in an atmosphere of joint endeavour, can be a source of initiative in furthering integration through holders of the Gold Award.

238. We were particularly interested by the aims and methods of the Federation of Eighteen Plus Groups in catering for young adults in the 18-30 age group. Here is a non-political, non-sectarian organisation which is independent and, most important of all, self-governing. Its aims, as set out in the constitution, are: "to understand and appreciate life; to acquire experience in public affairs; to act in co-operation for the benefit of the community; to provide opportunity for cultural, social and recreational activities." It attracts a cross-section of young people and provides them with opportunities to meet and to join in social activities. It also enables members to gain experience in running their own organisations and provides scope for initiative and self-expression. Finally, it gives the members a chance to contribute to the community through individual and corporate voluntary service. As the Federation puts it: "18 Plus is founded on the belief that the art of living can best be learned and practised in a body of men and women who share this desire to understand and serve society."

239. An organisation like this could play an important integrative role in contacting and involving young adult immigrants in their activities. Young adults could be a spearhead for integration and a powerful force for social good. But they need to be made aware of society's need of them and to be helped to accept its implications—though ultimately the effort and initiative can only be



generated by the young people themselves. We hope that the Youth Service will, for its part, be ready to help them play this role without infringing their essential independence. It is in this free association that we see a way of attracting the young adult to play his full part in the community and harnessing his instinct for social justice as a force for integration.

### **The Youth Field Worker**

240. We considered earlier the work of the youth leader and his team. Allied to this, and forming what may well be an increasingly important part of the Youth Service, is the role of the youth field worker in communities of significant immigrant settlement. His work is akin to that of the detached worker among the unattached. He is a community builder, with the express task of aiding young people in his care to find their feet in the community. We propose to examine his role in detail because we have seen from the Bristol example (paragraphs 155-157) the important contribution such a person can make.

241. It would be a mistake to regard this as a one-man job. He personally has to embody many talents—he is a researcher, an organiser, a social worker and a group worker. But he is essentially part of a team and his main role is to act as a link with other helping agencies and other parts of the community. Thus he provides a liaison between the immigrant community, their young people, the local young people, the school and colleges of further education, the Youth Employment Service, local youth leaders and other interested people in the community. He clarifies the needs of those in his area and how best these may be met. This is a difficult task, a process of gradual collaborative discovery, for neither he nor those with whom he works will know at the outset what are the solutions to be aimed at in any particular case.

242. Fundamental to this role is the need to establish and maintain regular contacts with local agencies, with the teenagers and with their families. He must contact young immigrants wherever he can find them—through schools, churches, further education and employment as well as through the homes. At the same time he is a part of the Youth Service and knows what it can offer and which of its varying institutions is the right one for the youngster he is helping.

243. The youth field worker, like the detached worker, must also be able to organise informal groups, outside the formal club setting, for those to whom the latter does not appeal. He may enlist their attention through community service but, whatever it is, the youngsters themselves must want it and the youth field worker is there to help them find the way. He is their counsellor, not their leader.

244. Whichever way is chosen, the underlying aim is to help the young immigrant to put down new roots in his country of adoption. The field worker might encourage visits to white families and to other towns or into the country (for instance, youth hostelling or visiting a farm). He may organise sporting activities, musical groups and all sorts of experimental ventures. In doing all this, he will need to seek and harness all the voluntary help he can find.

245. In addition to his counselling function and his contacts with immigrant families the field worker may well have to deal with much casework. Many immigrant children will have gone through disturbing experiences (such as those



we described in paragraphs 76-86) and may now find themselves in situations of some conflict, even within their own families. The youth field worker will have a big part to play in helping the parents and the children to adjust, and may be the means of putting them in touch with social workers and other welfare agencies in the community.

246. What we have described is a skilled and heavy task, calling for talents of a high order. Nevertheless, we have seen enough to recognise the tremendous value of such workers and we recommend that all authorities with immigrant populations should consider appointing one or more youth field workers or securing their services through some voluntary agency. In some cases authorities in adjoining areas might co-operate, either in joint appointments or in creating teams to cover a general area. The ideal solution, as we explained in paragraph 241, is not the one man working in isolation but a team of community workers of which he is a part. We feel that action to implement this recommendation is the touchstone of the determination of local education authorities to tackle the problem with the energy and urgency it deserves. Local authorities who make such appointments would seem to us to have a case for claiming grants under the terms of Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966.

### **The Youth Service and Other Agencies**

#### *A Question of Co-operation*

247. We have stressed throughout this report, and made the point explicitly in paragraph 37, that meeting the needs of young immigrants should not be viewed in the limited context of the Youth Service. We have to consider the life of the immigrant as a whole, to acknowledge that no single agency, such as the Youth Service, can be effective alone and to recognise that the rejection of the young immigrant in one situation or relationship may cancel the effect of acceptance in another—and indeed lead to resistance to all schemes designed to aid his adjustment and integration and, eventually, to complete withdrawal from the host community. “He retreats from the struggle into apathy” as the Manchester Youth Development Trust’s “Young and Coloured” says.

248. Home, school, work, college of further education, evening institute, church, youth group, sports and other single purpose clubs and societies and commercially run centres are places where young people spend their time. All carry some responsibility for helping the immigrant to establish himself on the same footing as the non-immigrant, and it is important that they all realise the power they have to assist the process of integration and be encouraged to make a positive contribution.

249. As members of a multi-racial society, it is for immigrants and other responsible people in the community to see that its public services—health, education, housing, employment advice and placing, libraries, welfare, parks and recreational facilities—and those of voluntary organisations are working together on their behalf. In this operation the liaison officer of the Liaison Committees, to which we referred in paragraph 191, has a key role. But he is dependent on the advice and support of those who work in community services, statutory or voluntary, paid or unpaid. It is a question of co-operation. If all these agencies, in addition to co-operating in the way suggested, were to co-opt representatives of immigrants on to their committees even more might be achieved. All concerned would be better informed and reassured.



250. The term community used in the preceding paragraphs, and indeed throughout our report, is normally to be considered as referring to those urban industrial areas where the immigrants have mainly settled. But other communities, rural as well as urban, which have few or no resident immigrants need to be reminded that they too could contribute to helping young immigrants to settle in this country. Particularly, the areas adjacent to centres of high immigrant population could help, as could the holiday resorts. The ill-effects of sudden transition from a rural background in the native country to an industrialised and often over-crowded setting in the United Kingdom, to which we referred in paragraph 26, might be offset in some measure by contact with our own rural areas and their people. We were impressed in this connection by the value derived in the Bristol experiment, described in paragraph 161, from the weekend spent by the young immigrants on a farm. We see possibilities for some "twinning" arrangement between schools or clubs of varying character and location, and we have heard of plans to develop this idea. Especially, we see the need for a greater sense of involvement in immigrant problems throughout the country, not just in the areas nearest to them.

251. The remainder of this section of our report looks in a little more detail at certain of the agencies or sources of communal help with which the Youth Service needs to collaborate closely in order to help young immigrants find their rightful place in the community and make their best contribution to it.

#### *The Youth Service and the Schools*

252. Our evidence left us in no doubt about the vital nature of the school's contribution to helping young immigrants and their families to settle in this country, understand new ways of life, meet new conditions, requirements and responsibilities and thus become full citizens. Indeed the school is at the centre of the integration process: this is well put in "Race, Community and Conflict": "the national system of education cannot be expected to perpetuate the different values of immigrant groups . . . it must aim at producing citizens who can take their place in society." Apart from teaching English to the young immigrants, the school seeks to teach white and immigrant children about each other's ways of life and, through social education, encourages them to live amicably together. Many schools also try to establish relationships with the parents of immigrant children so that they can in this way help them to play a constructive part in their children's education, advise them about entry into employment and about other community services that are available to them, inform them about the aims of the Youth Service and about opportunities for further education, and generally assist them in solving their own and their children's problems in assuming a new way of life.

253. The notion of the school as educator, information and advice centre, helping agency and community link, which is already gaining acceptance, is one which we would wish to see developed, particularly in the immigrant areas. We see the school as a possible base for a community team which includes the Youth Employment Officer, the youth worker and representatives of the further education, health and welfare services. But if the significance of the school is to be enhanced in this way, it is essential that its resources in terms of staff and facilities should be increased. A recommendation of the Youth Development Trust Survey in Manchester (described in paragraphs 173-177) suggests one way, which we would endorse, in which this might be done:



"One specific recommendation is that schools with more than 20 per cent coloured immigrants on their rolls should be allowed to appoint Youth Tutors whose responsibility it should be to organise leisure activities for those still at school and for those who have recently left. This would help to extend the influence of the school as an agency knitting the coloured youths into the community."

254. We also commend the establishment of residential courses and weekend groups for the older children run in co-operation by the schools and the Youth Service. We would hope that boys and girls who had recently left school could join in until they felt the need had gone and they were securely launched on their careers.

#### *The Youth Service and Employment*

255. All children, not least young immigrants, benefit from the increased attention given in the schools, in co-operation with the Youth Employment Service, to careers guidance. Reference has been made earlier in this report (paragraphs 110-123) to the difficulties experienced by some coloured boys and girls in first gaining jobs to match their abilities and interests and then, once started, in making adequate progress. Outside the family, or their immediate circle of friends, the only person who may become aware of their difficulties is the youth worker. Where he and the Youth Employment Officer are in close touch with each other, professional help for the boy or girl becomes the more readily available. Also, it will sometimes happen that the Youth Employment Officer's knowledge of the Youth Service might help him to advise the young immigrant, at the time he is leaving school, on the use of his leisure, even to the extent of suggesting a suitable youth club or group which he might join.

#### *The Youth Service and Further Education*

256. We have already referred, in paragraphs 124-129, to the fact that many young immigrants have educational needs, whether to learn English or to obtain vocational training, which will best be met in Colleges of Further Education and in evening institutes. Here we are anxious to point to the need for the Youth Service to create a link with these establishments, in order to be able to help the young immigrant to find his way about the educational system and to make contacts in further education.

257. The colleges and institutes can help immigrant students, and in a wider field than their formal education, by encouraging them to join in the students' social and recreational activities and by being prepared to advise them about other ways of employing their leisure.

258. In common with many young people from underprivileged homes, young immigrants studying for Further Education courses will often suffer from a lack of privacy for study. The colleges and evening institutes themselves may be able to help, but youth workers might also consider whether they cannot make a small room at their youth club available for this purpose.

#### *The Youth Service and the Churches*

259. The churches, based as they are on equality and fellowship, are, it seems to us, in a peculiarly good position to help many immigrants. It is not our function here to assess their success in this respect—though we notice that an article



in the National Council for Catholic Youth Clubs Bulletin for December, 1966 was far from satisfied, and there was also criticism of the way the churches were meeting the challenge in the report of the Y.M.C.A. survey in Stockwell, which we quoted in paragraph 183, and in the Westhill survey quoted in paragraph 184.

260. We urge, first, that church youth organisations should show a lead. There have been sufficient examples in our evidence to suggest that a church, or church-affiliated group, can be the starting point for valuable inter-racial initiative. Secondly, we would remind the Youth Service in general of the great part which the churches play in the social scene and how wise it would be to establish contacts with all denominations. Not all churches have youth clubs and they might well welcome an invitation to help in work with young immigrants. Youth workers should also remember that many immigrant families are keen church-goers and that this may be a better channel of communication with them than going to isolated homes.

261. Youth leaders should also bear in mind the possibility of making contact with immigrants of other religions—the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs, for instance—through their priests and religious elders. Such contacts could do much to remove inhibitions on both sides and reassure members of these religions that their children would suffer no disadvantage to their religious practices by taking part in activities with other boys and girls. We recall, and commend, the care taken by the Smethwick Boy Scout troop over this point (paragraph 207).

#### *The Youth Service and Social Workers*

262. We referred earlier (paragraphs 76-78) to the disturbing experiences some young immigrants will have experienced as a result of being uprooted from their native lands and separated from their families. This can well lead to behaviour which may call for the help of child care officers and probation officers. The youth worker concerned with young immigrants will do well to keep in touch with all social and welfare workers so that those who are difficult can be helped to adjust.

263. The reason for our reminder about the need for co-operating with social workers is not, however, based on the relatively rare member who is socially difficult. There is a value to the whole Youth Service in such contact, just as the social workers, in turn, may themselves benefit and do their work better from contact with youth workers.

#### *The Youth Service and Community Relations*

264. Much depends on the voluntary Liaison Committees which are associated with the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants and exist to see that the National Committee's policies are carried out. During the short time of their existence, the Liaison Committees have not yet attempted to tackle the problems of young immigrants to any marked extent. We see an important role for them as a link between the immigrant community and the local Youth Service. They can encourage the Youth Service to try to meet the needs of immigrant youngsters where it is failing to do so, they can advise on means of overcoming difficulties in the way of attracting them into the Youth Service and they can influence immigrant parents to permit their children to join youth clubs and groups. Where there is effective co-operation between the Liaison Committee and the local Youth Service there can be joint consideration of the attitude of



parents, the needs of youngsters and how they might be met, and the training of youth workers in matters of race relations. Given such co-operation, the Liaison Committees can, we consider, make a major contribution in the Youth Service field.

265. Recently, the National Committee set up a Community Relations Panel. This seems certain to be able to offer substantial guidance with problems of young immigrants. It is examining new experiments in integration through social relationships and leisure time activities, the facilities for such activities for immigrant groups and the role of the local voluntary Liaison Committees in promoting community activities. Time will be needed for the influence of the Panel to be felt in the field of community relations, but we look to its having an increasing effect on the integration of young immigrants.



## VII. CONCLUSIONS

### General

266. We now draw together the threads of our report. Throughout we have referred to experiments and developments which, though often small in themselves and insufficient in their coverage, represent steps in the direction of our objective of integration, and we offer them as examples and incentives to others. What we do below is to underline certain specific points for thought and action.

267. We are conscious that our examination of the Youth Service has been a critical one and that much of our criticism, and many of our suggestions for broadening and enlivening it, are directed to changes which do not arise from the presence of immigrants. We referred earlier (paragraph 38) to the re-examination of the Youth Service which is going on, and we hope that this report will have contributed something to that. As we see it, young immigrants have social deprivations and needs very similar to those of many of our own young people, and the reasons for the failure of the Youth Service to attract either group seem to us to be, on these grounds, much the same.

### A Question of Attitudes

268. If there is one single recommendation, applying at all levels, which emerges from our report it is this: there is a need for a new attitude in our society towards immigrants, a conscious desire to create the new society. It is clear to us that despite the good will and common-sense that exists in all peoples and in all societies, our own has not come to grips with the fact that the influx of immigrants has raised new problems which cannot be solved simply by amiable tolerance. The Youth Service, which is our particular concern, can do little on its own; so long as the housing problem prolongs involuntary segregation, the way towards full integration is barred. But we hope we have shown ways in which it could be made more significant. What is needed is a new social conscience throughout the country—awakened not only by leaders of society at all levels and in particular by such agencies as the churches and voluntary bodies, but also by the younger generation—not localised only in the areas of immigrant settlement but percolating through to every neighbourhood, street, classroom and club and to each individual man, woman and child. Racial integration is a moral issue, and it affects the newcomer as well as the native resident. We have to learn to live together, to understand one another's outlook and background, to recognise beneath the differences of class, customs and colour the common element of human dignity.

### Initiative and Action

#### *Training and Recruitment*

269. It is a truism, always worth repeating, that premises are not as important as people. We have at various points in this report (and particularly in paragraphs 193 and 208-213) stressed the vital role of the youth leader and his team. We have also (paragraphs 240-246) discussed the valuable part which a youth field worker can play in immigrant communities. These views have their implications for training. We would like to see establishments which train full-time and part-time leaders include special programmes for those who intend to work in areas of immigrant population. Indeed, some of the more general part of such



special programmes, dealing with race relations and how to cope with communities where prejudice or apathy prevail, would be useful for all students under training, wherever they are likely to serve. We also urge local authorities and voluntary bodies to organise conferences of staff working with immigrants, particularly club leaders who, as we pointed out in paragraph 209, are in special need of support.

270. The Youth Service needs trained leaders, both full-time and part-time, and youth field workers from the immigrant races themselves. In the course of reviewing our evidence we have noted a few already in post, such as the youth field worker in Bristol (paragraph 155) and the Assistant Scoutmaster in Smethwick (paragraph 207). But more are needed, and (in paragraph 148) we have suggested that those concerned should try to increase this recruitment.

#### *Information*

271. There is a need for more exchange of information at all levels, including the national, on community problems and ways of solving them. We recognise the special position of the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants and trust that all concerned in the Youth Service, whether statutory or voluntary, will support them in any initiative they take in giving guidance and advice. Similarly, the Youth Service Information Centre at Leicester could play its part in providing information on ways in which the problems of young immigrants are being tackled.

272. In addition to the bringing together of interests involved with immigrants and co-ordinating their efforts, there is need for more knowledge of the exact nature of the problems to be faced. We described (in paragraphs 171-187) several local social surveys. Because each situation is different from every other, and because we should not guess at similarities and differences, we would encourage further projects of this kind. Local knowledge is essential as the basis for good provision and this requires closer study of the needs of young immigrants and their families in a particular locality, both in terms of leisure provision and education.

273. Deeper, more comprehensive research is also required. We could not claim to make an exhaustive, or even a representative, list of these possibilities. Many endeavours could be helped by, for instance, a survey of the ways other countries have attempted to integrate their coloured or immigrant populations, or by an investigation of the relationship between professional salaried people and voluntary and untrained groups or individuals working in a multi-racial area. In this connection, a study of the way youth field workers define their role and perform their functions in particular areas would be of especial interest. Another possibility is a detailed study of the coloured young people born in this country whom we have referred to as the "second generation"—their feelings, needs and reactions.

274. In general, we favour action research, leaving "pure" research to the universities—whose interest, however, we would wish to stimulate. The Department of Education and Science might allocate some of the funds it has available for experimental Youth Service projects in the directions we have indicated.

275. We have, throughout our report, treated the question of immigrants as essentially a community one. It is therefore at local level that we think the greater need for initiative and action arises. The right spirit cannot be imposed by



national direction, any more than individual clubs and groups can make an impression without the support of their locality and the local authorities and other agencies, statutory and voluntary, in the area. The first need is for an initiative to discover the true situation in a given area. We have seen the possible complexity of this investigation from our examination of the statistics of three particular areas (Appendix C), but we have also seen how thorough investigation, as in the case of Bristol and Sheffield for instance, can set off a chain-reaction with positive, planned results. This led us to the recommendation (in paragraphs 189-190) for a careful preparation of the groundwork.

276. We also recommend statutory and voluntary authorities in areas with an immigrant population to work closely with such agencies as the voluntary Liaison Committees whose role, in relation to the Youth Service and the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, is described in paragraphs 191 and 264-265. We also recommend them to establish contact with the immigrants themselves, for instance through their religious bodies (paragraphs 260-261), and draw them into local committees concerned with the Youth Service (paragraph 191).

#### *Voluntary Service*

277. In the Youth Service, the voluntary element—national voluntary organisations, for instance, or the churches (whose role is discussed in paragraphs 259-261)—plays a big part. There are however, other groups whose resources are not yet, in our view, properly tapped. We have referred at several points in our report (paragraphs 145, 216 and 220-227) to the benefits of voluntary service by young people. This applies not only to the examples quoted of help given to young immigrants but also to the value for the young immigrants themselves of giving their services for the benefit of others. We would also like to see other groups, of whom we have picked out in particular what we have called the young adults (paragraphs 228-239), becoming more involved. We have only to consider the appeal which voluntary service overseas makes to young people to realise that a similar appeal might well succeed with problems nearer home. We consider that the Government's proposals to encourage young people in voluntary service can be helpful in all these ways.

#### *Planning at Local Level*

278. Following a survey of the general needs of an immigrant area, there is a need for a more detailed appraisal of the local Youth Service provision, such as we recommended in paragraph 196, bearing in mind, however, the point we have repeatedly made that the Youth Service should not be viewed in isolation from the other agencies in the community, such as the schools, further education and others. We have referred to steps that might be taken to review staffing needs, but those responsible for the Youth Service must first make some fundamental decisions about the *type* of provision that is required. These decisions were described in paragraphs 197 onwards. We explained then, and repeat now, that each locality has its varying needs and that no single solution or pattern can be propounded for general application. We do however urge local authorities and voluntary organisations to review the broad strategy and policy that they are adopting in respect of young immigrants and, as we recommended in paragraph 196, to assess their Youth Service provision in terms of these particular young people.



279. Such an assessment will not, in all probability, call for any new requirement of capital investment—although it does call for a re-examination of the use of existing buildings and of the placing and planning of new. Of more importance is the equipment of youth clubs and centres. These should be attractive to all young people, so that this is not specifically an immigrant requirement. But we have noted (for instance in paragraphs 137, 139, 142 and 182) that certain games and other purposive activities make a special appeal to young immigrants and we accordingly urge local authorities to be responsive to requests for additional equipment and facilities of this kind from clubs and groups working in immigrant areas. The most important need, however, is for more youth workers, and perhaps especially the youth field worker (paragraphs 240-246).

#### *Planning at Neighbourhood Level*

280. The clubs and other Youth Service groups have an important role to play in the integration of young immigrants into the community—to attract them in, in the first place, and then to retain their interest. The onus is thus largely upon individual leaders and workers—both in the areas of immigrant settlement and elsewhere. We have reminded local authorities and others (in paragraph 209) of the need to support these individuals so that they feel they are part of a team, working together towards a clearly defined goal. Indeed we suggest that it is a responsibility of all adults in the community to help young immigrants both by befriending them individually and making premises and facilities available to them. In saying this we have in mind adults of all races; in paragraph 203, for instance, we suggested one way in which Asian women might help.

281. We have made a number of suggestions as to the way in which contact with young immigrants might be improved. First, there is the preparatory stage, to which we attach considerable importance, during which the youth worker and his colleagues will do well to establish contact with the immigrant community at large and with the parents in particular (paragraphs 179-192 and 213). Then there is the introduction to the club itself, the preparation of the non-immigrant members to receive the newcomers (paragraphs 194 and 212) and the slanting of activities to appeal to the latter (paragraph 214). Finally, there is the counselling role—in which the youth worker will need to be in touch with all the helping agencies in the community, schools, further education, youth employment, and the various other social and welfare services (paragraphs 247 onwards).

282. We have drawn particular attention to the success of uniformed organisations (paragraphs 205-207) and those providing voluntary community service (paragraphs 220-227) in giving young immigrants opportunities to fulfil themselves, and we recommend the lessons to be learnt here to others.

283. In the course of our consideration of the relationship of the Youth Service with the community we invoked the help of a wide range of social agencies, referring particularly to the schools (paragraphs 252-254), the Youth Employment Service and employers (paragraph 225), Further Education (paragraphs 256-258), the Churches (paragraphs 259-261), social workers (paragraphs 262-263) and the local voluntary Liaison Committees and the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants (paragraphs 191 and



264-265). We made a specific recommendation on a form of "twinning" (paragraph 250) and pointed (paragraph 244) to the value of visits into the country or to other towns, in order to bring young immigrants into wider contact with their new homeland. We have also referred (paragraph 203) to the contribution the Youth Service might make in helping with the teaching of English to young immigrants.

284. In the actual running of youth clubs and groups we have recommended that young immigrants should be given the opportunity to make their due contribution (paragraph 215) and in particular should get a chance to take up positions of responsibility (paragraph 216). Likewise their parents and other adult immigrants should be brought into closer relationship with the Youth Service, both at local and club levels (paragraphs 191 and 217).

### Conclusion

285. In this last section of our report we have done no more than draw some threads together. Our recommendations are not presented in the usual summary form. Our report does not lend itself to this method, governed as it is by a need for a change of attitude in the whole community. What we have attempted is, essentially, an examination of attitudes and our hope is that we have done something to influence these and, to quote our own words in paragraph 39, "to stimulate personal involvement and action".

286. Finally, we wish to stress the urgency of further joint initiative and action on all points. We agree with the Home Secretary who said in the course of a speech to the Institute of Race Relations that we "must deal with the problems before they fester". We believe that not enough is being done at present. We would emphasise that the first essential is to acknowledge that problems do exist and not to pretend that they are not there for fear lest, by talking about them, we might help to enlarge them.

287. We have detected some unwillingness to draw on the lessons of racialism in other countries, in the unspoken belief that "it couldn't happen here". We believe that prejudice against our coloured citizens, although not strong at present, is fairly widespread and only thinly overlaid. We received evidence of antipathy against coloured youngsters among white youths in London, and we noted the signs of belligerence among second generation West Indians in the face of prejudice in Sparkbrook. We subscribe to the view of the Brixton Y.M.C.A. in their survey: "... if England is not to be the scene of race riots ... the time for action is now. Tomorrow may be too late". The second and succeeding generations of coloured Britishers, fully educated in this country, will rightly expect to be accepted on equal terms, and to have the same opportunities as the rest of us. Within ten years there will be enough of them to make their voices heard. Will each one be accepted on his own intrinsic merits, as one of us? This is the crux of the matter.







## APPENDIX A

### LIST OF EVIDENCE

#### 1. List of Organisations, Bodies and Persons who submitted Written Evidence or Information

##### (a) *Local Authorities* (from which replies to a circular letter were received).

*County Councils:* Kent, Salop, Warwickshire.

*County Boroughs:* Birmingham, Blackburn, Bradford, Bristol, Coventry, Dewsbury, Dudley, Huddersfield, Ipswich, Leeds, Luton, Manchester, Newcastle upon Tyne, Northampton, Nottingham, Oxford, Reading, Rochdale, Sheffield, Warley, West Bromwich, Wolverhampton\*.

*Inner London Education Authority.*

*Outer London Boroughs:* Brent, Bromley, Croydon, Ealing, Haringey, Harrow, Hillingdon, Hounslow, Merton, Waltham Forest.

*Excepted District:* Stretford Borough.

##### (b) *Youth Service Associations*

National Association of Youth Service Officers.

Standing Conference of National Voluntary Youth Organisations.

Youth Service Association.

##### (c) *Other Organisations*

British Insurance Association.

Community Service Volunteers.

Ickenham Hall Youth House.

Institute of Race Relations.

International Voluntary Service.

National Association of Youth Clubs.

National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants.

Task Force.

Westminster Council of Social Service.

Yorkshire Council of Social Service.

Young Christian Workers.

Youth Development Trust, Manchester.

##### (d) *Individual Written Evidence*

Mr. Eric Butterworth

Department of Social Administration and Social Work, University of York.

Mr. W. H. Cooper

Adviser for Youth and Community Services, Liverpool.

Mrs. T. M. Dorber

Baptist Mills Secondary School, Bristol.

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\* We were particularly grateful to the Director of Education and to the Principal of the Wolverhampton College of Technology for their help in organising a seminar at Wolverhampton and to all who took part.



Mrs. L. E. Grimsdell	Chairman, Slough and District Youth Workers' Association.
The Reverend Victor Lamont	Warden, Darlington St. Youth and Community Centre, Wolverhampton.
The Reverend David Mason	The Notting Hill Social Council, Portobello Project.
Mr. C. Middleton	Director of Education, Derby.
Mr. H. S. Morrow	General Secretary, Y.M.C.A., King George's House, Stockwell.
D/Sgt. John Naylor	Bradford.
Mr. A. D. Peacock	Principal Youth Officer, London Borough of Haringey.
Mr. Robert E. Presswood	Director of Education, City of Cardiff.
Mr. R. H. Roberts	Youth Organiser, Walsall.
Miss J. Tarrant	Youth and Community Service Officer, London Borough of Brent.
Mr. W. G. Stitt Didben	Senior Youth Officer, Leicester.

## 2. List of Witnesses who gave Oral Evidence (see also submitted papers)

### (a) *Ministers and Government Departments*

Mr. Maurice Foley, M.P.	Joint Parliamentary Under Secretary of State, Home Office.
Miss M. Hornsby	Home Office.
Miss M. M. Taylor	The Central Youth Employment Executive.

### (b) *Other Witnesses*

Mr. G. Atherton	Youth Leader, Baptist Mills Youth Centre, Bristol.
Miss J. Bennett	Youth Officer, Sheffield.
Mr. P. Brereton	Youth Leader, Proctor Youth Centre, Manchester.
Mr. Roy D. Brookman	Assistant Scoutmaster, Bradford.
Mr. Ron Childs	Wolverhampton Council of Racial Harmony.
The Reverend Clifford S. Hill	Chairman, Haringey Commonwealth Citizens Committee.
Mr. Clive Kinder	Research Worker, Youth Development Trust, Manchester.
Mr. J. W. Maule	Senior Youth Officer, South West London.
Mr. L. Nicolaou	Secretary, Cyprus Youth Club, Islington.
Mr. D. Swann	Youth Officer, Bradford.
Miss B. Tylden	Executive Committee, British Youth Council.
Mr. F. P. Wildgoose	Borough Youth Officer, Slough, Buckinghamshire.



## APPENDIX B

### DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANT PUPILS IN MAINTAINED PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN JANUARY 1966

#### General Notes

1. The tables in this Appendix, and those in Appendix C, are derived from the return of immigrant pupils made to the Department of Education and Science in January 1966. For the purpose of this return the definition of "immigrant pupil" *included*:
  - (i) children born outside the British Isles who had come here with, or to join, parents whose country of origin was abroad; and
  - (ii) children born in the United Kingdom to parents who had come to this country as immigrants within the previous ten years.
2. the return *excluded*:
  - (i) schools with fewer than ten immigrant pupils on roll;
  - (ii) children of mixed immigrant and non-immigrant parentage.

#### Notes on Table I

1. Table I shows the distribution by age of immigrants from the four areas with which this Report is mainly concerned. It includes returns for the Inner London Education Authority, most of the Outer London Boroughs and certain English county boroughs and counties.
2. The table indicates (a) the uneven distribution of immigrant pupils between different local education authority areas, and (b) the distinctive composition of the immigrant school population, in terms of their country of origin, within each area. The importance of these two factors—concentration and the composition of the immigrant population in different parts of the country—has been referred to in more detail in the body of the Report. They have a crucial bearing on the future planning of Youth Service and other facilities.



Table I: Number of immigrant pupils in January 1966 in schools of various L.E.As.

Origin and age group	Inner London Education Authority	Barnet	Brent	Croydon	Ealing	Enfield	Haringey	Hounslow	Merton	Newham	Redbridge	Waltham Forest	Other Outer London Boroughs	All Outer London Boroughs	Total for Greater London
<i>Pupils aged 10 and under:</i>															
Number	30,669	914	4,462	1,469	2,510	821	4,036	624	428	1,580	352	793	741	18,730	49,372
Percentage of all pupils in the age group in school	13.9	4.6	21.4	5.7	11.4	4.1	22.9	4.0	3.5	7.4	2.0	5.1	0.5	5.3	8.6
<i>Distribution by Origin (%)</i>															
(a) African	5.5	10.9	2.7	3.2	1.4	1.8	2.6	3.8	5.6	5.3	12.2	2.0	5.8	3.5	4.7
(b) Indian	5.7	22.0	9.9	23.8	43.5	7.9	5.4	46.5	11.9	20.1	25.9	11.2	30.1	18.3	10.5
(c) Pakistani	2.6	2.6	2.1	3.7	5.3	0.7	1.2	7.7	10.3	8.9	8.8	12.6	7.2	4.2	3.2
(d) West Indian	51.2	15.1	64.2	50.3	29.6	33.5	41.2	17.3	28.3	50.3	33.8	48.3	32.1	43.7	48.4
(e) Others	35.0	49.3	21.0	19.1	20.2	56.0	49.6	24.7	43.9	15.4	19.3	25.9	24.8	30.4	33.3
<i>Pupils aged 11 and over:</i>															
Number	16,860	452	2,038	748	1,468	333	2,024	428	152	863	196	427	481	9,610	26,470
Percentage of all pupils in the age group in school	9.7	2.4	14.1	1.7	9.3	2.2	13.5	3.6	1.3	5.3	1.5	3.2	0.4	3.5	5.9
<i>Distribution by Origin (%)</i>															
(a) African	6.8	10.6	4.1	3.6	2.0	1.8	2.7	2.8	15.1	3.9	9.2	2.1	3.7	3.8	5.7
(b) Indian	7.6	25.7	13.4	26.2	58.7	13.5	7.0	43.2	24.3	31.5	38.8	14.3	48.2	26.0	14.2
(c) Pakistani	2.9	3.1	3.4	4.3	3.1	2.1	0.9	9.1	9.2	10.1	6.1	13.6	7.7	4.5	3.5
(d) West Indian	46.5	17.3	61.7	40.2	21.8	25.5	38.7	21.5	23.0	40.2	21.4	41.9	19.1	37.6	43.3
(e) Others	36.3	43.4	17.3	25.7	14.4	57.1	50.7	23.4	28.3	14.3	24.5	28.1	21.2	28.1	33.3
<i>All ages:</i>															
Number	47,529	1,366	6,500	2,217	3,978	1,154	6,060	1,052	580	2,443	548	1,220	1,222	28,340	75,869
Percentage of all pupils in school	12.1	3.5	18.4	4.9	10.5	3.3	18.6	3.8	2.4	6.5	1.8	4.2	0.5	4.5	7.4
<i>Distribution by Origin (%)</i>															
(a) African	6.0	10.8	3.2	3.3	1.7	1.8	2.6	3.4	8.1	4.8	11.1	2.0	5.0	3.6	5.1
(b) Indian	6.4	23.2	11.0	24.1	49.1	9.5	5.9	45.2	15.2	24.2	30.5	12.3	37.2	20.9	11.8
(c) Pakistani	2.7	2.8	2.5	3.9	4.5	1.3	1.1	8.3	10.0	9.3	7.8	13.0	7.4	4.3	3.3
(d) West Indian	49.5	15.8	63.4	46.9	26.7	31.2	40.3	19.0	26.9	46.7	29.4	46.1	27.0	41.6	46.6
(e) Others	35.4	47.3	19.8	21.7	18.1	56.3	50.0	24.1	39.8	15.0	21.2	26.6	23.4	29.6	33.3

See General Notes on page 71



Table I (Contd.)

Origin and age group	Birmingham	Bradford	Bristol	Coventry	Derby	Dewsbury	Dudley	Gloucester	Huddersfield	Ipswich	Leeds	Leicester	Luton	Manchester	Nottingham	Oxford	Preston	Reading
<i>Pupils aged 10 and under:</i>																		
Number	7,712	1,320	828	1,305	779	111	153	243	603	252	1,436	1,656	558	2,008	2,055	235	451	345
Percentage of all pupils in the age group in school	7.8	4.7	2.3	4.1	7.4	2.2	2.8	3.4	5.5	2.4	3.1	6.7	3.8	3.3	7.1	2.8	4.5	3.2
<i>Distribution by Origin (%)</i>																		
(a) African	0.7	0.8	—	1.5	—	—	7.2	1.2	0.2	—	1.3	0.8	1.6	3.5	0.8	3.4	0.2	—
(b) Indian	18.3	29.1	6.9	59.5	29.1	89.2	26.1	11.9	18.1	4.8	17.4	43.7	12.7	7.0	13.9	6.8	53.4	4.9
(c) Pakistani	7.4	30.0	3.5	9.3	5.9	10.8	3.3	1.2	23.7	6.3	7.5	8.5	10.9	16.3	8.0	14.0	11.8	3.1
(d) West Indian	66.4	14.5	68.7	19.8	46.7	—	60.8	81.1	47.9	71.0	58.4	29.8	48.7	62.7	56.0	56.2	26.6	80.6
(e) Others	7.1	25.6	20.9	9.8	18.2	—	2.6	4.5	10.1	17.9	15.5	17.3	26.0	10.4	21.3	19.6	8.0	11.3
<i>Pupils aged 11 and over:</i>																		
Number	3,994	1,008	462	909	457	103	119	93	349	112	651	1,000	269	1,130	907	113	233	237
Percentage of all pupils in the age group in school	5.3	5.0	1.6	4.4	5.0	2.5	2.4	1.5	4.0	1.4	2.0	5.3	2.7	2.7	4.2	2.0	3.4	2.8
<i>Distribution by Origin (%)</i>																		
(a) African	0.9	0.7	—	2.1	—	—	1.7	1.1	—	1.8	2.0	1.1	0.7	1.8	0.4	0.9	0.4	0.4
(b) Indian	29.0	32.9	10.8	73.6	56.5	58.3	54.6	19.4	30.1	8.0	30.6	55.3	20.4	7.5	19.5	12.4	60.1	3.0
(c) Pakistani	14.7	33.5	4.3	5.8	7.7	41.7	13.4	1.1	25.5	0.9	12.4	4.5	11.5	12.0	8.9	27.4	17.2	4.2
(d) West Indian	48.7	9.5	65.4	15.6	26.5	—	30.3	67.7	36.1	60.7	44.7	18.7	43.1	48.6	46.0	49.6	18.5	66.2
(e) Others	6.7	23.3	19.5	2.9	9.4	—	—	10.8	8.3	28.6	10.3	20.4	24.2	30.0	25.1	9.7	3.9	26.2
<i>All ages:</i>																		
Number	11,706	2,328	1,290	2,214	1,236	214	272	336	952	364	2,087	2,656	827	3,138	2,962	348	684	582
Percentage of all pupils in school	6.7	4.8	2.0	4.2	6.3	2.3	2.6	2.5	4.8	2.0	2.6	6.1	3.4	3.0	5.9	2.5	4.1	3.0
<i>Distribution by Origin (%)</i>																		
(a) African	0.8	0.7	—	1.8	—	—	4.8	1.2	0.1	0.5	1.5	0.9	1.3	2.9	0.7	2.6	0.3	0.2
(b) Indian	22.0	30.8	8.3	65.3	39.2	51.9	38.6	14.0	22.5	5.8	21.5	48.0	15.2	7.2	15.6	8.6	55.7	4.1
(c) Pakistani	9.9	31.5	3.8	7.9	6.6	48.1	7.7	1.2	24.4	4.7	9.1	7.0	11.1	14.8	8.3	18.4	13.6	3.6
(d) West Indian	60.4	12.4	67.5	18.1	39.2	—	47.4	77.4	43.6	67.9	54.1	25.6	46.9	57.6	52.9	54.0	23.8	74.7
(e) Others	7.0	24.6	20.4	7.0	15.0	—	1.5	6.3	9.5	21.2	13.8	18.5	25.4	17.5	22.5	16.4	6.6	17.3

See General Notes on page 71



Table I (Contd.)

Origin and age group	Sheffield	Smethwick	Walsall	West Bromwich	Wolverhampton	Other English County Boroughs	All English County Boroughs
<i>Pupils aged 10 and under:</i> Number Percentage of all pupils in the age group in school	480 1.2	497 9.5	324 2.9	506 5.4	1,840 14.4	22,466 0.4	28,095 2.4
<i>Distribution by Origin (%)</i> (a) African (b) Indian (c) Pakistani (d) West Indian (e) Others	0.8 6.0 9.2 74.2 9.8	0.2 58.1 2.2 37.2 2.2	— 61.7 11.1 24.4 2.8	0.2 32.2 1.8 61.7 4.2	— 33.6 3.4 49.0 14.0	1.8 25.6 16.9 20.0 35.7	0.8 24.1 9.8 50.2 15.0
<i>Pupils aged 11 and over:</i> Number Percentage of all pupils in the age group in school	202 0.7	440 11.9	346 3.9	255 3.6	1,055 9.4	953 0.2	15,245 1.8
<i>Distribution by Origin (%)</i> (a) African (b) Indian (c) Pakistani (d) West Indian (e) Others	— 6.9 16.8 58.9 17.3	0.9 73.6 3.4 19.1 3.0	— 71.7 8.1 11.0 9.2	— 49.4 7.8 39.2 3.5	0.1 62.1 3.2 28.2 6.4	1.3 29.0 23.7 16.4 29.7	0.9 36.7 13.0 36.1 13.3
<i>All ages:</i> Number Percentage of all pupils in school	682 1.0	937 10.5	670 3.3	761 4.6	2,895 12.1	3,199 0.3	43,340 2.2
<i>Distribution by Origin (%)</i> (a) African (b) Indian (c) Pakistani (d) West Indian (e) Others	0.6 6.3 11.4 69.6 12.0	0.5 65.4 2.8 28.7 2.6	— 66.9 9.6 17.5 6.1	0.1 38.0 3.8 54.1 3.9	0.0 44.0 3.3 41.4 11.3	1.7 26.6 18.9 18.9 33.9	1.0 28.5 10.9 45.2 14.4

See General Notes on page 71



Table I (Contd.)

Origin and age group	Bedfordshire	Buckinghamshire	Hertfordshire	Kent	Lancashire	Staffordshire	Warwickshire	Wiltshire	Other English Counties	All English Counties	All English Authorities	All Welsh Authorities	Total for England and Wales
<i>Pupils aged 10 and under:</i>													
Number	1,400	906	786	295	508	557	475	432	1,748	7,107	84,601	440	85,041
Percentage of all pupils in the age group in school	5.5	1.9	1.0	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.9	1.0	0.1	0.3	2.2	0.2	2.0
<i>Distribution by Origin (%)</i>													
(a) African	0.1	0.7	1.0	2.4	1.2	—	2.5	—	0.3	0.6	3.2	3.0	3.2
(b) Indian	8.3	22.5	9.4	70.2	8.3	53.1	49.5	9.5	15.9	21.0	15.9	35.7	15.8
(c) Pakistani	0.8	10.1	1.3	3.7	9.4	8.4	5.9	2.5	3.3	4.4	5.5	7.5	5.5
(d) West Indian	15.4	34.5	29.9	6.1	39.2	30.9	28.2	9.7	12.0	21.6	46.7	22.3	46.6
(e) Others	75.4	32.1	58.4	17.6	41.9	7.5	13.9	78.2	68.5	52.3	28.8	31.6	29.0
<i>Pupils aged 11 and over:</i>													
Number	718	492	418	269	227	540	342	85	1,052	4,143	45,858	144	46,002
Percentage of all pupils in the age group in school	4.6	1.4	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.8	0.9	0.3	0.1	0.3	1.6	0.1	1.5
<i>Distribution by Origin (%)</i>													
(a) African	—	0.8	1.4	0.4	4.0	—	—	—	0.4	0.6	3.7	3.5	3.6
(b) Indian	17.8	39.0	10.5	80.3	15.4	78.9	66.1	24.7	20.5	36.3	23.7	25.0	23.6
(c) Pakistani	1.3	11.4	9.6	4.8	16.3	3.1	6.4	2.4	9.4	7.1	6.9	10.4	7.0
(d) West Indian	11.6	25.0	21.3	3.3	28.2	16.7	14.0	14.1	9.1	14.8	38.3	23.6	38.3
(e) Others	69.4	23.8	57.2	11.2	36.1	1.3	13.5	58.8	60.6	41.2	27.4	37.5	27.5
<i>All ages:</i>													
Number	2,118	1,398	1,204	564	735	1,097	817	517	2,800	11,250	130,459	584	131,043
Percentage of all pupils in school	5.2	1.7	0.9	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.9	0.7	0.1	0.3	1.9	0.1	1.8
<i>Distribution by Origin (%)</i>													
(a) African	0.1	0.7	1.2	1.4	2.0	—	1.5	—	0.3	0.6	3.3	3.1	3.3
(b) Indian	11.5	28.3	9.8	75.0	10.5	65.8	56.4	12.0	17.6	26.6	18.6	33.0	18.6
(c) Pakistani	0.9	10.6	4.2	4.3	11.6	5.8	6.1	2.5	5.6	5.4	6.0	8.2	6.0
(d) West Indian	14.1	31.2	26.9	4.8	35.8	23.9	22.3	10.4	10.9	19.1	43.8	22.6	43.7
(e) Others	73.4	29.2	58.0	14.5	40.1	4.5	13.7	75.0	65.5	48.2	28.3	33.0	28.5

See General Notes on page 71



#### APPENDIX C

### STATISTICS RELATING TO IMMIGRANT PUPILS IN THREE LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITY AREAS IN JANUARY 1966

#### Notes

1. For the definition of "immigrant pupil" and the statistical basis of the returns, see General Notes on page 71.
2. Tables II, III and IV give a more detailed picture of the situation in Haringey, Coventry and Birmingham. These three areas were selected because they demonstrate how much the situation in one area may differ from that in another, and from the national average, even in cases of relatively high concentration. For the purposes of comparison, similar statistics for England and Wales are given in Table V.
3. Tables IIA, IIIA and IVA show immigrant pupils classified by country of origin, age-group and sex in these three areas. Tables IIB, IIIB and IVB show a breakdown by age-group and knowledge of English.
4. The three selected areas were not typical of the country as a whole so far as composition of immigrant school population is concerned. In Haringey, for example, there were nearly as many Cypriots (38 per cent) as there were West Indians (40 per cent), but relatively few Indians and Pakistanis. Coventry had very few Cypriots; over two-thirds of the immigrant pupils were Indians and Pakistanis. In Birmingham, 60 per cent of the immigrant pupils were West Indian and nearly a third Indians and Pakistanis.
5. Other comparisons with the national average figures are relevant. In England and Wales as a whole, 13.9 per cent of all pupils were attending schools containing 10 or more immigrant pupils. The comparable figures were: Haringey, 86.1 per cent; Coventry, 29.2 per cent; Birmingham, 40.5 per cent. Even these local averages can be misleading, for the proportions will be very much higher in some neighbourhoods within these areas than in others.
6. Again, for England and Wales as a whole the average proportion of immigrant pupils in schools with more than 10 such pupils was 13.1 per cent. In the three selected areas, the comparable figures were: Haringey, 21.6 per cent; Coventry, 14.3 per cent; Birmingham, 16.5 per cent. All three areas were therefore considerably above the national average, Haringey very markedly so. It can be seen from Table I, Appendix B, however, that the comparable figures in many other parts of the country would be negligible.
7. The Tables also show in more detail the age composition of the immigrant school population. In England and Wales as a whole, the proportion of pupils in the youngest age-group (six and under) was 2.4 per cent for both boys and girls, which compared with an average of 1.8 per cent for all age-groups and with 1.5 per cent boys, and 1.6 per cent girls, in the 15 and over age-group. This means that the proportion of immigrants in the youngest age-group was about one-third above the average for all age-groups and about one-half above the average for the oldest age-group, so that we may expect that a somewhat higher proportion of immigrant pupils will be moving into the Youth Service age range, and into employment, in future years than has been the case in the past.



8. But each of the three areas showed significant differences from the national picture. In Haringey, the proportions of immigrants were much higher throughout (average 17.9 per cent boys, 19.3 per cent girls; in the age-group 15 and over, 11.7 per cent boys, 13.6 per cent girls; but in the age-group 6 and under, 25.9 per cent boys and 27.2 per cent girls). By contrast, the average proportions in Coventry were 4.7 per cent boys, 3.7 per cent girls, and the proportions in the youngest age-group were 4.5 per cent for both boys and girls—i.e. there was actually a decrease in the proportion of boys in the youngest age-group by comparison with the average and with most of the older age-groups, but this was balanced by an increase in the proportion of girls (2.7 per cent in the 15 and over age-group, 4.5 per cent in the 6 and under age-group).

9. In Birmingham we get a mixed picture: the proportion of immigrants in the youngest age-group was 8.5 per cent boys, 9.2 per cent girls, which was about one-third higher than the average for all age-groups (6.9 per cent boys, 6.4 per cent girls) and so conformed to the national pattern. But whereas, nationally, the proportion in the youngest age-group was about one-half above the proportion in the oldest age-group, in Birmingham it was about double the proportion in the oldest age-group. Even within our three selected areas, therefore, the age-group composition of immigrant pupils differs significantly. This—as is pointed out in the Report—has real consequences in relation to the future planning of Youth Service and other facilities for immigrant pupils.

10. The figures quoted above also illustrate some features of the balance between the sexes in the immigrant school population. In England and Wales, 1.8 per cent of all boys, and a similar proportion of all girls, were immigrants. This national picture, however, needs to be further broken down for the different ethnic groups. In general, the numbers and proportions of Indian and Pakistani boys considerably exceeded the numbers and proportions of Indian and Pakistani girls. The balance was redressed by the higher numbers and proportions of West Indian girls to boys in the whole country. But, again, the picture in a particular area might be quite different. In Birmingham, for example, the proportions of boys and girls in the youngest Indian and Pakistani age-group were about equal; and the balance between the sexes was, in general, much more even for all ethnic groups in the younger age ranges than in the older ones.

11. Tables IIB, IIIB and IVB give us a picture of the English language skills of immigrant pupils, classified by age-groups. This may be compared with the national picture given in Table VC. The proportion of immigrant pupils in England and Wales with no English at all was 5.9 per cent. The comparable proportions for Haringey and Birmingham were 2.6 per cent and 7.4 per cent respectively. In Coventry, however, the proportion (14.3 per cent) was nearly three times the national figure, with the highest proportion in the youngest age-group (20.7 per cent). The Report has drawn attention, in several places, to the importance of language skills in the process of integration.

12. At several points throughout the Report, we have stressed the importance of adequate research and knowledge about the immigrant situation in particular areas. Our comments on these three areas are intended to show some of the purposes which such research and information might serve. We believe that information is of great importance in relation to the future planning of Youth Service, employment and other facilities for immigrant pupils and that awareness of, and preparation for, the future is in the long run almost as important as speedy action to deal with existing conditions.



Table II A

## Haringey

Immigrant Pupils in January 1966 Classified by Country of Origin, Age-group and Sex

	6 and under		7-10		11-14		15 and over		Total all ages		
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Percentage
African	21	26	27	31	14	25	7	8	69	90	2.6
Cypriot (Greek)	260	268	324	341	198	255	78	50	860	914	29.3
Cypriot (Turkish)	59	64	98	84	84	71	23	19	264	238	8.3
Hungarian	7	6	6	2	2	3	3	2	18	13	0.5
Indian	66	42	52	58	51	43	28	20	197	163	5.9
Italian	41	27	26	34	13	15	3	5	83	81	2.7
Maltese	2	2	4	4	5	3	1	2	12	11	0.4
Pakistani	4	10	21	14	4	11	1	2	30	37	1.1
Polish	9	10	14	14	9	3	3	3	35	30	1.1
West Indian	367	410	424	460	288	309	76	111	1,155	1,290	40.4
Others	73	57	97	70	65	65	15	28	250	220	7.8
Total	909	922	1,093	1,112	733	803	238	258	2,973	3,087	100.0
Immigrant pupils as a percentage of all pupils in the area	25.9	27.2	20.2	20.9	13.0	14.7	11.7	13.6	17.9	19.3	18.6

See General Notes on page 71



Table II B

## Haringey

## Immigrant Pupils in January 1966 Classified by Age-group and Knowledge of English

	6 and under		7-10		11-14		15 and over		Total all ages	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Pupils whose English is no problem	933	51.0	869	39.4	856	55.7	314	64.3	2,972	49.0
Pupils whose spoken English is reasonably good but whose written English is weak	445	24.3	791	35.9	439	28.6	128	26.2	1,803	29.8
Pupils with some English but needing further intensive teaching	400	21.8	481	21.8	212	13.8	34	7.0	1,127	18.6
Pupils with no English	53	2.9	64	2.9	29	1.9	12	2.5	158	2.6
	1,831	100.0	2,205	100.0	1,536	100.0	488	100.0	6,060	100.0

See General Notes on page 71



Table III A

## Coventry

Immigrant Pupils in January 1966 Classified by Country of Origin, Age-group and Sex

	6 and under		7-10		11-14		15 and over		Total all ages		
									Boys	Girls	Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls			
African	—	—	13	7	7	10	1	1	21	18	39
Cypriot	4	4	6	4	8	6	1	1	19	15	34
(Greek)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cypriot	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(Turkish)	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	1	5
Hungarian	164	149	239	224	351	200	76	42	830	615	1,445
Indian	6	7	14	6	2	1	—	—	22	14	36
Italian	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Maltese	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pakistani	29	37	32	24	40	5	6	2	107	68	175
Polish	7	10	4	7	—	1	—	—	11	18	29
West Indian	72	56	69	62	53	68	7	14	201	200	401
Others	10	11	13	9	2	2	1	1	26	23	49
Total	296	274	390	345	463	293	92	61	1,241	973	2,214
Immigrant pupils as a percentage of all pupils in the area	4.5	4.5	4.0	3.6	5.6	3.4	5.2	2.7	4.7	3.7	4.2
											100.0

See General Notes on page 71



Table III B

Immigrant Pupils in January 1966 Classified by Age-group and Knowledge of English

	6 and under		7-10		11-14		15 and over		Total all ages	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Pupils whose English is no problem	197	34.6	263	35.8	330	43.7	82	53.6	872	39.4
Pupils whose spoken English is reasonably good but whose written English is weak	84	14.7	168	22.9	167	22.1	38	24.8	457	20.6
Pupils with some English but needing further intensive teaching	171	30.0	203	27.6	169	22.4	26	17.0	569	25.7
Pupils with no English	118	20.7	101	13.7	90	11.9	7	4.6	316	14.3
	570	100.0	735	100.0	756	100.0	153	100.0	2,214	100.0

See General Notes on page 71



Table IV A

## Birmingham

Immigrant Pupils in January 1966 Classified by Country of Origin, Age-group and Sex

	6 and under		7-10		11-14		15 and over		Total all ages		
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Total
African	7	14	16	17	19	10	2	3	44	44	88
Cypriot (Greek)	33	32	33	38	31	18	8	11	105	99	204
Cypriot (Turkish)	7	5	15	7	7	5	1	—	30	17	47
Hungarian	9	3	8	4	6	1	1	1	24	9	33
Indian	288	296	453	377	636	349	112	63	1,489	1,085	2,574
Italian	17	24	37	29	24	17	7	11	85	81	166
Maltese	7	1	3	6	5	8	1	2	16	17	33
Pakistani	98	90	238	144	434	59	78	17	848	310	1,158
Polish	25	23	34	31	23	16	2	1	84	71	155
West Indian	1,147	1,218	1,381	1,378	780	809	117	238	3,425	3,643	7,068
Others	32	19	40	28	30	17	6	8	108	72	180
Total	1,670	1,725	2,258	2,059	1,995	1,309	335	355	6,258	5,448	11,706
Immigrant pupils as a percentage of all pupils in the area	8.5	9.2	7.3	7.0	6.5	4.5	4.0	4.7	6.9	6.4	6.7

See General Notes on page 71



Table IV B

## Birmingham

## Immigrant Pupils in January 1966 Classified by Age-group and Knowledge of English

	6 and under		7-10		11-14		15 and over		Total all ages	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Pupils whose English is no problem	1,780	52.4	1,913	44.3	1,150	34.8	337	48.8	5,180	44.3
Pupils whose spoken English is reasonably good but whose written English is weak	638	18.8	1,191	27.6	1,056	32.0	199	28.8	3,084	26.3
Pupils with some English but needing further intensive teaching	752	22.2	915	21.2	787	23.8	117	17.0	2,571	22.0
Pupils with no English	225	6.6	298	6.9	311	9.4	37	5.4	871	7.4
	3,395	100.0	4,317	100.0	3,304	100.0	690	100.0	11,706	100.0

See General Notes on page 71



Table V A

England and Wales  
Immigrant Pupils in January 1966 Classified by Country of Origin and Sex

	Boys	Girls	Total	
			Number	Percentage
African	2,337	2,026	4,363	3.3
Cypriot (Greek)	4,869	4,783	9,652	7.4
Cypriot (Turkish)	1,934	1,709	3,643	2.8
Hungarian	398	322	720	0.5
Indian	13,897	10,418	24,315	18.6
Italian	4,545	4,240	8,785	6.7
Maltese	496	461	957	0.7
Pakistani	5,069	2,791	7,860	6.0
Polish	1,774	1,685	3,459	2.6
West Indian	27,330	29,887	57,217	43.7
Others	5,147	4,925	10,072	7.7
Total	67,796	63,247	131,043	100.0

See General Notes on page 71



Table V B

Immigrant Pupils in January 1966 as a Percentage of all Pupils, Classified by Age-group and Sex

Immigrant pupils as a percentage of all pupils	6 and under		7-10		11-14		15 and over		All Immigrant Pupils	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	2.4	2.4	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.8	1.8

Table V C

Immigrant Pupils in January 1966 Classified by Age-group and Knowledge of English

PERCENTAGE

	6 and under		7-10		11-14		15 and over		All Immigrant Pupils	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Pupils whose English is no problem	52.5	44.0	47.8	48.9	47.8	48.9	47.8	48.9	47.8	48.9
Pupils whose spoken English is reasonably good but whose written English is weak	19.0	31.1	29.1	26.5	24.8	26.5	24.8	26.5	24.8	26.5
Pupils with some English but needing further intensive teaching	20.5	19.8	17.6	18.7	11.3	18.7	11.3	18.7	11.3	18.7
Pupils with no English	8.0	5.1	5.5	5.9	2.5	5.9	2.5	5.9	2.5	5.9

See General Notes on page 71



Project	Project description	Project start date	Project end date	Project status	Project budget	Project personnel	Project location	Project impact	Project notes
Bristol	Anglo-Clubhouse Club	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established a club for young people in the area.	
	Appointment of youth field worker	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Appointed a youth field worker to the area.	
	Baptist Mills Secondary School - special	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established a special school for young people in the area.	
	Baptist Mills Youth Centre	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established a youth centre in the area.	
Bristol	Boy Scouts	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established a boy scout group in the area.	
	Community service	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established a community service group in the area.	
	Continuation of youth workers	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Continued the work of youth workers in the area.	
	Contacts with employers	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established contacts with employers in the area.	
Bristol	Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme in the area.	
	Pre-group training in working	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established pre-group training in working in the area.	
	Student co-operation with Youth Service	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established student co-operation with the Youth Service in the area.	
	Youth Service and schools	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established links between the Youth Service and schools in the area.	
Bristol	I.E.A. evidence on management in youth	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established a project to collect evidence on management in youth in the area.	
	Survey of residents in youth groups	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established a survey of residents in youth groups in the area.	
	Contact with immigrant parents	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established contact with immigrant parents in the area.	
	Pre-group training	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established pre-group training in the area.	
Bristol	Introduction to working	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established introduction to working in the area.	
	Appeal to immigrants	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established an appeal to immigrants in the area.	
	Boy Scouts	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established a boy scout group in the area.	
	Boys' Brigade	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Bristol	Established a boys' brigade group in the area.	
Birmingham	Immigrant and church clubs	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Birmingham	Established immigrant and church clubs in the area.	
	Community service	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Birmingham	Established a community service group in the area.	
	First year	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Birmingham	Established a first year project in the area.	
	Youth Service and schools	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Birmingham	Established links between the Youth Service and schools in the area.	
Birmingham	Survey by Westhill College of Education	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Birmingham	Established a survey by Westhill College of Education in the area.	
	Statistics of immigrant pupils in schools	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Birmingham	Established statistics of immigrant pupils in schools in the area.	
	Estimated number in Youth Service and schools	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Birmingham	Established an estimate of the number in Youth Service and schools in the area.	
	Distribution of immigrants	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Birmingham	Established a distribution of immigrants in the area.	
Birmingham	Contact with immigrant parents	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Birmingham	Established contact with immigrant parents in the area.	
	Community service	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Birmingham	Established a community service group in the area.	
	Appointment of Assistant for Youth Work	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Birmingham	Appointed an Assistant for Youth Work in the area.	
	Albanian Report	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Birmingham	Established an Albanian Report in the area.	
Albanian Report	Albanian Report	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Albanian Report	Established an Albanian Report in the area.	
	Albanian Report	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Albanian Report	Established an Albanian Report in the area.	
	Albanian Report	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Albanian Report	Established an Albanian Report in the area.	
	Albanian Report	1961	1962	Completed	£1,000	1 person	Albanian Report	Established an Albanian Report in the area.	



# INDEX

Albemarle Report	
Aims of the Youth Service	36
Role of club members	194
 Birmingham	
Appointment of Assistant for Youth Work	150
Community service	145
Contact with immigrant parents	105
Distribution of immigrants	10
Estimate of numbers in Youth Service age range	13
Statistics of immigrant pupils in schools	Appendix C
Survey by Westhill College of Education	95, 122, 184, 185
Youth Service and schools	143
 Blackburn	
Community service	145
Immigrants and church clubs	138
 Boys' Brigade	139, 140
 Boy Scouts	
Appeal to immigrants	139, 140
Introduction to scouting	207, 261
Pre-Group training	163, 206
 Bradford	
Contact with immigrant parents	105
Survey on immigrants in youth groups	178-180
 Brent	
L.E.A. evidence on immigrants in youth organisations	139
 Bristol	
Anglo-Caribbean Club	162, 219
Appointment of youth field worker	155, 157, 160
Baptist Mills Secondary School—special course	117
Baptist Mills Youth Centre	155, 158, 160, 216
Boy Scouts	206
Community service	145
Conference of youth workers	172
Contacts with immigrants	138
Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme	144
Pre-Group training in scouting	163
Student co-operation with Youth Service	231
Youth Service and schools	143
Youth Service training course	161, 250



British Insurance Association	
Evidence on employment	115
British Volunteer Programme	232
British Youth Council	
Contribution to integration	230, 233
International Youth Conference	233
Brixton	
Y.M.C.A. Survey	181-183, 259, 287
Camden	
Committee for Community Relations	146
Campaign Against Racial Discrimination	230
Catholic Institute for International Relations	232
Churches	
Church youth clubs and coloured immigrants	138, 139, 141, 145, 176, 180, 183, 260
Contact with Youth Service	259-261, 276, 277, 283
Contribution to integration	184
The Committee	
Policy and aims	see "Integration—General Statement"
Scope of evidence	2, 3, Appendix A
Terms of reference—interpretation	1, 34-37, 39
Community Service Volunteers	222, 225, 226
Coventry	
Statistics of immigrant pupils in schools	Appendix C
Department of Education and Science	
Allocation of funds for research	274
Circular 7/65	124
Statistics of immigrant pupils	11
Desai, R. S.	
"Indian Immigrants in Britain"	43
Dudley	
Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme	144
L.E.A. evidence on Youth Service and schools	143
Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme	
Appeal to immigrants	144
Bristol	163
Contribution to integration	237



Ealing	
Indian Youth Club	151
Federation of Eighteen Plus Groups	238-239
Foley, M., M.P. (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Home Office)	
Evidence to the committee	133
Further Education	
Contact with Youth Service	256-258, 283
Contribution to integration	124-129
Girl Guides	139, 140
Girls' Brigade	139
Goodman, M. E.	
"Race Awareness in Young Children"	100
Gulbenkian Foundation	
Grant to Notting Hill Social Council	149
Haringey	
Commonwealth Citizens' Committee	109
Contact with immigrant parents	105
L.E.A. evidence on employment	120
Statistics of immigrant pupils in schools	Appendix C
Youth Service and schools	143
Hillingdon	
Concert by Ickenham Hall and group of young Indians	147, 235
Huddersfield	
Contact with immigrant parents	105
Immigrants—Background	
Children of mixed parents	33
Distribution	9, 10, 18
Estimated numbers in Youth Service	12, 13, 14
Family relationships	21, 23, 24, 76-79, 84, 85, 87-92, 100
History	5-7, 20
Language deficiency	22, 29, 47, 70, 73, 101-103, 119, 129, 203, 207, 283
Religious influences	25, 71, 174, 261
Second and later generations	20, 31, 32, 273, 287
Social background	15-17, 26, 250
Statistics of immigrant pupils in schools	11, Appendices B and C
Total figures	8



## Immigrants—Situation in the United Kingdom

Attitudes of host society—colour prejudice	30, 64, 66, 68, 69, 92, 96-98, 100, 110-114, 120-122, 173, 187, 268, 287
Attitudes towards host society	64, 66, 91
Climate	67
Deprivations shared with white people	27, 28, 66, 95, 103, 172, 185, 267
Educational aspirations	29, 74, 80, 83, 128, 129
Health	69
Housing	66, 268
Pattern of leisure pursuits	174, 175
Transition to employment	68, 81, 82, 97, 110-123, 173
Inner London Education Authority	
Evidence on employment	114
Evidence on field workers	149
Evidence on immigrants in youth organisations	139
Integration	
Contribution of areas without immigrants ("twinning")	250, 283
churches	see "Churches"
further education	see "Further Education"
immigrant students	228-230, 277
schools	see "Schools"
young adults	228-239
Youth Service	see "Youth Service"
Different approaches—the case for separation	50-58
General statement	41-45, 268
Implications of the multi-racial approach—mixing of sexes	60, 96, 173, 174
Involvement of immigrant leaders and groups	99, 146, 147, 249, 281
Involvement of immigrant students	99, 187
Laissez-faire approach	133, 138, 188
Multi-racial approach	198
Need for co-operation	93, 94, 97, 98, 138, 247-249
Special clubs	28, 29
Voluntary community service	145, 162, 216, 220-227, 277, 282
International Voluntary Service	
Contribution of overseas volunteers	232
Involvement of coloured immigrants	223
Islington	
Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme	144
Jenkins, R., M.P. (Home Secretary)	
Address to Institute of Race Relations	286
Address to Voluntary Liaison Committees	44
Keighley	
International Friendship Committee	168



Lee	
Young Christian Workers' project	186, 187
Local Education Authorities	
Careers guidance	117
Co-operation with voluntary Liaison Committees	276
Evidence on acceptance	169
Need for review of Youth Service	196
Need to study local situation and review facilities	189, 190, 196, 272, 275, 278, 279
Need to support youth workers in immigrant areas	209, 280
Recommended to appoint youth field workers	246
Recommended to arrange conferences	269
Special arrangements for further education	125
Luton	
Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme	144
L.E.A. evidence on employment	121
Manchester	
L.E.A. evidence on employment	120
Student co-operation with Youth Service	231
"Young and Coloured"—survey by Youth Development Trust	173-177, 247, 253
Merton	
Youth Service and schools	143
Methodist Association of Youth Clubs	232
National Association of Youth Clubs	
Local conferences	172
Research and consultation	141
National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants	
Advice on young immigrants	271
Appointment of Community Relations Panel	171, 265
Conference on coloured workers in industry	116
Contact with Youth Service	264, 276, 283
Represented on Committee	2
National Council for Catholic Youth Clubs	
Extract from Bulletin	259
Immigrant membership	141
National Union of Students	233
Newcastle	
L.E.A. evidence on physical activities	142
Nottingham	
Contacts with immigrants	138
Youth Service and schools	143



Notting Hill Social Council	
Employment of field worker	149
Nuffield Foundation	
Grant for investigation of race relations in Britain	40
Oxford	
Interviews with immigrant families	16, 198
Paddington	
Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme	144
Plowden Report	
Educational priority areas	103
Numbers of immigrants in schools	111
The Red Cross	
Appeal to immigrants	140
Contribution of overseas volunteers	232
Research and Surveys	
Institute of Race Relations—investigation in United Kingdom	40
National Association of Youth Clubs	141
Need for study and research	100, 171, 172, 271-274
"Race, Community and Conflict—A study of Sparkbrook"—John Rex and Robert Moore	66, 96, 252, 287
Student project at university teaching centre, York	231
Study group in Sheffield	165, 169
Survey in Birmingham by Westhill College of Education	95, 122, 184, 185, 259
Survey on immigrants in Bradford youth groups	178-180
"The Young Immigrant"—Yorkshire Council of Social Service	189
"Young and Coloured"—survey by Youth Development Trust, Manchester	173-177, 247
Recommendation on youth tutors	253
Young Christian Workers' project in Wandsworth and Lee	186, 187
Y.M.C.A. research in Brixton	141, 181-183, 259, 287
Schools	
Attitudes of immigrant children	89, 101
Contact with Youth Service	143, 252-254, 283
Contribution to integration	101, 104-109
Co-operation with Youth Employment Service	118, 180
Language difficulties	see "Immigrants—Background"
Statistics of immigrant pupils	11, Appendices B and C



Sheffield	
Crookesmoor Youth Club	166-170
L.E.A. evidence	169, 172
Study group	165, 169
Youth Action: community service scheme	224
Slough	
Young immigrants in industry	123
Smethwick	
Boy Scouts	207, 261
Social Workers	
Contacts with immigrants	73
the Youth Service	262, 263, 283
Detached workers	149
Sparkbrook	
"Race, Community and Conflict—A study of Sparkbrook"—John Rex and Robert Moore	66, 96, 252, 287
Sparkbrook Association's holiday scheme	224
Survey/Institute of Race Relations	
Addressed by Home Secretary	286
1964 Estimates of immigration	8, 9
1965 Estimates of coloured immigrant distribution	9
Proposed investigation of race relations	40
Sussex	
Student co-operation with Youth Service	231
Task Force	
Employment of ex-overseas volunteers	232
Involvement of coloured immigrants	221
Training	see "Youth Leaders and Workers"
United Nations Association	232
Voluntary Liaison Committees	
Addressed by the Home Secretary	44
Contact with Youth Service	264, 265, 276, 283
Link between immigrant community and Youth Service	191, 276
Role of liaison officer	249
Voluntary Service Overseas	232
Walsall	
Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme	144



Wandsworth	
Establishment of committee to further integration	187
Young Christian Workers' Project	186, 187
Westhill College of Education	
Survey in Birmingham	95, 122, 184, 185, 259
Wolverhampton	
Contacts with immigrant parents	105
Co-operation of immigrant groups	151
York	
Student project at university's teaching centre	231
Yorkshire Council of Social Service	
Study day—"The Young Immigrant"	189
Young Christian Workers	
Contribution of young adults	236
Project in Wandsworth and Lee	186, 187, 236
Young Men's Christian Association	
Contribution of young adults	236
Survey in Brixton	141, 181-183, 259, 287
Young Women's Christian Association	236
Youth Clubs and Groups	
Contribution of coloured members	159, 160, 182, 195, 215, 216, 284
Co-operation of white members	193, 194, 281
Help with education	203, 258, 283
Introduction of coloured members	136, 138, 157, 193, 208, 212, 214, 281
Involvement of immigrant parents on club committees	217, 284
Multi-racial clubs	158, 162, 208-219
Outside contacts	161, 166, 250, 283
Separate clubs	see "Youth Service—Separate Provision"
Specialist clubs	162, 218, 219
Survey on immigrants in Bradford youth groups	178-180
Youth Employment Service/Executive	
Co-operation with schools	118
the Youth Service	255, 283
Creating contacts	117
Evidence from I.L.E.A.	114
General situation	122
Role of Youth Employment Officers	119, 160, 255
Youth Hostels Association	237



## Youth Leaders and Workers

Contacts with immigrants	138, 193, 213, 261, 281
other social workers	253, 262, 263
Counselling role	281
Helping agencies	195
Leadership team	193, 208, 209, 246, 280
Need for conferences and training	148, 161, 163, 167, 172, 196, 269
Need for support	209, 280
Need to recruit immigrants	148, 270
Training	148, 161, 163, 167, 172, 196, 269
Workers assigned to immigrants	149, 150
Youth field workers	155, 157, 160, 240-246, 273, 279
Youth tutors	253

## "Youth Review"

Editorial on integration	204
--------------------------	-----

## Youth Service

Appeal of physical activities to young immigrants	137, 139, 142, 182, 205, 214, 279, 281
Assessment of present situation	135-137, 140, 188
Contact with churches	see "Churches"
further education	see "Further Education"
schools	see "Schools"
Youth Employment Service	see "Youth Employment Service"
Contribution by young adults (including students)	229-239, 277
Contribution to integration	46-48, 130, 132, 134, 229
Estimated rise in age-range	12-14
Future role	36, 38, 131, 132, 235, 267
Help with education of young immigrants	203, 258, 283
Helping agencies	195, 247-250, 283
Immigrants' attitudes to Youth Service	82, 83, 85, 86, 176, 180-182
Implications of multi-racial approach—mixing of sexes	60, 96, 173, 174
Involvement of immigrants on youth committees	151, 191, 276, 284
Laissez-faire approach	133, 138, 188
Need for local study and review of facilities	189, 190, 196, 272, 275, 278, 279
Need for positive approach	138, 153, 188, 190, 275
Residential courses	254
Separate provision	47, 48, 55-58, 96, 140, 151, 152, 168-170, 198, 199, 201-204
Uniformed organisations	139, 140, 185, 205-207, 214, 282
Voluntary community service	145, 162, 216, 220-227, 277

## Youth Service Association

Conference at Bristol	172
Evidence on specialist clubs	218
Evidence on Youth Service and integration	234

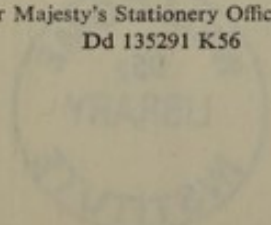
## Youth Service Information Centre

271





Young People and Women	101
Young People and Women	102
Young People and Women	103
Young People and Women	104
Young People and Women	105
Young People and Women	106
Young People and Women	107
Young People and Women	108
Young People and Women	109
Young People and Women	110
Young People and Women	111
Young People and Women	112
Young People and Women	113
Young People and Women	114
Young People and Women	115
Young People and Women	116
Young People and Women	117
Young People and Women	118
Young People and Women	119
Young People and Women	120
Young People and Women	121
Young People and Women	122
Young People and Women	123
Young People and Women	124
Young People and Women	125
Young People and Women	126
Young People and Women	127
Young People and Women	128
Young People and Women	129
Young People and Women	130
Young People and Women	131
Young People and Women	132
Young People and Women	133
Young People and Women	134
Young People and Women	135
Young People and Women	136
Young People and Women	137
Young People and Women	138
Young People and Women	139
Young People and Women	140
Young People and Women	141
Young People and Women	142
Young People and Women	143
Young People and Women	144
Young People and Women	145
Young People and Women	146
Young People and Women	147
Young People and Women	148
Young People and Women	149
Young People and Women	150
Young People and Women	151
Young People and Women	152
Young People and Women	153
Young People and Women	154
Young People and Women	155
Young People and Women	156
Young People and Women	157
Young People and Women	158
Young People and Women	159
Young People and Women	160
Young People and Women	161
Young People and Women	162
Young People and Women	163
Young People and Women	164
Young People and Women	165
Young People and Women	166
Young People and Women	167
Young People and Women	168
Young People and Women	169
Young People and Women	170
Young People and Women	171
Young People and Women	172
Young People and Women	173
Young People and Women	174
Young People and Women	175
Young People and Women	176
Young People and Women	177
Young People and Women	178
Young People and Women	179
Young People and Women	180
Young People and Women	181
Young People and Women	182
Young People and Women	183
Young People and Women	184
Young People and Women	185
Young People and Women	186
Young People and Women	187
Young People and Women	188
Young People and Women	189
Young People and Women	190
Young People and Women	191
Young People and Women	192
Young People and Women	193
Young People and Women	194
Young People and Women	195
Young People and Women	196
Young People and Women	197
Young People and Women	198
Young People and Women	199
Young People and Women	200





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