

What does it mean to be British?

The Rise of Multicultural Britain 1945-1990

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Abstract:

The following study is an examination of British national identity in the time period 1945-1990. In order to understand national identity in this period, this study looks at legislation that was introduced, the personal experiences of black and Asian migrants and how they manifested in British communities. The legislation introduced created and legitimised the idea of different national identities while attempting to integrate migrant communities. The personal experiences demonstrate the complex negotiations that migrants had with their identities, while community relations evidenced the disparity between what legislation was trying to create and the lived experiences of migrants. In this forty-five year period, it is clear that British national identity had entered a period of renegotiation that failed to encompass migrant communities by 1990. By examining the legislation implemented by governments alongside lived experiences of migrants and their families, this study is able to uncover the disparity between the intentions of legislators and how they impacted the real world. The oral histories demonstrate how legislators may have showed an evolving progressive attitude, where as public interactions within education, communities and policing demonstrate a much slower acceptance and a variable perception of national identity.

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Introduction: The Rise of Multicultural Britain 1945-1980

To live in modern-day Britain is to live in a place that boasts of its multicultural and racial diversity. Yet for a nation that is so insistent on how proud it is of this diversity you do not have to venture very far into the public domain to see signs of both subtle and direct discrimination. One example of this would be the rhetoric surrounding Brexit, which shows a clear disdain from members of the public in being part of a wider community that allows the free travel and movement of skilled and in-demand individuals. A further example of this would be the now former Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, and the litany of statements he has made both in and out of his premiership. These include but are not limited to, defending British history from “cancel culture”.¹ However, within this pledge to prevent ‘cancel culture iconoclasm’ is a distinct ignorance of the fact that history is not a singular and linear narrative especially when it comes to Britain’s history.² The popular historical discourse of Britain is very much centred on the legacy of the British Empire and colonialism, however often silenced and lost within this narrative are the histories of the racial and ethnic minorities of Britain, their lives, communities and contributions to modern British society, which this dissertation aims to begin to uncover.

The year 1945 brought the end of the Second World War and for Britain this meant the beginning of drastic changes to life, but not just because they were no longer at war. After the mass casualties both at home and abroad caused by the war, Britain faced the reality that the workforce was severely lacking, especially in regards to public sectors such as healthcare and transport. With the realisation that Britain faced such a severe shortage, one solution the government came up with was recruiting workers from European and Commonwealth nations. With a new inflow of migration from places all

¹ Sleight, S., & Rogers, A. (2021, October 6). Boris Johnson Says He Will 'Defend British History' From 'Cancel Culture'. The Huffington Post. https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/boris-johnson-british-history-cancel-culture_uk_615d7497e4b08d08062c45c4

² Sleight, S., & Rogers, A. (2021, October 6). Boris Johnson Says He Will 'Defend British History' From 'Cancel Culture'. The Huffington Post. https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/boris-johnson-british-history-cancel-culture_uk_615d7497e4b08d08062c45c4

across the Commonwealth and Europe, the demographic of Britain began to change to include different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. This resulted in migrants coming to Britain building lives and communities with their own cultures and traditions that began to change British life and identity in the 77 years that followed the end of the war.

One historical event, which is often pinpointed as the beginning of multi-racial and multicultural Britain as noted by Kathleen Paul, is the arrival of the Empire Windrush in 1948. In popular memory, the arrival of the boat signified the beginning of Commonwealth migrants living and working in the UK and consequently changing the racial and cultural landscape of Britain³. However, what is important to note is that before 1945 Britain's ethnic landscape was not a monoculture and it is instead the much larger scale of immigration post-war that drove the issue of non-white immigration in to public attention. However, this was not the only change to effect British national identity at this time. Arguably, Britain's national identity was also under threat from its diminishing influence in international politics now dominated by the USA (United States of America) and USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), as well as the wave of decolonisation that started to sweep across the British Empire.

Consequently, as migrants from varying ethnic, social and cultural backgrounds arrived in Britain coupled with a weakened international status, the fundamentals of British national identity were challenged. The tension surrounding British national identity between 1945-1990 is the fact that national identity, as argued by Shiv Visvanathan, was not viewed as an adaptable concept. Instead, the idea of nation and nationality have become an 'exclusionary process' in which people and nations are made to conform to static ideas and definitions.⁴ So, in a Britain where national identity was synonymous with being white, the introduction of Commonwealth migrants who were not all white was a direct contradiction. Wendy Webster comments that it is the racialisation of Asian and black

³ Paul, K. (2018). *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era*. Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7591/j.ctv5rdvw1>

⁴Visvanathan, S. (2006). *Nation. Theory, Culture & Society*, 23(2-3), 533-538. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276406061702> pg 533

migrants, despite their Commonwealth status, that made the arrival of boats from the Commonwealth such as the Windrush appear as seminal moments in post-war immigration and identity discussion.⁵ As Webster argues, race is the main reason why immigration became a contentious public issue and this is demonstrated through comparison with other migrant ethnic groups in this time period such as those from Poland and the Ukraine. While migrants from white European countries faced their own set of challenges assimilating into life in Britain as part of programmes such as the European Volunteer Worker (EVW) scheme it was clear that it was not to the same extent as migrants from Asia and the Caribbean. This is largely due to the fact that their skin tone allowed them to visually assimilate into British society, a luxury not afforded to black and Asian migrants. So, what Britain was experiencing with the arrival of migrants who were not immediately assimilable to the definition of British national identity is what Matthew Mead has called a 'revolutionary rupture in a national identity imagined as homogenous'.⁶ Consequently, this paper will examine how the racialisation of migrants occurred, how racialisation effected perceptions of national identity among black and Asian migrants, and the effects this had on community relations.

Historiography:

The existing scholarship surrounding migration and national identity in the post-war period has various approaches. Some of the leading historians include Kathleen Paul, Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy and Wendy Webster covering the chronology with different approaches from political to first-person experience.

One way of approaching post-war race relations and national identity can be seen in the work of Randall Hansen and his work called the racialisation thesis which dominated the historiographical debate. There are those historians who propose that the government are the soul conduit for the

⁵ Webster, W. (2005). Immigration and racism. In P. Addison, & H. Jones (Eds.), *A companion to contemporary Britain 1939–2000* (pp. 93-109). Blackwell Publishing Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470996195.ch7> pg 99

⁶ Mead, M. (2009). Empire Windrush: The cultural memory of an imaginary arrival. *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 45(2), 137-149. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449850902819920> pg 137

racist ideologies and attitudes that emerged in the post-war period, however in his thesis Hansen argues that there were a number of factors that shaped the government policy regarding migration and nationality. In his study of the topic from 1945 to the 1980s Hansen uses archival material on the information behind the creation of successive migration legislation to set himself against the dominant historiographical argument. Hansen highlights other factors such as hostile public opinions and the fragile international relations caused by the breakdown of the Empire and subsequent decolonisation of the Commonwealth in relation to migration, arguing that Britain's commitment to remaining a powerful international nation often came into conflict with real lived experience on a national scale. In his analysis Hansen proposes that the legislation that was passed in this period was not as a consequence of a racist governing state, but instead a narrow-minded public resistant to changing definitions of citizenship and identity. By examining this period in the context of new sociological writing on the behaviours and attitudes of lived experience in the post-war mass migration age, Hansen manages to re-frame how historians have examined this time period. Despite not directly examining the lived experiences of black and Asian migrants Hansen manages to make an important commentary on how the migration legislation enacted in this time period when put in to practise was evidently racialised discrimination in contrast to the theory. Ultimately, Hansen goes against the dominant historiographic debate that successive racist governments introduced targeted migration laws. Instead, Hansen argues that ideologies of nation and belonging in a society still reeling from a number of turbulent years where their national identity was under threat and attack, resulted in a hostile attitude towards migrants. This hostile attitude especially targeted migrants who did not immediately assimilate into preconceived notions of Britishness. By using Hansen's racialisation thesis this paper is able to advance the historiography by applying it to lived experience, highlighting lesser discussed communities such as Asians, women and differences between different generations.

Kathleen Pauls' work on race and national identity in the post-war period follows a similar model to Hansen's where there is a focus on the racialisation of migrants, however Paul's analysis focuses primarily on how the state curated migrants and migration into an increasingly undesirable category

on a national scale. In her book, Paul looks at archival material pertaining to migrant numbers and localised interactions between migrants and native British people. In contrast to Hansen, Paul argues it was the rhetoric surrounding the legislation that successive governments proposed which resulted in more hostile attitudes towards migrants. Consequently, arguing that it was a continuous and persistent effort from consecutive British governments to restrict both the migration and consequent growth of Black and Asian communities in Britain. Additionally, Paul also emphasises the lengths to which racism and the imagined racial boundaries of Britishness led government reactions towards what were thought to be unacceptable numbers of raced migrants after the war. Consequently, demonstrating the astute idea that government officials severely misunderstood the extent to which Black and Asian migrants claimed Britain and British nationality as part of their identities and allowed this to lead their decision-making in regards to immigration, citizenship and national identity. Paul's work does not place great emphasis on the direct examination of individual experiences, so by taking into consideration the work done by Paul on national identity and belonging, this study aims to broaden the historiography by examining how national identity and belonging was experienced by migrants across different communities and generations.

Along a similar vein to Kathleen Paul in regards to national identity there is James Hampshire's work *Citizenship and Belonging*. In this book Hampshire debates the concepts of demography, race and belonging and how this affected immigration policy in post-war Britain from the immediate post-war years until the early 1970s'. Hampshire examines sources from official government archives such as the debates that informed the formation of migration laws or 'demographic governance', as well as popular public opinion in newspapers and public polls on a national level. Consequently, Hampshire is able to cast a wider lens on the reasoning behind increasing restrictive immigration legislation throughout this period. This book is also important for the way it explores demographic governance

which allows it to provide a new standpoint on how the ‘insidious influence of racial ideas’ swayed successive governments and policy making.⁷

One of the most influential studies on race and nationhood in the post-war period comes from Paul Gilroy and his 1987 book *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*. At the centre of Gilroy’s analysis is a critique on how race, specifically blackness was curated into a racialised political category and became deliberately and systematically irreconcilable with concepts of Britishness. Gilroy has a focus on the presence of minority communities, particularly black communities and how in British national histories there are ‘strategic silences’ about their presence in Britain. In a study that ranges across the post-war era on a national scale, Gilroy argues that this helped forge a false consensus among the public and government officials of a national homogeneity that was exclusionary on the basis of race and that this was challenged with the arrival of non-white migrants after the war. What makes Gilroy’s analysis so important is that it takes place at a time when the historiography changed to evaluate the state’s role in the implementation of race-based exclusionary policy. By applying this analysis to oral histories, it brings new light to the historiography by exemplifying how in the sample of this study, each group related to their Britishness and was intersected by different factors such as race, age and gender.

Another valuable contribution to the research on race and nationhood comes from the work of Wendy Webster. Throughout her various works such as *Imagining Home: Gender, Race and National Identity*, Webster refocuses the lens of experience in post-war Britain as a migrant from the perspective of Afro-Caribbean women and children, analysing how gender and family were influential factors in the formation of their place in British society.

Another important contribution that also comes from Wendy Webster is in her work *Mixing It*, as she highlights the changes to government policy and public opinions that lead up to the time frame of this study. Through the use of oral histories of migrants who came to Britain as part of the war effort,

⁷ Hampshire, J. (2005). Citizenship and belonging: Immigration and the politics of demographic governance in postwar Britain. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230510524> pg 3-4

Webster examines how their presence in Britain, brought on by a demand for soldiers and help in the war, was the precursor to the social relations and legislation that was to come post-war. In doing this, Webster acknowledges how British identity was not monolithic; the relationship between Britain and its empire nations has long involved migration. However, in her examination of migrants from different ethnic and racial backgrounds, Webster astutely evidences how the large scale of migration post-war, and the racialisation of non-white migrants curated national identity into the extremely nuanced topic that it is today.

Further work on the subject of race and identity in the post-war period comes from Jodi Burkett's 2013 book *Constructing Post-Imperial Britain: Britishness, 'Race', and the Radical Left in the 1960s*. In this book Burkett focuses on the discussions of whether and how to teach about the British Empire and the 'larger debates about what Britain was, and who the British were, without the empire'.⁸ Using primary source material pertaining to left-wing social movements in this time frame, Burkett is able to bring a unique frame of reference into the historiography by studying 'people and groups in that often forgotten space between high politics and the culture of everyday life'.⁹ In doing so, Burkett manages to argue that there was a significant and enduring impact caused by the end of empire across British society, culture and people.¹⁰ This impact being that the end of Empire set in motion 'fundamental changes in attitude and worldview among all Britons, altering the way that Britain and 'Britishness' were conceived and allowing for the construction of a post-imperial British identity'.¹¹ Taking into consideration the work done by Burkett this dissertation aims to progress the historiography by directly examining individual experiences to highlight how the end of empire effected Britishness and identity in this time period.

⁸ Burkett, J. (2013). *Constructing post-imperial Britain: Britishness, 'race' and the radical left in the 1960s*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137008916> pg 1

⁹ Burkett, J. (2013). *Constructing post-imperial Britain: Britishness, 'race' and the radical left in the 1960s*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137008916> pg 3

¹⁰ Burkett, J. (2013). *Constructing post-imperial Britain: Britishness, 'race' and the radical left in the 1960s*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137008916> pg. 3

¹¹ Burkett, J. (2013). *Constructing post-imperial Britain: Britishness, 'race' and the radical left in the 1960s*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137008916> pg 16

Methodology:

In the research for this paper a variety of source material has been used to garner different perspectives and experiences. By using oral history testimonies, unique first-hand perspectives help demonstrate the social and political landscape of Britain during this time and how it was evolving towards a more multicultural and multiracial society. Valarie Raleigh Yow states that oral histories allow the participants 'to remember, to convey details, to provide explanation, and to reflect' on their experiences.¹² The critics of oral history would argue that due to the inherent subjectivity of these histories that their credibility as sources is diminished. However, as Alessandro Portelli says the subjectivity of these sources is a strength and is 'not the same thing as arbitrary', the biases within these sources are what allow us to look 'at how institutions leave records and how people leave records, at what the relationship is between these reconstructions of memory'.¹³ It is the difference between the two recollections that this paper aims to use in order to explore the different spheres of Britishness that existed in the post-war period as the use of oral histories and lived experiences remains undervalued in the historical discourse on the subject.¹⁴ The oral histories used in this study come from pre-existing projects that aim to capture the lives and legacies of black and Asian men and women in Manchester and Huddersfield, with each unique project further discussed in the main body of the text. However, as these interviews were not conducted for the purposes of this study it is important to recognise that the oral histories were given for different informative purposes and under different contexts. Additionally, it is also important to note that the oral histories in this study are taken as a small sample of a much larger and diverse migrant population.

However, this study also utilises written archival material such as government legislation, debates and communications. By examining legislation and public statements this paper has been able to scrutinise

¹² Yow, V. R. (2015). *Recording oral history: a guide for the humanities and social sciences* (3rd ed.). Rowman & Littlefield. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=1884231> pg 40

¹³ Vanek, M. (2013). *Around the globe: Rethinking oral history with its protagonists* (First in English. ed.). Karolinum. Pg 128

¹⁴ Paul, K. (2018). *Whitewashing Britain: Race and citizenship in the postwar era*. Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7591/j.ctv5rdvw1> pg 121

and evaluate attitudes towards migrant communities and their identities in the immediate post-war period and the following forty-five years. Thus, allowing it to establish if and how far attitudes had changed towards a more meritocratic society that can accept that identity has not just one singular definition with one definitive race and culture. The use of community programme memorandums, meetings and discussions of what these community spaces did for people helps show the interaction of the state and British population in this period. The evidence base demonstrates how migrant communities came together to mediate their identities and where they fit in with British identity and culture. However, unlike Gilroy, Webster and Paul, this study will also be looking at the lives and experiences of the Asian community, which provides a new variable to British national identity that is not covered extensively enough in the existing historiography on the subject.

Structure:

This study will have three major components which will focus on legislation, personal experiences as minority ethnic British people, and finally community relations.

In examining the policies and amendments of legislation made by successive governments from 1945-1990, this paper will analyse how government officials viewed post-war migrants and the communities they came to build in this forty-five-year period. The legislation of this period is essential in a study of national identity as it is the guidance of the legislation that dictated how and when migrants could come to Britain, which initially transitioned them from colonial migrants to citizens of Britain with British identity, but also progressively racialised them into being incompatible with British national identity.

In an examination of the lived experiences of black and Asian people through this period, this paper is afforded an invaluable insight into life, experience and identity as a migrant in this time period. The oral histories provided by the black and Asian communities from Manchester and Huddersfield demonstrate varying perspectives on life as minority ethnic British citizens from the immediate post

war as ex-servicemen, economic migrants and as first and second generation British born citizens, with each faction presenting different attitudes towards national identity and belonging in this time frame.

Community relations are also an important part of the discourse on perceptions of national identity in this time period as they are the social barometer relating to race relations and by implication the integration of migrant communities into British identity and culture during this time. By looking at how the government, migrant communities and the British public interact this paper can examine to what extent communities became assimilated and accepted into Britain and consequently British national identity during this time period.

In exploring the issues of migration and national identity throughout this study, there is an overwhelming question left to ask. In a post-war and post-colonial world, is British national identity one which integrated and embraced migrant communities into British national identity and culture, or is there simply a legacy of toleration and separation when it comes to the many cultures and races that now call Britain home.

Context: Who are they?

Who are the post-war migrants and where did they come from?

From the end of the war, Britain was never going to be the same again. One of the changes the post-war era has become synonymous with is migration and consequently the increase in racial and ethnic diversity of Britain. Welcoming migrants from a variety of places, there are two main racial/ ethnic groups which dominated post-war migration. The first group that is well established in the historiographical discussion on national identity in the post-war period are the black population of the Commonwealth predominantly coming from countries in the Caribbean such as Jamaica. The second group that is not covered as extensively in historiography were Asian migrants, from countries such as India, Pakistan and Kashmir.

The migrants who came from the Caribbean, a former colony and Commonwealth nation, hold a unique place in British identity¹⁵. In the post-war period Britain was facing a severe labour shortage in the thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of people. So, to help resolve this issue the government through the Commonwealth Office recruited people from Caribbean nations such as Jamaica to work in public service jobs in the newly created NHS and transport services in what was hailed the New Jerusalem programme¹⁶.

How and why did they come to Britain?

In the long discourse on migration to Britain during this time what is often left out of the discussion, especially in the mainstream is how and why Commonwealth migrants came to Britain. It was not a simple matter of these migrants just wanting to come to Britain. So, what is important to understand first is the legal landscape in which migration began in the post-war period, and this can be attributed

¹⁵ Webster, W. (2005;2007;2010;). Englishness and empire, 1939-1965. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199226641.001.0001> pg 42

¹⁶ Hampshire, J. (2005). Citizenship and belonging: Immigration and the politics of demographic governance in postwar Britain. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230510524> pg 150

to the 1948 British Nationality Act¹⁷. Under this act it was established that ‘Every person under this Act is a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies ... and by virtue of that citizenship have the status of a British subject.’ and more importantly ‘the expression “British subject” and “Commonwealth citizen” shall have the same meaning’¹⁸. As per the wording of the act all Commonwealth citizens had the official status and rights of British subjects. This included but was not limited to free movement and settlement in any Commonwealth country including Britain. This piece of legislation is crucial to the understanding of Commonwealth migratory movements in the post-war period as not only did it solidify the right to unrestricted free movement and residence, but it also set a precedent that any member of the Commonwealth was viewed as and imbued with British national identity.

For migration to begin there had to be a number of pull factors, not simply that they now had the legal right to travel to and reside in Britain. One of these factors was the opportunity of employment due to the shortage of workers in the immediate post-war years. The government sought the solution of a workforce deficit in recruitment from the Commonwealth for the newly established NHS and transport systems. This resulted in actively recruiting in the Commonwealth with voucher schemes in place from 1962 onwards for those who wished to take up the opportunity. The table below details the ‘net intake of Coloured Commonwealth Immigrants between 1955-67’ excluding those from Australia, Canada and New Zealand.

¹⁷ The Nation Archives, (1948). British Nationality Act 1948. Legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/11-12-56/enacted>

¹⁸ The Nation Archives, (1948). British Nationality Act 1948. Legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/11-12-56/enacted>

Table of migration via work vouchers¹⁹

Year	Voucher-holder	Dependents	Total
1955			42,700
1956			46,850
1957			42,400
1958			29,850
1959			21,600
1960			57,700
1961			136,400
1962 (to 30 June)			94,000
1962 (1 July to 31 December)	4,217	8,128	107,335
1963	28,678	27,393	56,071
1964	13,888	38,952	42,840
1965	12,125	39,367	51,492
1966	5,141	39,130	44,271
1967	4,716	49,346	54,062

What this table shows is that the intake of migrants was steady for years and in later years as increasingly restrictive immigration legislation was introduced, the number of migrants with work vouchers began to decrease as they had to account for family members that had to migrate with them. An additional thing to note is that from 1965 onwards there was a limit set on the number of work vouchers that could be issued to 8,500 a year and that these workers had to provide a skill that was in need in Britain in order to obtain them.²⁰ Also important to note is that it only took the government seventeen years from the 1948 British Nationality Act to restrict immigration and work vouchers, and consequently routes into the UK.²¹

¹⁹ Institute of Race Relations (1967). Race Relations Report. Race Relations (Box 16 GB3228.14/7/1), Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Collection, Manchester, England.

²⁰ Institute of Race Relations (1967). Race Relations Report. Race Relations (Box 16 GB3228.14/7/1), Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Collection, Manchester, England.

²¹ The National Archives, (1948). British Nationality Act 1948. Legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/geo6/11-12/56/enacted>

Where did they go?

What the table above shows is that post-war migration was strong year on year, even after the introduction of restrictive immigration legislation, so there was a consistent in-flow of migrants. However, what is important to examine is where these migrants settled in the UK. The locations of where these migrants settled greatly depended on the circumstances under which they came to Britain. In the initial years this may have simply been a matter of connections that they had built connections during deployment in the war, however as time progressed, economic migrants who came for work were more common as well as those who were seeking asylum.

In 1968 a paper was released from the Institute of Race Relations titled 'Facts paper on Colour and Immigration in the United Kingdom 1968'²². This paper, as the name states, was created to try and give a greater understanding on the number of and location of non-white migrants in the UK. In reference to the number of Commonwealth migrants in the UK at the time of the report, it references the 1966 sample census in which it states there are a total of 942,310 immigrants from the Commonwealth in a total population of forty-seven million in the UK²³. Further breaking down this number into the following figures:

Table of migration by race:²⁴

Race	Number of people
Caribbean	267,850
India (including white immigrants)	232,210
Pakistan	73,130
Cyprus	59,190
Africa (including white immigrants)	88,510
The 'white' Commonwealth	155,310

²² Institute of Race Relations (1967). Race Relations Report. Race Relations (Box 16 GB3228.14/7/1), Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Collection, Manchester, England.

²³ Institute of Race Relations (1967). Race Relations Report. Race Relations (Box 16 GB3228.14/7/1), Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Collection, Manchester, England.

²⁴ Institute of Race Relations (1967). Race Relations Report. Race Relations (Box 16 GB3228.14/7/1), Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Collection, Manchester, England.

The report also breaks down the distribution and proportion of the main groups of coloured and Commonwealth migrants in Britain at this time and the areas where they predominantly settled.

Table of settlement by county²⁵

Area	Total Population	Caribbean (a)	India (b)	Pakistan (c)	A,b,c as a % of total population
Greater London	7,671,220	151,810	80,230	15,990	3.2%
West Midlands	2,347,070	35,800	26,930	14,110	3.3%
West Yorks	1,708,260	8,360	10,350	12,660	1.8%
S.E Lancs	2,404,100	10,670	7,730	5,120	1.0%

Along with a breakdown of boroughs with the highest proportions of Commonwealth immigrants from the Caribbean, India and Pakistan.

Table of boroughs with highest migrant populations:²⁶

Area	Total pop. of boroughs	% of immigrants from Carib, India, Pakistan
Brent	282,490	7.4%
Hackney	244,210	7.2%
Lambeth	320,780	6.7%
Haringey	246,570	5.7%
Islington	235,340	5.5%
Wolverhampton	262,170	4.9%
High Wycombe	53,920	4.8%
Bedford	67,390	4.7%
Leamington Spa	43,520	4.5%
Birmingham	1,064,220	4.2%
Bradford	290,310	4.0%
Huddersfield	130,210	4.0%

²⁵ Institute of Race Relations (1967). Race Relations Report. Race Relations (Box 16 GB3228.14/7/1), Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Collection, Manchester, England.

²⁶ Institute of Race Relations (1967). Race Relations Report. Race Relations (Box 16 GB3228.14/7/1), Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Collection, Manchester, England.

From the above datasets there are a few clear observations to be made. The first being that the largest migratory groups were from the Caribbean and India. Secondly, that migrants from the same countries tended to settle in the same area as each other. This happened due to a multitude of reasons such as difficulty finding accommodation or the location of the work they came to Britain to do. And thirdly, that they settled in areas with industrial opportunities such as London, Yorkshire, and Lancashire.

Chapter One- Legislation:

Introduction:

When it comes to examining national identity from the post-war period onwards it is important to observe the attitudes and actions of successive governments and Britain's international political standing during this period. It is through legislation that successive governments curated a narrative that racialised Commonwealth migrants and made them incompatible with white British national identity. As James Hampshire covers in his book, the official attitude towards migrants and migration was one that evolved significantly from 1945 to the 1990s.²⁷ It is also important to note that during this time frame Britain entered into the end of Empire and decolonisation which greatly influenced perceptions of national identity.

The legislation from 1945-1990 is split into three sections according to the outlook each era had. First, is the seemingly welcoming legislation that opened up the United Kingdom to the people of the Commonwealth. The second is the beginning of restrictive legislation where the Government started to create distinctions of difference when it came to migrants and national identity. Finally, came the era where Britain had to renegotiate its identity and begin to form a society accepting of, or at least tolerant of its new multiracial and multicultural demographic. Consequently, in this time frame Britain was living in a world where competing ideas of national identity dominated and with this contradiction, Britain saw the battle between migration vs nativism. Migration meaning 'The movement of a person or people from one country, locality, place of residence, etc., to settle in another' and nativism meaning 'The attitude, practice or policy of protecting the interests of native-born or existing inhabitants against those of immigrants.'²⁸

²⁷ Hampshire, J. (2005). Citizenship and belonging: Immigration and the politics of demographic governance in postwar Britain. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230510524> pg 13

²⁸ Oxford English Dictionary. (2022). Migration. Oxford English Dictionary. The definitive record of the English language. <https://www-oed-com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/view/Entry/118324?redirectedFrom=migration#eid>
Oxford English Dictionary. (2022). Nativism. Oxford English Dictionary. The definitive record of the English language. <https://www-oed-com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/view/Entry/118324?redirectedFrom=migration#eid>

By looking at the legislation introduced in this time frame it reveals attitudes towards migrants and national identity, at least of government ministers. Additionally, under the lens of the end of Empire, it helps to give a better understanding of why migrants occupied separate spheres of national identity as argued by Kathleen Paul.²⁹ Ian Sanjay Patel states 'Few words better stir a sense of national identity and destiny than immigration. The immigrant, by definition, does not belong to the nation-state in which she resides' and consequently through the introduction of legislation which transitioned the subjects of empire into immigrants, separate spheres of Britishness were not only now implemented but cemented into law.³⁰ As a result, this chapter will analyse how migrant communities became defined as migrants instead of British citizens and how the different spheres of Britishness were codified into law and public opinion which resulted in the relationship between national identity and immigration becoming complicated in this forty-five year period.

1945-1961:

In this section of the chapter, we will be examining government legislation regarding immigration and national identity in the period of 1945-1961. Government policy has always been driven by the circumstances that they find themselves in. From the end of the Second World War, Britain entered a state of imperial decline. As Spencer Mawby states, it is a fact that the British Empire no longer exists as an entity of power. However, the question that has been difficult to answer for historians is when the power and era of Empire ended and the transition to head of the Commonwealth states was made.³¹ It is this very transition from Empire and global superpower to Commonwealth, or what Michael Kenny calls the 'Anglosphere', that affected legislation from the end of the Second World War right up to the modern day.³² Taking this into consideration this section of the chapter will argue that

²⁹ Paul, K. (2018). *Whitewashing Britain: Race and citizenship in the postwar era*. Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7591/j.ctv5rdvw1> pg 112

³⁰ Patel, I. S. (2021). *We're Here Because You Were There : Immigration and the End of Empire*. Verso. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/reader.action?docID=6519972> Pg 1

³¹ Mawby, S. (2015). *The transformation and decline of the British empire: Decolonisation after the first world war*. Macmillan Education. Pg 1-2

³² Kenny, M., & Pearce, N. (2018). *Shadows of empire: The anglosphere in British politics*. Polity. Pg 7

this short fourteen year time frame is what allowed Britain to become the multicultural, multiracial and ‘melting pot’ society that we know today. In agreement with Randall Hansen who states that for a government who after 1962 seemed so intent upon ending Commonwealth migration particularly from coloured nations, it is curious that they would allow fourteen years of undisputed migration.³³

Context:

Indian Independence 1947 and the beginning of the modern Commonwealth:

One large event in the dissolution and decolonisation of Britain’s power was India gaining independence in 1947. As Frank Heinlein states the reason for imperial decline, led by events such as the development of Indian independence in 1947, has long been disputed. However the reality policy makers and governments faced was that they could no longer sustain their Empire in the aftermath of war- especially alongside renewed feelings of independence and nationalism borne from the very war they had just fought in, to end an oppressive, imperial regime.³⁴ So, not only was Britain facing a serious problems in domestic, social and economic spheres, but they were now facing threats to their reputation and identity at an international level as well.

When it comes to national identity in this time period what is important to note is that Empire was very closely tied to the concept of British national identity. As Britain entered imperial decline and transitioned towards the Commonwealth it became clear that this identity was beginning to change from one of power to a much humbler nation-state. Indeed, as Kathleen Paul states in her book, the withdrawal from territories such as India, Burma, Ceylon, Palestine, Greece, and Turkey ‘diminished both the size of the empire and its potential influence’.³⁵ Withdrawals such as these were indicative of Britain’s shifting position in international geopolitics. It was clear that policy makers were aware

³³ Hansen, R. (2000). Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain. Oxford University Press. https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Citizenship_and_Immigration_in_Postwar_B/qj8GEjW91oEC?hl=en&gbpv=0 pg 5-6

³⁴ Heinlein, F. (2002). British government policy and decolonisation, 1945-1963: Scrutinising the official mind. Routledge. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/reader.action?docID=1581764> Pg 15

³⁵ Paul, K. (2018). Whitewashing Britain: Race and citizenship in the postwar era. Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7591/j.ctv5rdvw1> pg 2

that their financial situation could not support the 'empire' they had built and in the spirit of liberalism that the end of the Second World War brought, trying to hold on to these colonial nations would be hypocritical at best and cause mass dissent and international disapproval at worst. As Frank Heinlein argues, withdrawals such as this were attempts to manage decolonisation and ensure the transfer of power was one that appeared willing while also maintaining British interests overseas.³⁶ So, with the beginning of the dissolution of Empire, Britain was beginning to see changes to its long established notions of national identity.

The beginning of the dissolution of Empire, brought forward the creation of the modern Commonwealth. The Commonwealth in their own words 'is one of the world's oldest political associations of states. Its roots go back to the British Empire, when countries around the world were ruled by Britain.'³⁷ This alone demonstrates the connection Britain has with each of the Commonwealth countries. Although there are now nations who are part of the Commonwealth despite not being part of the British Empire. The connection between the former Empire states was strongly promoted by Britain as the 'mother country' in an attempt to keep a semblance of the power and status they once had as part of their national identity. As Kathleen Paul states many of the people who did eventually end up migrating to Britain, as the dissolution of Empire occurred, saw the Commonwealth as a continuation of the connection they had for many years as colonial subjects. As the subjects of Empire they had been encouraged to view Britain as 'home, as the cultural and political centre of "their" empire'³⁸. Thus, the establishment of the Commonwealth and ideals that were perpetuated to colonial subjects for many years established a strong relationship with Britain. This

³⁶ Heinlein, F. (2002). British government policy and decolonisation, 1945-1963: Scrutinising the official mind. Routledge. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/reader.action?docID=1581764> Pg 1

³⁷ The Commonwealth . (2022). Our history. The Commonwealth. <https://thecommonwealth.org/history>

³⁸ Paul, K. (2018). Whitewashing Britain: Race and citizenship in the postwar era. Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7591/j.ctv5rdvw1> pg 114

relationship and idea of Britain as the 'mother country' is one which the British government would underestimate in years to come, which began with the enactment of the 1948 British Nationality Act.³⁹

1948 British Nationality Act:

As previously stated, the immediate post-war years present one of the biggest changes in British, and by extension the Commonwealths, history. The end of the war brought with it great uncertainty not just for Britain and its labour shortage but internationally as well. The world had just brought to an end the largest struggle for domestic and international power it had ever seen and Britain was yearning for a return to normality. One way to reach a sense of normalcy was to remedy the labour shortage in Britain which led to the beginning of post-war mass migration. The British Nationality Act was Clement Atlee's Labour Government's solution. The law when initially enacted stated 'Every person under this Act is a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies... and by virtue of that citizenship have the status of a British subject', however what may be more important in the wording of this act is that 'the expression "British subject" and "Commonwealth citizen" shall have the same meaning'.⁴⁰ Consequently, in the implementation of this law Commonwealth citizens now had the same rights as British-born citizens and had been formally granted the right to move to, live and work in the United Kingdom without restriction. Thus, Commonwealth citizens from the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent had the right to identify themselves with British national identity.

In the historiography on the subject there have been a variety of opinions and arguments on the motivations behind the act's creation. One historian who frames the act as a reluctant solution to the post-war labour shortage is Randall Hansen, arguing that 'policy-makers had little choice but to rely

³⁹ The National Archives. (1948). British Nationality Act 1948. Legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/11-12/56/enacted>

⁴⁰ The National Archives. (1948). British Nationality Act 1948. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/11-12/56/enacted>

on (or, which was more often the case, to tolerate) colonial migrants' while they were in need.⁴¹ As Hansen develops his argument, he proposes the idea that the British Nationality Act was 'only peripherally related to immigration... Its aim was constitutional: the retention of a uniform status, and the possession of uniform privileges, for all British subjects'.⁴² In essence, the British Nationality Act was created to ease the transition of decolonisation and ensure that Britain remained central in its relationship to colonies and help maintain its imagined national identity as the head of an Empire, just of a different name. On the other hand, historians such as Kathleen Paul and Ian Spencer frame the introduction of the British Nationality Act mainly through the international context of the end of empire and the beginning of the Commonwealth. Spencer states that

Despite Attlee's public words of welcome to the black passengers aboard the Empire Windrush the British government, in a period of acute labour shortage, did not turn to its empire for additional labour. Government hostility to both Asian and black settlement, so apparent in the policy of the inter-war years, continued through the decade following the end of the war.⁴³

When examining immigration policy in this period a large focus is placed on the situation at 'home', or that is to say Britain. However, the international geopolitical atmosphere is also important to examine in relation to migration legislation especially landmark legislation such as the 1948 British Nationality Act.⁴⁴ By taking into consideration international events such as the gaining of independence in India, the motivation behind nationality and immigration legislation introduced by successive British governments begins to become clearer.

⁴¹ Hansen, R. (2003). Migration to Europe since 1945: Its history and its lessons. *The Political Quarterly* (London. 1930), 74(s1), 25-38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2003.00579.x> pg 26

⁴² Hansen, R. (2000). *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*. Oxford University Press. https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Citizenship_and_Immigration_in_Postwar/B/qj8GEjW91oEC?hl=en&gbpv=0 pg 35

⁴³ Spencer, I. R. G. (1997;2002;). *British immigration policy since 1939: The making of multi-racial Britain*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203437032> pg 56

⁴⁴ The National Archives. (1948). *British Nationality Act 1948*. Legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/11-12/56/enacted>

On an international level at this time, we saw the beginning of decolonisation and consequently the introduction of the 1948 British Nationality Act by cross government policy makers. As Kathleen Paul states this act began decolonisation by

‘passing a nationality act that, by confirming Britain's position as the migratory centre of the Commonwealth, tried quietly to uphold the nation's position as an important international power’.⁴⁵

What is important to note here is the importance with which each historian is emphasising that the British Nationality Act was a mechanism through which to reaffirm Britain’s international standings and consequently their national identity. The renegotiations began with events such as the partition of India in 1947 and tensions with other colonial nations such as Canada and New Zealand. As James Hampshire notes, the British Nationality Act was spurred on partially by Canada’s decision to introduce its own citizenship.⁴⁶ By virtue, the British Nationality Act gave Canadian citizens British subjecthood and thus the right to travel to live and work in the United Kingdom. But by bestowing this to all Commonwealth nations which may wish to do the same, the Government opened the door to all Commonwealth citizens, including those whose populations were not white, Christian or both.

Overall, the 1948 British Nationality Act was a pivotal piece of legislation for Britain, its involvement in international politics, national identity and the communities that linked them all together. As Hansen, Paul, and Spencer all state, the British Nationality Act was not a piece of legislation directly designed with migration in mind, but instead the retention of their national identity. However, the creation of this act also unwittingly created new sectors to the British national identity, which each Commonwealth country could now claim. So, it is in this single piece of legislation Britain began its

⁴⁵ Paul, K. (2018). *Whitewashing Britain: Race and citizenship in the postwar era*. Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7591/j.ctv5rdvw1> pg 131

⁴⁶The National Archives. (1948). British Nationality Act 1948. [legislation.gov.uk. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/11-12/56/enacted](https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/11-12/56/enacted)

Hampshire, J. (2005). *Citizenship and belonging: Immigration and the politics of demographic governance in postwar Britain*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230510524> pg 19

transition from imperial power and head of an empire to a nation that was part of the wider community of the Commonwealth- although only notionally its head.

1962 Immigration Act:

The second piece of migration legislation that was introduced was the 1962 Immigration Act by Harold Macmillan's Conservative government.⁴⁷ This legislation, as argued by Kathleen Paul was the first manifestation of the state response to a permanent 'coloured addition' to the British population.⁴⁸ The proverbial door to immigration had been opened by the 1948 British Nationality Act, and with it brought what has come to be known as the first instance of mass post-war migration with the popular moment of arrival that is the Empire Windrush.⁴⁹ As Paul references, members of the Empire states had always possessed the right to come to Britain, and due to the legacy of Empire leaving many countries with large percentages of unemployment and growing birth rates, many, especially from the Caribbean took up employment in Britain and the United States.⁵⁰ The 1962 Act introduced the requirement for all Commonwealth migrants who wished to come to the UK for work, to first apply for a voucher to work in line with the jobs they could be employed in once they reached Britain. Consequently, what many historians such as Peter Fryer and Kathleen Paul have noted is that this act, was the blueprint that cemented into law and the realm of public opinion that there were competing ideas of Britishness.⁵¹ As stated in Fryer's book the 1962 Act was a piece of legislation that was blatantly discriminatory and it had a clear aim to limit the number of black and coloured immigrants that came to Britain every year.⁵² So, by introducing restrictive requirements, such as the need for

⁴⁷ The National Archives. (1968). Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968. [legislation.gov.uk. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/9/contents/enacted](https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/9/contents/enacted)

⁴⁸ Paul, K. (1997). *Whitewashing Britain: Race and citizenship in the postwar era*. Cornell University Press. Pg 112

⁴⁹ 1948 Act

⁵⁰ Paul, K. (1997). *Whitewashing Britain: Race and citizenship in the postwar era*. Cornell University Press. Pg 112-113

⁵¹ Gilroy, P. (2002;2013;). *There ain't no black in the union jack: The cultural politics of race and nation* (2nd ed.). Routledge Pg 391

⁵² Gilroy, P. (2002;2013;). *There ain't no black in the union jack: The cultural politics of race and nation* (2nd ed.). Routledge Pg 382

work vouchers and sponsored employment, it could be argued that this act is the first instance where we see the government take an official stance on coloured migration. Thus, an attempt to revert to the idea of a 'national identity imagined as homogenous'.⁵³

Consequently, it is arguable that the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act was created as a response to the growing visibility of the coloured population in Britain and sought to reduce it as much as possible. This is because it threatened the definition white British people had of British national identity. A similar idea is argued by Wendy Webster who regards the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act as the beginning of 'racialised immigration legislation' that 'virtually ended primary black migration to Britain'.⁵⁴ However, Randall Hansen adds to the debate by arguing that the 1962 Act was not purely driven by the opinions of legislators but that the court of public opinion was also considerable factor in this period.⁵⁵

To conclude, the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrations Act was the first piece of legislation that started to restrict and discriminate against "coloured" migrants and migration.⁵⁶ As argued by Paul and Fryer the act marks a clear turning point in legislation against coloured migration. Although Hansen argues that the legislation was driven by public opinion, there was a clear change in rhetoric from the government. So, despite disseminating a welcoming and open agenda in the new era of the Commonwealth, it was clear that "coloured" migrants occupied a separate sphere of Britishness and were not as welcome as they had been led to believe.

⁵³ Mead, M. (2009). Empire Windrush: The cultural memory of an imaginary arrival. *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 45(2), 137-149. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449850902819920> pg 137

⁵⁴ Webster, W. (2005). *Immigration and racism*. (pp. 93-108). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. doi:10.1111/b.9780631220404.2005.00007.x pg 98

⁵⁵ Hansen, R. (2000). *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*. Oxford University Press. https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Citizenship_and_Immigration_in_Postwar_B/gj8GEjW91oEC?hl=en&gbpv=0 pg14

⁵⁶ The National Archives. (1962). *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1962/21/contents/enacted>

1963-1979:

This section moves onto the next era of life and legislation in Britain after the war from 1963-1979.

This sixteen year period is perhaps the most intense period of change as far as legislation is concerned with five different pieces of legislation being passed and amended that relate to immigration and nationality.

1965 Race Relations Act:

The Race Relations Act of 1965 was the first piece of legislation to formally deal with race-based discrimination in the UK and was introduced by Harold Wilson's Labour Government. The perceived need for this act was prompted by the increasing migrant population in Britain which had begun in the 1950s and 60s mainly comprised of members of the Commonwealth from the Caribbean and South Asia, averaging 60,570 migrants a year (including dependents) between 1955 and 1962, when restrictive legislation was first introduced.⁵⁷ By 1964, as government resources show, the number of migrants from the Commonwealth was estimated to be one million people of all different races and nationalities.⁵⁸ Many migrants had come to Britain with the intention of working in order to better their lives in their home countries and then repatriating years later. However, with the migrant population having grown and little sign of repatriation in the numbers they had hoped for, it became clear to the government that these migrants were intending to settle in Britain. Consequently, to promote a fair and equal society for the growing migrant population, it became clear that measures would need to be put into place to try and prevent and prosecute cases of racial discrimination. However, a large reason for this was because race and discrimination had been made an election issue by the Labour Party for the 1964 election. In their election manifesto for the 1964 general election, the Labour Party promised to

⁵⁷ Institute of Race Relations (1967). Race Relations Report. Race Relations (Box 16 GB3228.14/7/1), Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Collection, Manchester, England.

⁵⁸ Brown, J. (2018). An early history of British race relations legislation . House of Commons Library. <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8360/CBP-8360.pdf> Pg 2

‘legislate against racial discrimination and incitement in public places and give special help to local authorities in areas where immigrants have settled’.⁵⁹

Upon their election the Labour Government, led by Harold Wilson, released a White Paper titled Immigration from the Commonwealth which outlined the intent to restrict future immigration from Commonwealth nations and legislation that would help the existing migrant community settle into British society further.⁶⁰ So, what can be inferred from this is the way the Government sought to “solve” the problem of racial discrimination, which was to reduce the number of raced migrants who were entering the country each year rather than tackling attitudes towards race.

The act was ratified in 1965 and stated that it was

‘An Act to prohibit discrimination on racial grounds in places of public resort; to prevent the enforcement or imposition on racial grounds of restriction on the transfer of tenancies; to penalise incitement to racial hatred’⁶¹

In essence this Act banned racial discrimination in public places and ruled that cases and complaints of discrimination were to be resolved by the Race Relations Board. The Race Relations Board were empowered to create local committees who would hold mediation discussions between the two parties and ensure a suitable resolution is reached and if one wasn’t reached that the case be taken to the Attorney General.⁶²

However, while this legislation was important as the first of its kind, it became clear that the scope of the legislation was not wide enough. In the original form of the law that was proposed, it would have

⁵⁹ Brown, J. (2018). An early history of British race relations legislation . House of Commons Library. <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8360/CBP-8360.pdf> Pg 2

Political Stuff. (2021). 1964 Labour Party Election Manifesto "The New Britain". Archive of Labour Part Manifestos. <http://labour-party.org.uk/manifestos/1964/1964-labour-manifesto.shtml>

⁶⁰ Hansard. (1965). Immigration from the Commonwealth. Hansard. <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1965/aug/02/immigration-from-the-commonwealth>

⁶¹ The National Archives. (1965). *Race Relations Act 1965*. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1965/73/contents/enacted>

⁶² The National Archives. (1965). *Race Relations Act 1965*. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1965/73/contents/enacted>

made racial discrimination a criminal offence and that the proportionate consequences (of criminal prosecution) could be applied. However, as Jennifer Brown notes, the opposition to the Government rejected criminal prosecution as a consequence and thus the Race Relations Board was established as a regulatory body that was responsible for resolving discrimination complaints instead.⁶³ Furthermore, the act only offered the migrant communities of Britain very limited protection. The Race Relations Board noted that '70 percent of complaints they received fell outside of the scope of the Act (224 of 309 complaints)'.⁶⁴ The ultimate failure of this Act was in its phrasing, by only allowing complaints to be pursued that took place in 'places of public resort', the government failed to protect the migrant community in the first instance; as the figures from the Race Relations Board show, the Act needed to be expanded to encompass more areas of societal life in order to even begin to reduce the discrimination British migrant communities were facing.

Overall, the Race Relations Act of 1965 marks an important landmark in British legislation history. As the first piece of legislation to deal with discrimination on the grounds of race it presented a landmark that the government were willing to make a commitment to protect ethnic and racial minorities and their place in Britain. However, it was abundantly clear that this measure fell short of the protections migrant communities needed at this time as demonstrated by the reduction of consequences for committing a racially discriminative act and the abysmally high number of cases that could not be pursued due to the technicalities of the law.

⁶³ Brown, J. (2018). An early history of British race relations legislation . House of Commons Library. <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8360/CBP-8360.pdf> pg 1-2

⁶⁴ Institute of Race Relations (1967). Race Relations Report. Race Relations (Box 16 GB3228.14/7/1), Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Collection, Manchester, England.

1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act:

The next piece of immigration legislation was the 1968 Immigration Act, introduced again by Harold Wilson's Labour Government.⁶⁵ This act, a continuation of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act, marks a progression in legislation and government attitudes regarding migrants and national identity. In his analysis of the act Paul Gilroy notes how race had now become a politicised issue and that by introducing the caveat that incoming migrants would only have citizenship and an indefinite right to stay if they could prove the birth of a male grandparent or parent in the UK. This is now known as the concept of patriality. This new introduction was exclusionary to many members of the Commonwealth, but primarily raced members of the Commonwealth.⁶⁶ So, with race now part of the political debate and a heavily charged social issue, this act managed to reduce immigration to Britain while not directly stating racial difference as the primary caveat, instead it turned to national identity and the technicalities of the law.

An additional idea to note with the introduction of this act is that internationally at this time, the Kenyan Asian crisis was taking place. The Kenyan Asian crisis involved a part of the Indian diaspora that instead of migrating to Britain at the time of partition, migrated to Kenya instead. By 1968, this part of the Indian diaspora was now being increasingly persecuted and expelled from Kenya, but as members of the Commonwealth they could still settle in Britain. As stated by James Hampshire black and Asian migration was still perceived as an issue by the British public due to the previous construction of migration as negative and associated with civil unrest which occurred on the grounds of racial discrimination.⁶⁷ So, in order to prevent further Asian migration to Britain from those fleeing persecution and risk increasing negative public opinion, the Government introduced this act in order to deny migration on the grounds that they could not prove patriality. This point is further supported

⁶⁵ The National Archives. (1968). Race Relations Act 1968. [legislation.gov.uk. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/71/enacted](https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/71/enacted)

⁶⁶ Gilroy, P. (2002;2013;). There ain't no black in the union jack: The cultural politics of race and nation (2nd ed.). Routledge. Pg 44

⁶⁷ Hampshire, J. (2005). Citizenship and belonging: Immigration and the politics of demographic governance in postwar Britain. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230510524> pg 136

by Hansen who comments the act held significant positive feelings within the public domain once again demonstrating the hostile attitudes the public held towards “coloured” migration.⁶⁸ Consequently, as the act was received with positivity from the public it further demonstrates how the court of public opinion held an influential sway with the Government; as well as revealing the ruthlessness with which the Government were prepared to treat migrants with, even when there were cases for asylum such as the Kenyan Asian Crisis.

This amendment, was the first of its kind in regards to immigration and demonstrates the draconian measures the British government were willing to put in place when it came to migration and national identity. What the 1968 Act proved is that successive governments were well and truly on a path of restricting raced migration and consequently restricting claims to British national identity. So, while the government could not outwardly state that specific races and ethnicities were not desired, they used the law and its technicalities to try and further shape Britain back towards the idea of a homogenous nation.⁶⁹

1968 Race Relations Act:

Within the same year as the amended Commonwealth Immigration Act the government also introduced the 1968 Race Relations Act.⁷⁰ This act is the more progressive of the two pieces of legislation released in 1968. In essence what this act did was try to prevent discrimination on the grounds of colour, race, or ethnic background regarding housing, employment or public services. This

⁶⁸Hansen, R. (2000). Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain. Oxford University Press. https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Citizenship_and_Immigration_in_Postwar_B/qj8GEjW91oEC?hl=en&gbpv=0 pg 14

⁶⁹ Mead, M. (2009). Empire Windrush: The cultural memory of an imaginary arrival. Journal of Postcolonial Writing, 45(2), 137-149. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449850902819920> pg 137

⁷⁰ The National Archives. (1968). Race Relations Act 1968. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/71/part/I/enacted>

was an addition to the 1965 Race Relations Act which had 'banned racial discrimination in public places and made promoting racial hatred a crime'.⁷¹

The update to race relations legislation came in light of the findings of the Race Relations Board. The report quoted in the new Act, details that the 1965 Act was not wide enough in scope to allow them to effectively deal with cases of racial discrimination that were brought to them.⁷² So, with a need to widen the scope of what classes as discrimination in order for action to be taken, the act also more clearly defines what is classed as discrimination stating it is being treated 'less favourably', including segregation.⁷³ The scope of what was classed as discrimination widened to include 'the provision of goods, facilities and services' and 'considering someone seeking employment and in reasons for dismissing someone from employment (with some exceptions, including in the employment of private households), 'membership of a trade union' and 'Housing accommodation, some business and other premises (with some exceptions, including for premises also occupied by the landlord). The Act also granted greater power in dealing with cases of discrimination to the Race Relations Board so that once they had tried to negotiate and reach a suitable resolution as per the 1965 Act, they could then bring civil proceedings against those who are believed to have acted discriminatorily.⁷⁴ However, there was an exemption granted to police from this legislation when they were on duty.⁷⁵ So, the act widened the scope for discrimination and empowered committees to take faster and more effective action which was a progressive move forward.

⁷¹ UK Parliament. (1968). 1968 Race Relations Act. Hansard. <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-lives/relationships/collections1/1968-race-relations/1968-race-relations-act/>

⁷²The National Archives. (1965). *Race Relations Act 1965*. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1965/73/contents/enacted>

⁷³ The National Archives. (1968). *Race Relations Act 1968*. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/71/enacted>

⁷⁴ Brown, J. (2018). An early history of British race relations legislation . House of Commons Library. <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8360/CBP-8360.pdf> pg 5

⁷⁵The National Archives. (1968). *Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968*. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/9/contents/enacted>

Under this Act there was also the strengthening of powers granted to the Race Relations Board which was created to proactively promote 'harmonious community relations'.⁷⁶As Nasar Meer states, this bill was part of 'an incremental race equality architecture' that allowed the creation of 'a forerunner to the later Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) in the form of The Race Relations Board'.⁷⁷ The creation and empowerment of such boards aimed to provide a more hospitable environment for migrants and migrant communities demonstrating that the Government were beginning to familiarise itself with the growing multicultural community in Britain if not completely accepting them.

This was a pivotal piece of legislation as it provides evidence that the government were not only beginning to commit to the promotion of racial, ethnic and cultural harmony within the UK, but they were also willing to learn lessons about where their efforts were falling short. Although the 1968 Race Relations Act is usually viewed as the Labour government's attempt to balance the restriction of immigration with the integration of migrant communities that were already present within the UK; it was the also the beginning of successive governments trying to balance restrictive immigration legislation with integration policies. Thus, a step towards a more progressive Britain.

1971 Immigration Act:

The 1971 Immigration Act was a further restriction on the rights of Commonwealth citizens introduced by a Conservative Government led by Edward Heath.⁷⁸ This act unlike the others dealt with primary immigration. Primary immigration can be defined as the movement of an individual from one country to another, usually with the goal of improving living circumstances e.g., social or economic.

⁷⁶ Brown, J. (2018). An early history of British race relations legislation . House of Commons Library. <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8360/CBP-8360.pdf> pg 5

⁷⁷ Meer, N. (2018). Race equality after Enoch Powell. The Political Quarterly (London. 1930), 89(3), 417-423. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.12546> pg 417

⁷⁸ The National Archive. (1971). Immigration Act 1971. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1971/77/introduction>

This act put provisions in place to reform the British immigration system by replacing employment vouchers, which had been in use since the 1960s, with work permits.⁷⁹ These permits did not allow permanent residence and also added in a provision for the assisted repatriation of workers.⁸⁰ However, those who could prove patriality, as previously defined were still free to enter and leave Britain free from immigration controls, or as Callum Williams states, those eligible could travel to and settle in Britain without constraint.⁸¹ This immigration reform took place against the backdrop of a hostile political environment towards immigration. The event that is pinpointed most in the political realm in this short period is Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech in 1968.⁸² The speech itself encompassed a multitude of problems to do with migration and further galvanised public opinion in regard to immigration. As Kathleen Paul states this act passed by Heath's government confirmed in law 'the separate spheres of nationality' which had held unofficial precedence over migration and national identity law within the UK since the implementation of the 1945 British Nationality Act.⁸³ As a result it demonstrated how even though steps had been made to help integrate existing migrant communities, it was also clear that the Government had no intention of allowing the migration of the immediate post-war years to occur again.

⁷⁹ The National Archives. (1971). Immigration Act 1971. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1971/77/section/2/enacted>

⁸⁰ The National Archives. (2022). The Cabinet Papers Commonwealth Immigration Control and Legislation. The National Archive. <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/themes/commonwealth-immigration-control-legislation.htm>

⁸¹ Williams, C. (2015). Patriality, work permits and the european economic community: The introduction of the 1971 immigration act. *Contemporary British History*, 29(4), 508-538. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2014.1002775> pg 509

⁸² Ghosh, P. (2011). Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" Speech (FULL-TEXT). *International Business Times*. <https://www.ibtimes.com/enoch-powells-rivers-blood-speech-full-text-290675>

⁸³ Paul, K. (2018). *Whitewashing Britain: Race and citizenship in the postwar era*. Cornell University Press. Pg 170

1976 Race Relations Act:

The Race Relations Act of 1976 was another step forward for migrant communities in Britain. This act, brought in by another Labour Government under Harold Wilson, extended the meaning of discrimination to include indirect discrimination in addition to direct forms.⁸⁴ The act also created the Commission for Racial Equality which replaced the Race Relations Board and the Community Relations Commission.⁸⁵ This amendment was introduced by the government because, as Jennifer Brown states 'it was becoming ever clearer that confidence in the framework established by the 1968 Act was diminishing'.⁸⁶ This was due to the fact that research from Political Economic Planning evidenced that discrimination within UK society was still rampant and that successful resolutions to complaints had not improved in number since the amendments of the 1968 Act.⁸⁷ So, by creating this new act it demonstrates that there was an acknowledgement within central government that racial discrimination was rampant in Britain and better steps needed to be taken in order to try and ease tensions surrounding race in communities.

To explore the amendments in more detail, it expanded the scope of the act to include indirect discrimination and made accessing civil courts and industrial tribunals easier. The act also created the Community Relations Commission and the Commission for Racial Equality.⁸⁸ The formation of the Commission for Racial Equality however was not done to replace the jobs of the former bodies, instead its function was to 'work towards the elimination of discrimination, to promote equality of opportunity

⁸⁴UK Parliament Commons Library . (2018). An early history of British race relations legislation. UK Parliament. <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-8360/> and The National Archives. (1976). Race Relations Act 1976. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1976/74/contents/enacted>

⁸⁵ Brown, J. (2018). An early history of British race relations legislation . House of Commons Library. <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8360/CBP-8360.pdf> pg 1

⁸⁶ Brown, J. (2018). An early history of British race relations legislation . House of Commons Library. <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8360/CBP-8360.pdf> pg 7

⁸⁷ Brown, J. (2018). An early history of British race relations legislation . House of Commons Library. <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8360/CBP-8360.pdf> pg 7

⁸⁸The National Archives. (1976). *Race Relations Act 1976*. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1976/74/contents/enacted>

and good relations between persons of different racial groups generally'⁸⁹. As Erich Bleich states the 1976 act was the first act to introduce 'race-conscious elements' into law.⁹⁰ This change in the law was motivated by the changes that were occurring in Britain one being the changing demographic of Britain. Even though the flow of migration at this point in time was greatly reduced, or that is to say the free movement of people to Britain had been greatly reduced, there was still a varied racial and ethnic community in 1970s Britain. Consequently, with a population that was constantly changing and a British identity that was in the beginning stages of displaying more accepting attitudes towards migrant communities it became clear to policy makers by the mid-70s that they could not continue moving forward with their rhetoric and policy making that was 'colour blind'. Consequently they had to make the move toward 'race conscious' policy to ensure the promotion of an equal and more egalitarian society.⁹¹ However, even these measures fell short of what they were trying to achieve as seen in Jennifer Brown's report where she states that the hopes for the 1976 Act to 'pave the way to equality for ethnic minorities in Britain was short lived' due to various events such as the Brixton riots in 1981 that highlighted how it had failed to have a significant impact upon racial discrimination in Britain.⁹²

The National Front:

An important element to the socio-political atmosphere at this time is the National Front. The National Front was a far right, political party that had its roots in the fascism of political figure Oswald Mosley. Largely considered an outlier and fringe collective of the post-war political system, the National Front

⁸⁹ Hansard, HC Deb 04 March 1976 vol 906 cc1557 pg 8
<https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8360/CBP-8360.pdf>

⁹⁰ Bleich, E. (2006). INSTITUTIONAL CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: Norms, lesson-drawing, and the introduction of race-conscious measures in the 1976 british race relations act. Policy Studies, 27(3), 219-234.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01442870600885990> pg 220

⁹¹ Bleich, E. (2006). INSTITUTIONAL CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: Norms, lesson-drawing, and the introduction of race-conscious measures in the 1976 british race relations act. Policy Studies, 27(3), 219-234.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01442870600885990> pg 230

⁹²Brown, J. (2018). An early history of British race relations legislation . House of Commons Library.
<https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8360/CBP-8360.pdf> pg 9

slowly gathered support and notoriety throughout the 1970s.⁹³ This was largely due to an increasing anxiety among the white British public regarding immigration and their attachment to national identity in the wake of Enoch Powell’s ‘River’s of Blood’ speech, which demonised migration and migrants in the post-war era. As Michael Higgs states in his article, Powell’s speech ‘enabled political forces to his Right to appear viable and credible’.⁹⁴ By allowing discriminatory rhetoric into mainstream culture as well as the political realm, Powell brought Britain into a whole new era of race relations.

Powell’s speech endorsed a discriminatory view towards migrants, it created a shift in which right wing members of the Conservative party and more lenient members of fascist parties could join together which Higgs states allowed Westminster politics and the far right fascist agenda to merge, shifting towards ‘the anti-immigrant mantra’.⁹⁵ Consequently, with the growing anxieties in Britain surrounding immigration and the imagined homogenous national identity, there was a growing consensus among the white British population that migrants were a threat to their values and identities. This was reflected in the general election results for this time period.

A table to demonstrate the National Fronts average percentage of voter turnout:

Election	Number of candidates fielded	Total number of votes	Average percentage vote
1970	10	11,449	3.6
February 1974	54	76,865	3.1
October 1974	90	113,843	3.1
1979	303	191,719	1.1

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⁹³ Higgs, M. (2016). From the street to the state: Making anti-fascism anti-racist in 1970s Britain. *Race & Class*, 58(1), 66-84. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396816643040> pg 67

⁹⁴ Higgs, M. (2016). From the street to the state: Making anti-fascism anti-racist in 1970s Britain. *Race & Class*, 58(1), 66-84. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396816643040> pg 69

⁹⁵ Higgs, M. (2016). From the street to the state: Making anti-fascism anti-racist in 1970s Britain. *Race & Class*, 58(1), 66-84. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396816643040> pg 69

⁹⁶ Higgs, M. (2016). From the street to the state: Making anti-fascism anti-racist in 1970s Britain. *Race & Class*, 58(1), 66-84. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396816643040> Pg 69

The shift towards an anti-immigration rhetoric and boost in popularity in elections came as the UK saw a unique crisis situation regarding South Asian migrants that had migrated to Africa after partition. When Uganda's President Idi Amin made the decision to expel people of South Asian heritage in 1972, the international community was faced with a unique point in history where migrant and refugee had come to an intersection. Amin's decision is just a small subsection of the colonial diaspora in a world that was decolonising at a swift rate and as Sara Cosemans states 'exemplifies how demographic realities shaped by colonialism clashed with imaginations of homogenous national spaces'.⁹⁷ Cosemans continues stating how to each colonial component that was involved (Uganda, India, and Britain) the members of the diaspora challenged perceptions of national identity and citizenship.⁹⁸ The legislation of the late 60s and early 70s Britain saw the 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1968 Race Relations Act and the 1971 Commonwealth Immigrants Act.⁹⁹ So while the Ugandan Asians had a right to travel and settle in any part of the Commonwealth, the decolonisation of Africa meant that they were no longer welcome. In addition, despite being part of the Commonwealth they could no longer come to Britain with indefinite leave to remain as a consequence of the 1971 Commonwealth Immigrants Act without meaningful connections to Britain.¹⁰⁰ The Ugandan Asian crisis and the hypothetical threat they posed to national identity, as argued by Cosemans, is something that the National Front was able to capitalise on by linking 'rising prices, economic difficulty and uncontrolled immigration together into a toxic mix of racism and street action'.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Cosemans, S. (2018). The politics of dispersal: Turning Ugandan colonial subjects into postcolonial refugees (1967–76). *Migration Studies*, 6(1), 99-119. <https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnx024> pg 99

⁹⁸ Cosemans, S. (2018). The politics of dispersal: Turning Ugandan colonial subjects into postcolonial refugees (1967–76). *Migration Studies*, 6(1), 99-119. <https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnx024> pg 100

⁹⁹ The National Archives. (1968). Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968. [legislation.gov.uk. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/9/contents/enacted](https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/9/contents/enacted)

The National Archives. (1968). Race Relations Act. [legislation.gov.uk. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/71/enacted](https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/71/enacted)

¹⁰⁰The National Archive. (1971). Immigration Act 1971. [legislation.gov.uk. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1971/77/introduction](https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1971/77/introduction)

¹⁰¹ Taylor, B. (2018). Good citizens? Ugandan Asians, volunteers and 'Race' relations in 1970s Britain. *History Workshop Journal*, 85, 120-141. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbx055> pg 121

However, as the data table above demonstrates the peak of the National Fronts popularity was not something that would last forever. Higgs notes the mid-70s marked a clear highpoint in the National Fronts share of the electorate that voted and by the time the 1979 general election occurred their popularity among the electorate was well and truly declining if not completely collapsing.¹⁰² Despite their brief popularity, the National Front presented a turning point both in the attitudes of British society and of the political sphere. On the one hand, the principles with which the National Front ran their election campaigns, were ones which had a blatant anti-immigration and ultimately racist tone. By being allowed to run as a legitimate political party, it goes against the rhetoric of Britain embracing the Commonwealth and the idea that these ‘migrants’ were in fact British citizens as well because they did not fit into the dominant idea of national identity. Additionally, the fact that the National Front received votes that gave them seats showed that their anti-immigration rhetoric is one that was shared by the British public. So, while there had been efforts to move toward equality and egalitarianism there was a clear undertone that was against immigration.

Margaret Thatcher, immigration and the 1979 General Election:

The political climate in the late 1970s and the lead up to the 1979 general election was one with a high tension atmosphere in Britain. Both Labour and the Conservatives had refused to take a direct public stance on race and immigration up until this point, or to paraphrase they had refused to play the ‘race card’ in order to win the electorates vote. However, in an interview with Granada TV, Margaret Thatcher finally took an official stance. When asked about immigration, the migrant population in Britain and the future of immigration restrictions, Thatcher makes the following comments

¹⁰² Higgs, M. (2016). From the street to the state: Making anti-fascism anti-racist in 1970s Britain. *Race & Class*, 58(1), 66-84. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396816643040> pg 70

‘people are really rather afraid that this country might be rather swamped by people with a different culture and, you know, the British character has done so much for democracy, for law, and done so much throughout the world that if there is any fear that it might be swamped, people are going to react and be rather hostile to those coming in’.¹⁰³

There are a few different points in Thatcher’s opening remarks that give an insight into the political mind at this time. First is the phrase ‘swamped by people with a different culture’, the semantics of the word swamped immediately problematises migrants. Additionally following up with a comment on their different culture disregards them as part of British identity and belonging in Britain. Thatcher continues by saying if you want good race relations you must ‘allay people’s fears on numbers’, meaning if you are to quell the growing unrest in regards to race and immigration that the government must fulfil ‘the prospect of an end to immigration except, of course, compassionate cases’ and that this will come after assessing how to deal with those ‘who have a right to come in’ such as the Asian community in Uganda.¹⁰⁴ What is clear from Thatcher’s remarks is that immigration was seen as a problem, even those who were part of the Commonwealth community and had a right to come to the UK as she states within this interview.

As the interview continues Thatcher continues adding to the rhetoric that was being built surrounding migration and Britain in crisis, as argued by Becky Taylor; Thatcher states, ‘the United Kingdom, is more densely populated than either India or Pakistan... taking in 40 or 50,000 a year, which is far too many’ and that by bringing an end to the free movement of Commonwealth migrants it will maintain race relations within the existing population and ‘keep fundamental British characteristics which have done so much for the world’.¹⁰⁵ However, despite the entire interview centring around immigration and immigration law and the interviewer beginning to state that immigration is going to be a major

¹⁰³ Thatcher, M. (1978). TV Interview for Granada World in Action ("rather swamped"). Margaret Thatcher Foundation. <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/103485>

¹⁰⁴ Thatcher, M. (1978). TV Interview for Granada World in Action ("rather swamped"). Margaret Thatcher Foundation. <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/103485>

¹⁰⁵ Thatcher, M. (1978). TV Interview for Granada World in Action ("rather swamped"). Margaret Thatcher Foundation. <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/103485>

election issue for both Labour and the Conservatives, Thatcher interrupts and states 'I shall not make it a major election issue' instead stating that leading politicians 'do not talk about it perhaps as much as we should' and that this is consequently why people were being attracted to the National Front as at least they are; talking about some of the problems.'¹⁰⁶

However, while Margaret Thatcher repeatedly tries to distance the Conservatives from the anti-immigration rhetoric of the National Front, she simultaneously plays into it by stating 'It is not as if we have great wide open spaces or great natural resources; we have not'¹⁰⁷. This statement, did not openly blame or link the housing and resource crisis of the 70s to immigrants, but it does subliminally. Thatcher states that the current rate of migration is untenable and that Britain cannot go on supporting this influx each year. So, while there was the National Front in the UK disseminating an anti-migration rhetoric, the Conservatives were able to appear as the party that was still tough on immigration. Consequently, they were the party that were promising reform on immigration but also not being too lenient so that the British public that had a 'fear' surrounding British values, identity and culture.

During this time period Britain saw the end of unrestricted migration to Britain, with migration controls becoming increasingly restrictive, but also the beginning of protections for migrants and the discrimination they were enduring in the UK. Consequently, this era built the foundations for what we now know as modern multicultural Britain. However, it also created structures where migrants, or to specify, black and Asian migrants became incompatible with the idea of Britishness. What the governments of this era tried to do was balance restrictive immigration legislation with protective race-based discrimination law, but as outlined what happened was the curation of migrants as outsiders while failing to help them assimilate or be protected from race-based discrimination.

¹⁰⁶ Thatcher, M. (1978). TV Interview for Granada World in Action ("rather swamped"). Margaret Thatcher Foundation. <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/103485>

¹⁰⁷ Thatcher, M. (1978). TV Interview for Granada World in Action ("rather swamped"). Margaret Thatcher Foundation. <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/103485>

1980-1990:

By the time the 1980s and 1990s came around Britain was unrecognisable when compared to the country it had been in the immediate post-war years. In 1945 where this study begins, Britain was still the head of an Empire on which the sun never set, and it had just emerged from the Second World War in which it had depended on each of these dominion nations for help with the war effort. In the forty years between the end of the war and the 1980s, Britain had seen the end of empire, the development of the Commonwealth, and the beginning of decolonisation. The demographic of the British population by this point had also changed greatly with communities from India, Pakistan and the Caribbean just to name a few. With this new demographic the British government began to introduce legislation in an attempt to accommodate, accept and protect these new cultures and communities as evidenced in the previously discussed legislation.

The dominating piece of legislation regarding immigration and citizenship between 1980 and 1990 is the 1981 British Nationality Act.¹⁰⁸ This was the first piece of legislation to redefine the concept of citizenship in the United Kingdom and Colonies since the 1948 Act.¹⁰⁹ Brought into law by Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government, this act created three subcategories which are British citizenship, British Dependent Territories citizenship and British Overseas citizenship.

British citizenship: 'reserved for those whose links lie with the United Kingdom as determined largely by existing immigration law. They alone will have the right of abode in the United Kingdom'¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ The National Archives. (1981). British Nationality Act 1981. [legislation.gov.uk. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1981/61/contents](https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1981/61/contents)

¹⁰⁹ The National Archives. (1948). British Nationality Act 1948. [Legislation.gov.uk. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/11-12/56/enacted](https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/11-12/56/enacted)

¹¹⁰ Blake, C. (1982). Citizenship, Law and the State: The British Nationality Act 1981. *The Modern Law Review*, 45(2), 179-197. <https://doi.org/https://doi-org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/10.1111/j.1468-2230.1982.tb02476.x> Pg 182

British Dependent Territories Citizenship: ‘for those whose links lie with a dependency. Their right of abode will rest upon each territory’s immigration laws’.¹¹¹

British Overseas Citizenship: ‘For all other existing C.U.K.C’s a residual category of British Overseas Citizenship is created. It carries no right of abode anywhere’.¹¹²

As Randall Hansen argues by the time this act came to be passed ‘multiculturalism was indisputably a fact of British political and social life’.¹¹³

What the 1981 British Nationality Act did though was finally create a definition in law for British citizenship.¹¹⁴ By codifying this into law it settled the dispute over right of abode. However, as Ian Sanjay Patel argues, the act still held provisions to refuse the right of abode and provide British identity.¹¹⁵ Additionally, what is important to note is that with this piece of legislation unlike the three previous acts to deal immigration, there was no counterpart which was aimed at helping ease race relations in the UK. The 1965 Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act and 1971 Commonwealth Immigrants Act all had their respective counter parts. Although, this Act was slightly different in that it dealt with citizenship and identity, race relations at this time were still poor with incidents of racial discrimination still rampant within British society.

So, the 1981 British Nationality Act was an act of two sides. On the one hand it was necessary for the government to implement this legislation in order to create an updated law that more accurately reflected the demographic of British society at this time, and clearly defined each categories rights

¹¹¹ Blake, C. (1982). Citizenship, Law and the State: The British Nationality Act 1981. *The Modern Law Review*, 45(2), 179-197. <https://doi.org/https://doi-org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/10.1111/j.1468-2230.1982.tb02476.x> Pg 182

¹¹² Blake, C. (1982). Citizenship, Law and the State: The British Nationality Act 1981. *The Modern Law Review*, 45(2), 179-197. <https://doi.org/https://doi-org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/10.1111/j.1468-2230.1982.tb02476.x> Pg 182

¹¹³ Hansen, R. (2000). *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*. Oxford University Press. https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Citizenship_and_Immigration_in_Postwar_B/qj8GEjW91oEC?hl=en&gbpv=0 pg 3

¹¹⁴ The National Archives. (1981). *British Nationality Act 1981*. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1981/61/contents/enacted>

¹¹⁵ Patel, I. S. (2021). *We're Here Because You Were There : Immigration and the End of Empire*. Verso. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/reader.action?docID=6519972> Pg 14

within Britain. On the other hand, what this legislation also did was cut off Commonwealth migrants from the access they once had to Britain and their former 'motherland', thus disowning them and feeding into the rhetoric surrounding race and immigration as problems in Britain.

Summary:

Overall, the introduction of legislation by successive governments curated migrants into racialised others that were not compatible with the white British national identity and progressively reduced their rights to migration. However, it is also important to note that they also started to introduce legislation that aimed to reduce occurrences of racial discrimination in wider British society. With the introduction of the 1948 British Nationality Act, Commonwealth citizens formally became British citizens in their own right. However, this relationship between government and citizen came to mean two very different things to the two groups. To the government, these people were British citizens, but they were not "British" with their own set of separate identities and culture. To the members of the Commonwealth and once subjects of empire, they were British in every sense of the word. Despite not living on UK shores, they had been educated with British principles and values, or at the very least they felt the influence of empire. Consequently, through the subsequent legislation that was introduced and the increasingly more volatile socio-political barometer, it became very clear that there were separate spheres of Britishness for the migrants of empire vs 'native Britons'. The different types of legislation introduced in this time period consciously legitimised the idea of different spheres of Britishness, while also attempting to promote a more progressive attitude towards race, which ultimately fell short of the protections that were needed.

Chapter Two- Life as an Ethnic minority in Britain:

This chapter will be examining the realities of life as an ethnic minority in Britain through localised studies of different racial communities. In the existing literature on race, national identity, citizenship and communities in the post-war period the focus has predominantly been on black communities as well as focusing on London. By looking at both black and Asian communities and their experiences in a location other than London, this paper aims to give a wider understanding of their experiences in Britain. The following histories came from a series of interviews conducted under various projects related to race, race relations and multicultural life in Manchester, held at Manchester Central Library Archives.

Black life and experience in Manchester:

Each of the following sections will detail the personal story an individual's life in Britain. They detail how, and when they came to Britain, some of the experiences they had as black individuals in Britain and why they came to Manchester. The experiences that each individual had demonstrates the highly contentious ground which race was and continues to be to this day in Britain. One perspective on the issue of race and social interactions in the post-war years and beyond comes from Anna Maguire stating that in her research of racial experiences there was a trend of the 'characterisation of particular black spaces... the threat of black sexuality, and its connotations with danger and crime, overcoming the young white woman, who stood for nation and white prestige'.¹¹⁶ The topic of racialisation is also discussed by Wendy Webster and Peter Fry also pick up on in their respective works.

The first community this study examines is the black Caribbean community. This community migrated from the end of the war in 1945, peaking during the late 1950s to the early 1960s.¹¹⁷ The second community is of the experience of South Asian migrants, specifically those from the Kashmiri region.

¹¹⁶ Maguire, A. (2019). 'You wouldn't want your daughter marrying one': Parental intervention into mixed-race relationships in post-war Britain. *Historical Research: The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 92(256), 432-444. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2281.12264> pg 432

¹¹⁷ Institute of Race Relations (1967). *Race Relations Report*. Race Relations (Box 16 GB3228.14/7/1), Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Collection, Manchester, England.

One common theme that is present within the individual stories of these communities is the hostility that they faced as migrants with a different set of experiences and values during their initial arrival and consequent assimilation into life in Manchester and Britain. Another theme of integration that has not been covered to as wide an extent, is the integration of both communities into British society and the positive experiences they had, especially in Asian communities.

Archie Downie:

Archie Downie is one of the many individuals who came to Britain to join the war effort during the Second World War when there was a call to arms that went out to all Commonwealth nations. As a young single black man in Britain, Downie was a threat to the white British concept of nation as argued by Maguire and this is reflected in some of the experiences he had. Downie's interview was conducted in 1995 by Robin Grinter and Sue Harrop as one part of a series of interviews conducted to mark the 50th anniversary of the Pan-African Congress that took place in Manchester. Downie's interview was important to this series as he became an active public figure when it came to race relations in Manchester.

In a discussion on discrimination in society during the 1940s, Downie recalls how the word discrimination itself 'was alien to me'.¹¹⁸ During the interview Downie talks about various incidents of discrimination in society during the 1940s and recalls a series of discriminatory incidents that could be as direct as 'Do you live in houses like we do?' to more indirect forms such as people crossing the road to avoid walking on the same side of the road.¹¹⁹ He continues to talk about how at first, he did not interpret this as rude because he had never come across discrimination before. However, as time wore on, he notes how discrimination in England was frequent and that he and others became used to it in all its forms. What these experiences demonstrate is that there were tensions between white

¹¹⁸ Downie, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre Manchester Central Library. (2019). Pan-African Congress 50 Years On- Archie Downie. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹¹⁹ Downie, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre Manchester Central Library. (2019). Pan-African Congress 50 Years On- Archie Downie. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

and black nationalities during the war and immediate post-war years. As referenced earlier, by Maguire and Hansen, it is the racialisation of stereotypical black spaces and people, that contributed to race becoming a social issue which resulted in the committal of discriminatory acts.¹²⁰

However, as the interview progresses, he begins to speak of his experiences and life in Manchester. In relation to social spaces and night life, Downie discusses the treatment he received as a result of his race. One observation he made in relation to dance halls was that there were frequent occurrences were physical altercations occurred on the basis of race. Downie states ‘there would be frequent fights the English men did not like seeing English women dancing with black men same with the Americans and Canadians’.¹²¹ Additionally, he discusses how after these evenings they would always walk home in a group, because to walk alone was to risk being ambushed.¹²² As Wendy Webster argues, the social interactions and relationships in war-time and post-war Britain between black soldiers and white women caused high tensions due to the symbolic status British women held, stating that the ‘idea that British women belonged to British men was a key theme’ in early British race relations.¹²³ This is just one example of how race was problematised in social settings.

Additionally, Downie also discusses how prejudice evolved over time in Manchester. In his opinion, racial prejudice was and continues to be present in society, but states that the forms it manifests in evolved along with societies developing relationship with race.¹²⁴ This is acknowledged by Paul Gilroy who states how racism has existed in multiple forms through the post-war years ‘assuming different

¹²⁰ Maguire, A. (2019). ‘You wouldn’t want your daughter marrying one’: Parental intervention into mixed-race relationships in post-war Britain. *Historical Research: The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 92(256), 432-444. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2281.12264> pg 436

¹²¹ Downie, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre Manchester Central Library. (2019). Pan-African Congress 50 Years On- Archie Downie. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹²² Downie, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre Manchester Central Library. (2019). Pan-African Congress 50 Years On- Archie Downie. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹²³ Webster, W. (2018). *Mixing it: Diversity in world war two Britain* (First ed.). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198735762.001.0001> pg 200

¹²⁴ Downie, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre Manchester Central Library. (2019). Pan-African Congress 50 Years On- Archie Downie. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

shapes and articulating different political relations'.¹²⁵ In speaking about the forms it took since the post-war years Downie notes the transition from physical attacks to being attacked mentally, stating 'today's society adopt more of a mental torture or abuse'.¹²⁶ The semantics of the language used demonstrates the complicated reality of living as someone who is 'raced', or not white, in British society. Discussing the psychological racial attacks, he states that they were much worse than the physical as you can counter 'force with force'.¹²⁷ This is evidence of how successive race relations legislation changed the way in which racism presented within society, trying to promote a more tolerant, egalitarian society. However, as evidenced by Downie's testimony racism found new ways of manifesting in order to escape the scope of legislation.

Downie's testimony acknowledges a significant number of ideas. By discussing his life and experiences he displayed how race relations were at the end of the war but also how they progressed in the following 45 years. However, Downie's interview does not fail to acknowledge how racism still existed and evolved during this time. What this exposes is that there was a consciousness among migrant communities from their arrival in Britain of how race and specifically racial difference was a key factor in how they were treated during this time frame.

¹²⁵ Gilroy, P. (2002;2013;). *There ain't no black in the union jack: The cultural politics of race and nation* (2nd ed.). Routledge. Pg 42

¹²⁶ Downie, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre Manchester Central Library. (2019). Pan-African Congress 50 Years On- Archie Downie. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹²⁷ Downie, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre Manchester Central Library. (2019). Pan-African Congress 50 Years On- Archie Downie. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

Norris Jones:

Norris Jones is another member of the black migrant community who came to England in the post-war era. Jones lived and worked in and around Manchester for most of his adult life. In contrast to the previous military experience of Archie Downie, Norris Jones made his journey to England in the 1950s, on a two week sailing journey from St Kitts to Southampton. From Southampton, Jones made his way to Manchester. During his working life he held several different jobs including building crates in a warehouse in Trafford Park and working in Bradford colliery. During this time, he lived in Moss Side and discusses the community he lived in. This interview came from a project that acknowledged the 70th anniversary of the arrival of the Empire Windrush, which aimed to celebrate the history of immigration between the UK and the Caribbean by exploring the lives and experiences of people who settled in Manchester.

Working life:

The type of work available to migrants in this period was commonly quite menial work and below the standard of qualifications that migrants often came to Britain with.¹²⁸ In regards to his working life, Jones says that working in Trafford Park was hard work with long hours and poor pay, he also discusses how workers were repeatedly put at risk due to an asbestos problem, that was never resolved by his superiors. However, his work in the mines contrasted from this a great deal where he received training and felt a he was a valued member of the team irrespective of his race.

¹²⁸ McDowell, L. (2016). Migrant women's voices: Talking about life and work in the UK since 1945 (1st ed.). Bloomsbury. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781474224468> pg 218 and Paul, K. (2018). Whitewashing Britain: Race and citizenship in the postwar era. Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7591/j.ctv5rdvw1> pg 120

Living in communities:

In relation to where he lived Jones discusses how he lived in both Moss Side and Crompton, both are small communities in Greater Manchester. He spent most of his home life in Crompton a small area in the borough of Stockport. When Jones speaks of his homes, he holds a great fondness for the place he has called 'home for 38 years.'¹²⁹ Even though he lived in Moss Side for a shorter period of time, it is important to note that the area is well known for its African Caribbean community. Similar to the inner city communities of London such as Brixton, Moss Side developed a rich African Caribbean community due to its proximity to the city. As migrants were arriving in the larger cities of Britain, their first goal was to find accommodation. Due to the often difficult nature of finding lodgings, many people of these communities would stay together until they could find an appropriate place to stay, this resulted in communities being built in small localities like Brixton and Moss Side.¹³⁰ The close connection of family and friends forged by these conditions is something often overlooked when looking at formations of identity in migrant communities.

Prejudice:

When asked about prejudice in Manchester Jones speaks of the "melting pot" culture that Manchester has become so well known for. When discussing the community, he lived in he talks of how he experienced very little prejudice and how diverse the culture around him was. Jones states 'I had black friends, white friends, Chinese friends everybody you used to associate with you got on well it was like we'd grown up together'.¹³¹ However, Jones mentions one incident where a foreman 'thought he could speak to me anyway he liked' and did not view this as an act of prejudice, but a matter of unfamiliarity or perhaps ignorance. Similarly, Archie Downie recalls an incident what was borne out of

¹²⁹ Jones, N. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹³⁰ Perry, K. H. (2015;2016;). London is the place for me: Black Britons, citizenship, and the politics of race. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190240202.001.0001> pg 83

¹³¹ Jones, N. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

unfamiliarity because 'he don't know any better he'd never met a black man that speak the way I do'.¹³² Instead of being viewed directly as a discriminatory act, Jones views the incident as something that occurred simply because the foreman lacked experience of how to interact with a person of a different race. Experiences like this provide evidence that not all racial encounters were prejudice but perhaps ignorance of different cultures. What this also demonstrates is a departure from the narrative surrounding post-war race relations, as Jones does not perceive his experience as being dominated by negative racial encounters. Instead, he views his life as meaningful and a contribution to the integration of different nationalities and cultures in Britain.

In regards to social life Jones also sheds a new perspective on post-war relations. When asked about social relations he notes how there was always the chance to have a drink after work with colleagues he states 'We'd go and have a good booze up; with good people... enjoy yourself'.¹³³ In respect to the place he has called home for the majority of his life, Jones says how the 'Best part of England is Manchester... London is an erratic place' and 'If you live in Manchester, you've got a good life'.¹³⁴ What is important to note about this assertion is that he spent most of his life living in an outer-city borough. These areas tended to be less densely populated with migrant communities and therefore, the 'threat' posed by migrants to concepts of identity and culture was perceived to be much smaller. Once again, by looking at experiences from outside of London we gain a new perspective on race relations after the war. In London, to this day there remains a staunch attachment to the idea of nationality and identity, however in Manchester it cannot be said to be the same. This could be due to the cultural divide that it felt between the north and south of England. It is a long-standing fact that the North of England especially through the the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher in the 1970s felt

¹³² Jones, N. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹³³ Jones, N. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹³⁴ Jones, N. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

disenfranchised from the south, or that is to say from the political power of Westminster.¹³⁵ While they are both cities in the same country, they have very different cultures and communities. So, it may be for this reason that there's a distinct difference in the experiences of black people in London and Manchester. As a city in the north that does not fully identify with idealised national identity and therefore developed its own way of identifying. Consequently, this may have contributed to Manchester being a more open and welcoming community to migrants during this time period.

However, this welcoming spirit cannot be said to expand across all of the north. In a documentary based on the African Caribbean community from Huddersfield, Milton Brown covers the discrimination and difficulties individuals encountered from 1945 onwards. Within the documentary several members of the West Indian community discuss the experiences of their parents and themselves as multicultural communities developed in Britain. Within the documentary, Brown lists the migrants who came to Britain from Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, Grenada, Caracao, St Lucia and Antigua between the 1940s to the 1970s now had British born children of African Caribbean descent; he states that these children were now subjects of 'the history and stains of unrelenting racism'.¹³⁶ Two interviewees named Paul Peart and Martin Cole discuss how their parents, but particularly their mothers had conversations with them in the late 70s and early 80s about 'skinheads' and how they should be 'mindful' of them.¹³⁷ Skinheads were a subculture within Britain that first popularised in the 1960s and saw a resurgence again in the late 70s and early 80s. The group became associated with politics which had extreme left and right wing views respectively, and it is the right wing side that took issue with black presence in Britain.¹³⁸ This demonstrates the slow progress that was made integrating migrant communities in real world terms compared to the progress that had been made in legislation.

¹³⁵ MARTIN, R. (1988). The political economy of Britain's north-south divide. *Transactions - Institute of British Geographers* (1965), 13(4), 389-418. <https://doi.org/10.2307/622738> pg 390

¹³⁶ Brown, M Kirklees Local Television. (2022, October 31). Windrush: The Years After - A Community Legacy on Film [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EYxia9gFnU&t=2603s>

¹³⁷ Cole, M Kirklees Local Television. (2022, October 31). Windrush: The Years After - A Community Legacy on Film [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EYxia9gFnU&t=2603s>

¹³⁸ Pollard, J. (2016). Skinhead culture: The ideologies, mythologies, religions and conspiracy theories of racist skinheads. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 50(4-5), 398-419. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2016.1243349> pg 406

These contrasting experiences of first- and second-generation migrants from two different cities in the north of England demonstrate the assumptions of legislators during this time frame. In Jones' case as a person who came to Britain to work and live, he saw the benefit of newly implemented legislation such as the Race Relations Act. However, he also acknowledges how while the introduction of legislation was a positive advancement, it was not always wide enough in scope to deal with the day-to-day realities of being an ethnic minority in Britain. Additionally, what is also displayed here is the importance of social interactions when it came to the formation and perception of identity. For Jones, the ability to partake in social activities outside of mandatory settings such as the workplace gave him a place to build connections within his community.

Identity:

Finally, what is an interesting perspective in Jones' interview is that when asked where he is from, he replies with 'St Kitts and Nevis'.¹³⁹ His decision to identify wholly with his birth country, which he left over fifty years ago supports the idea that there are differing definitions of identity and nationality, especially with those who came from the Commonwealth. As Jones states throughout the interview, he lived and worked in a community that was on the whole welcoming and not prejudiced towards him. Consequently, this suggests an element of agency when it comes to integration and identity at an individual level that cannot be generalised so easily within the parameters of this paper. So, while he may still identify himself as from St Kitts and Nevis, it is perhaps more accurate to say that he has adopted elements of the British national identity and culture into his own, as a man from St Kitts and Nevis.

¹³⁹ Jones, N. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

Lorna Eells:

Lorna Eells differs from Norris Jones and Archie Downie because she was born and raised in Britain. Eells' interview comes from a series titled Home Different Journeys, One Life which aimed to capture the lives and experiences of the Windrush generation and to preserve their sacrifices and successes. In the first part of her interview titled 'Memories of Childhood' Eells discusses the circumstances in which she grew up in. She begins by discussing how in comparison to other families in the area, her family were quite privileged, stating that 'as opposed to renting my dad was one of the first, to my knowledge, Jamaican men to buy his own home' and how 'we were one of the first on our road to have central heating and also one of the first on our road to have colour tv'.¹⁴⁰ What Eells displays here is an awareness even from a young age that there were inequalities in British society, especially when it came to race.

The interview also covers Eells perception of identity as well as how she perceived her mothers and grandmothers' sense of identity and belonging. One of the most notable observations she makes is the distinct difference between her mother and grandmother in regards to national identity and the way they conducted themselves. In her mother's case, Eells describes her as more 'British than Jamaican in her outlook';¹⁴¹ She recalls how her mother renounced the use of Patwa, their native dialect in favour of the "Queen's English", as well as how she would routinely chastise her for speaking in Patwa as 'that's not the way I brought you up' despite her father only speaking in the dialect.¹⁴² The renunciation of a native dialect and taking up the formal "Queens English" symbolises one of the ways in which migrant communities attempted to assimilate into life in Britain. As Shinder Thandi argues one of the forms of discrimination and barriers to integration that migrants faced was the stereotypes that were formed according to their race, ethnicity and culture. Some of these include "they 'smelled

¹⁴⁰ Eells, L. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁴¹ Eells, L. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁴² Eells, L. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

of curry', were 'dirty', wore 'funny' clothes, lived like 'sardines', 'talked funny'... and had 'strange' religious traditions and customs".¹⁴³

When speaking of the influence her grandmother had on her life, Eells notes how growing up she spent a lot of time with her grandmother. In her description Eells states she was 'generous with her love, generous with her food, but very very careful with her money', so even though Eells herself was not raised in Jamaica, 'My experience of the West Indian way of living was quite deep I understood so much more from being around her'.¹⁴⁴ What Eells presents here is the differences in ideals and principles between her grandmother and mother as different generations of her family who both have a different relationship with Britain in regards to culture and national identity. Each woman's relationship with national identity greatly differs regardless of the fact that they are the same race. The variable in this family is their lived experience. Eells' grandmother spent most of her life in Jamaica and thus had her formative years under the spectre of Empire, so even though she migrated to Britain, she maintained her connection to Jamaican identity and culture. Eells continues, discussing how 'after a while Jamaican's probably felt that they needed to aspire to be that way, to speak that way, to live that way, even before they got here, I got that sense from my grandma'.¹⁴⁵ Consequently, even though Eells' mother had a strong connection to Jamaica, she seems to conform more to the white British ideal of national identity rather than incorporating it into her Jamaican identity like her own mother and Norris Jones.

¹⁴³ Thandi, S. S. (2022). Postcolonial migrants in Britain: From unwelcome guests to partial and segmented assimilation. In U. Bosma, J. Lucassen & G. Oostindie (Eds.), *Postcolonial migrants and identity politics* (pp. 61-94). Berghahn Books. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780857453280-005> pg 78

¹⁴⁴ Eells, L. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁴⁵ Eells, L. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

This is another example of how migrants had/ have agency when it comes to their identity and how they perceive it. With the Eells family, there are three different generations who all have very different perceptions and depictions of their national identity. What Lorna Eell's testimony demonstrates is how family interactions and personal experiences help shape a unique identity for each generation. However, this does not negate the influence of the legislation that was introduced in this period as legislation helps to shape public life and consequently the personal experiences of migrant communities. Consequently, in the examination of oral histories it is evident that a greater emphasis should be placed on the personal agency of migrants and their communities rather than seeing it as being mainly shaped by legislation.

Integration:

In relation to integration in Britain Eells discusses the process which each race and culture must undergo as a new variable in British society. In the case of the Jamaican community and her own family, she discusses how within the migrant community there was a consensus that they came here to work and create a good life in Britain.¹⁴⁶ However, as covered by people such as Wendy Webster and Paul Gilroy, they discovered on arrival that 'it wasn't quite as great as they thought it would be' and that instead they would work here and when it time for them to retire, they would go home.¹⁴⁷ Yet, she found many people in her community who 'made their lives here and became happy with their lives'.¹⁴⁸ This was a common experience among migrant communities, especially once they had established families here in Britain. The idea that migrants would return to their home countries with their families once they had reached the end of their working lives is one which ultimately led to assumptions in the legislation. As enacted in the 1948 British Nationality Act, all citizens of the Commonwealth had the right to move to and permanently reside in Britain, or in other words they

¹⁴⁶ Eells, L. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁴⁷ Eells, L. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁴⁸ Eells, L. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

had indefinite leave to remain.¹⁴⁹ By examining experiences like Eells' it exposes how legislation assumed that migrants would not permanently settle in Britain.

However, the integration of migrant communities in Britain was and continues to be an issue, with racial prejudice being a barrier. Upon reflection of her life and her family Eells provides a unique perspective on this issue. In the section of the interview which tackled prejudice Eells states that 'when any new culture comes in... I do feel there's a bit of suspicion and not understanding... prejudice is there... over the years you are accepted' and that 'this integration was painful for some but not all'.¹⁵⁰ In her own experience Eells recalls a conversation with her neighbour where they were 'putting the world to rights and the topic of prejudice comes up'.¹⁵¹ Eells discusses an experience at school where her teacher would ask the pupils to place their hands in the air before lunch to check their hands were clean but always told her to put hers down because 'he couldn't tell anyway' referencing the colour of her skin.¹⁵² Incidents like these were also common within the Huddersfield community as Helen Wells recounts how 'black children were scared but never said that and was frightened about all the hostility' that they faced on a daily basis.¹⁵³ Other contributors also recount how they had racial slurs shouted at them in the streets such as 'black bastard' and 'get back on your jam jar'.¹⁵⁴ This highlights how visual attributes such as skin colour formed notions of difference and hindered integration. This idea is also observed by Wendy Webster stating that "black and Asian migrants arriving in Britain were seen as a threat to Britishness, and became the main internal 'others' against which Britishness was defined".¹⁵⁵ This is another example that exposes how legislation such as the 1965 Race Relations Act

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¹⁵⁰ Eells, L. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁵¹ Eells, L. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁵² Eells, L. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁵³ Wells, H Kirklees Local Television. (2022, October 31). Windrush: The Years After - A Community Legacy on Film [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EYxia9gFnU&t=2603s>

¹⁵⁴ Wells, H Kirklees Local Television. (2022, October 31). Windrush: The Years After - A Community Legacy on Film [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EYxia9gFnU&t=2603s>

¹⁵⁵ Webster, W. (2005). Immigration and racism. In P. Addison, & H. Jones (Eds.), A companion to contemporary Britain 1939–2000 (pp. 93-109). Blackwell Publishing Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470996195.ch7> pg 103

and the 1968 Race Relations Act fell short when applied in the real world. Although it is acknowledged that these acts were steps forward in creating a more egalitarian society on the grounds of race, experiences such as the ones discussed above display how they were not wide enough in scope or severity to create real change. Furthermore, the interviewees commented how over time and growing up in these circumstances ‘you got used to being persecuted because of your colour, you got used to being turned away at the shop or last in the queue to get your stuff, you got used to people staring at you’, however this first generation of British born black people ‘said enough is enough’ and would not endure the discrimination and racism that their parents went through when they arrived in Britain all those years ago.¹⁵⁶ The positive experiences that these interviewees discuss came from the communities which their parents had built and where they now lived. As Peter Rowe remarks it is only after an older African Caribbean community figure spoke with them and attained a grant from the Prince’s Trust that they were able to pursue their musical passions rather than being stuck on the streets.¹⁵⁷ Additionally Rowe mentions how there were very few teachers that were willing to take backlash for supporting black pupils in their passions as they would white students. But those that would ‘come along to our community centres and listen to our reggae music’ were the ones that helped their confidence and self-determination in a society and system that was inherently biased against them.¹⁵⁸

In a continuation of the conversation with her neighbour which further demonstrates the complex nature of integration, Eells states she was taken aback when her neighbour said ‘The thing is you lot are alright now aren’t you, it was you lot then it was the Asians and now it’s all them lot from Poland’.¹⁵⁹ It is at this point Eells expresses her shock at the statement in the interview but at the time

¹⁵⁶ Simmonds, E Kirklees Local Television. (2022, October 31). Windrush: The Years After - A Community Legacy on Film [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EYxia9gFnU&t=2603s>

¹⁵⁷ Rowe, P Kirklees Local Television. (2022, October 31). Windrush: The Years After - A Community Legacy on Film [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EYxia9gFnU&t=2603s>

¹⁵⁸ Rowe, P Kirklees Local Television. (2022, October 31). Windrush: The Years After - A Community Legacy on Film [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EYxia9gFnU&t=2603s>

¹⁵⁹ Eells, L. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

thought 'I'm not going to go in to this conversation I can see where you're at'.¹⁶⁰ After the initial shock factor that Eells could share a sensitive racially prejudiced experience with someone and then her neighbour could make a statement that is equally if not more offensive, Eells' had it reaffirmed that there is still a culture of intolerance towards migrant communities in Britain. This is evidence supporting the statements of Archie Downie and Norris Jones regarding the evolving nature of racism and prejudice throughout this time period. The racist incident that was shared by Lorna Eells took place when she was a child no older than 11 years old and the conversation, she had with her neighbour took place in 2019, meaning at least 30 years had elapsed between the two incidents. Lorna Eells' experience is one which displays the complexity of life as the child of migrants and a raced individual in Britain. On the one hand what she demonstrates supports the existing literature, that rightly focuses on and brings to light the hardship new communities faced in Britain after the war and following years across multiple generations. However, it also shows a different side in which communities over time found their own way to adapt and assimilate to life in Britain, carving out their own identities, where legislation was falling short of protecting them.

Each of these lived experiences are individual accounts of life in Manchester and Huddersfield from the immediate post-war years up until the 1990s. From ex-servicemen, to first generation black-British people their perspective on life, identity and integration in Britain upholds the principle and importance of community. Without their communities, the culture and identity of their heritage would have been lost and therefore their contribution to modern day Britain would have dissipated. Each individual also highlights the acute awareness that while there was legislation introduced during this period that aimed to prevent racial prejudice, it often fell short of what was needed. Consequently, each individual demonstrates how from 1945 to the 1990s, race and identity were always at odds.

¹⁶⁰ Eells, L. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

Due to the racialisation of migrants which rendered them incompatible with the notion of white British identity, different definitions of Britishness emerged as argued by Webster.

Asian life and experience in Manchester:

In addition to the experience of black migrants in Manchester from 1945 to the early 90s, this paper will also be looking at the experience of members of the Asian community and how they formed their identities during this time period. The Asian community of Britain currently totals to an estimated 4,213,531 people.¹⁶¹ This is a significant proportion of the UK, a large community of individuals who have not had their stories or experiences documented and analysed in as much detail as they should be. By examining their experiences, this paper aims to make a small contribution to the historical discourse on this important sector of the British community.

Abid Hussain:

How and why, he came to Britain:

Abid Hussain is a Pakistani-Kashmiri barrister from the borough of Oldham in Greater Manchester. As one of ten children born to his mother and father, he is part of the family's first generation to be born in Britain. The interview, one in a series which aimed to commemorate the lives of three generations of Kashmiri people in Manchester, gives a detailed account of his father's life including how and why he came to Britain and the work he did throughout his life before his death in 1996.

Hussain starts by giving a background to his father's life and work. Hussain's father was born in a small town located in Kashmir, which after partition is now in Pakistan. He undertook his education and gained his metric, which is the equivalent of a bachelor's degree here in the UK, and worked in a textile mill as a manager from 1958-1963. The reason for his father's move to the UK was the construction of

¹⁶¹ Ethnicity facts and figures gov.uk. (2018). Population of England and Wales. gov.uk. <https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/uk-population-by-ethnicity/national-and-regional-populations/population-of-england-and-wales/latest>

the largest dam in Pakistan which seriously affected several villages, which included his fathers. The president of Pakistan at the time, Ayyub Khan, put in place compensation to allow people from these towns to apply for work permits in the UK via the British high commission in Karachi. Hence, in 1963 after he had obtained his work permit, Hussain's father travelled to England where he gained employment working in a dye casting steelworks mill in St Albans where he worked until the late 1960s. However, in this move, Hussain's father went from a position of authority and responsibility to a position that was much more menial and did not reflect the full extent of his capability, which was a common experience for lots of migrants in this period.¹⁶²

British values and building a community:

During the interview Hussain talks about how his father placed great importance on British values, specifically community cohesion. When asked further about what was meant by community cohesion, Abid elaborated that it meant 'building bridges between people of different backgrounds and communities.'¹⁶³ Just one example of how this was done by his father was his unofficial role, in many respects, as a community leader. For example, it is after he decided to leave his job in St Albans that Hussain's father moved to Manchester at the end of the 1960s and it is from here that his work within his local community began. Repeatedly throughout the interview he refers to his father as a vital link between the different religions, cultures and races of the Oldham community and council officials. Hussain discusses how in his childhood people would come knocking at all hours seeking out his father's help, one instance he recalls was when he woke up to people asking for his father's help as a family member was being interviewed by immigration officials; his father acted as a source of comfort and reassurance while using his links to the local council and MP in order to resolve the situation.¹⁶⁴ Circumstances such as these expose how the provisions that were set out in the 1968 Commonwealth

¹⁶² Paul, K. (2018). *Whitewashing Britain: Race and citizenship in the postwar era*. Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7591/j.ctv5rdvw1> pg 120

¹⁶³ Hussain, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. *Different Journeys, One Life*. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁶⁴ Hussain, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. *Different Journeys, One Life*. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

Immigration Act, the 1971 Commonwealth Immigration Act and the 1981 British Nationality Act neglected to take into account the people that did not fit into the parameters of their laws when they were enacted and in the future. This failure to consider all migrants and their families meant Hussain's father's actions were a crucial community lifeline that helped act as a resource that would act swiftly enough to remedy these situations. Consequently, this is just one example of how there was a need for migrant communities to set up their own support networks within Britain. These communities now had someone who could empathise with and allay their fears; while remedying their problems due to barriers such as language, which did not allow them to protect themselves and their families in a country that was demonstrating hostile attitudes towards migrants both in legislation and everyday life.

However, it is not just his own cultural community that this extended to, his generosity also extended to those outside his own racial and cultural background. Hussain recalls how his father particularly invested his time in helping the younger and older sectors of the community, including 'the Kashmiri, the Pakistani, the Bengali, the Indian, and English' and how at the time there were also 'a lot of Polish and Ukrainian individuals living in the Oldham area'.¹⁶⁵ Overall it is clear that his father had an ethos of inclusivity. He welcomed and offered help to people from all backgrounds, races and faiths, if he could provide them with the help, they needed, he would do what he could for the welfare of his community.

What this evidence is how imperative interracial community cohesion and harmony was in this time period. Although it can be said that Asian migrants were not targets for racism and discrimination in the same ways that black minority groups were, they were still targets of discrimination. The barriers that Asian migrants faced in regards to discrimination were centred around religion and language. These barriers were not faced by black Commonwealth migrants to the same extent as many were

¹⁶⁵ Hussain, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

largely Christian and had a good understanding of the English spoken language. Consequently, community links were a vital part of Asian lived experience that provided them with access to the wider British community.

Identity:

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this interview is the sense of identity that was instilled in Hussain and his siblings by their father. In the interview there is an underlying theme of identity, and Hussain states that his father had three distinct parts to his life and work. One his British values, two his cultural values and thirdly his religious values. Hussain remembers his father saying to him and his siblings how 'You can be British, you can be Muslim and you can be Pakistani-Kashmiri' all at the same time, you do not have to sacrifice one to be the other, which is very similar to the way Norris Jones claimed both his identity as someone from St Kitts and Nevis but also a British person.¹⁶⁶ A common theme among migrants, and their families is the sense that they cannot embody all their constituent parts at once. Many feel that their values, culture and religion can sometimes be at odds and competing with each other as they may not always be completely compatible. What Hussain's father did by working in the community, alongside the belief that you did not have to sacrifice one element of your identity for another, helped to create a culture that was progressive and more accepting. If it hadn't been for his father, Abid says he potentially would not have had the confidence and self-determination to go to university and into the legal profession which builds on his father's beliefs of 'obeying the law of the land and British values'.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, what is demonstrated here is a complex relationship with identity and belonging that was not encompassed by the legislation brought in by successive governments such as the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act, which introduced

¹⁶⁶ Hussain, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Kashmiri Lives. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁶⁷ Hussain, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Kashmiri Lives. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

the concept of patriality, to the 1981 British Nationality Act which clearly stated parameters of national belonging.

Hussain's account of his father's life gives historians an interesting perspective on life and identity in Britain. In contrast to the accounts of the black community Hussain's father did not come over in the immediate post-war era and instead migrated in the 1960s. In the 1960s, Britain had already begun its journey towards a multiracial and multicultural society. In many aspects, the immediate post-war migrants had begun to pave the way towards a more tolerant Britain for all migrants, however the new wave faced their own barriers to integration such as language and religion. Other factors to consider were changes to immigration law which were becoming increasingly restrictive and changing the relationships and freedoms between former colonial citizens and Britain as the 'mother country'.

Akram Sattar:

The next interview in the series on Kashmiri lives is from Akram Sattar. Originally from Kashmir, Sattar came to England from Kashmir in 1968. When he first arrived in the UK he lived in High Wycombe, shortly after moving to Coventry and then he finally to Manchester where he lived for the majority of his life.

First experiences of life in Britain:

When he originally came to England in 1968, Akram Sattar was a young boy and described it as 'probably my dream come true'.¹⁶⁸ Sattar recalls on the journey over how the plane was full of children a similar age to him who were also migrating alone. Sattar explains the reason for his journey alone

¹⁶⁸ Sattar, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Kashmiri Lives. Home. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

as a minor was because fathers generally came to Britain and later sponsored the migration of their sons but not daughters and wives/mothers.¹⁶⁹

As Sattar was still a child when he migrated to Britain, he had to attend school and recalls how the school had a separate class for migrant arrivals called the 'centre class'.¹⁷⁰ Classes such as these assessed the academic abilities of migrant children and where they were taught English; language being one of the barriers migrants faced especially when migrating from countries in Asia where English was not the native/dominant language. Sattar recalls how progression into mainstream classes was dependent on how well they acquired the English language individually. Sattar recalls that he was moved into his 'third year' which would be year 9 relatively quickly.¹⁷¹ What this demonstrates is how the Asian community faced different barriers to integration such as language. However, because Asian migration occurred later and predominantly in the 1960s, integrations efforts such as language classes and already been developed; whether these efforts were a conscious move towards helping migrant integration for wellbeing purposes remains widely debated.

Discrimination and Racism:

When it comes to discrimination and racism during his time in Britain, Sattar states that he experienced very few incidents that he would label as discrimination. The first experience he talks about was just a few short months after his arrival and involved his cousin who also migrated to the UK and attended the same school. Sattar recalls how one day his cousin confessed that a bully had been pushing him on the bus and when confronting the bully, a slew of racist terms were thrown at both Sattar and his cousin.¹⁷² This is important to note as Sattar migrated to the UK in 1968 and by

¹⁶⁹ Sattar, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Kashmiri Lives. Home. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁷⁰ Sattar, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Kashmiri Lives. Home. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁷¹ Sattar, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Kashmiri Lives. Home. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁷² Sattar, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Kashmiri Lives. Home. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

this point in time both the 1965 and 1968 Race Relations legislation had been introduced which had begun to tackle direct and indirect forms of racial discrimination in British society.¹⁷³ Consequently, what Sattar's experience demonstrates is that despite legislation making slow moves forward to help migrant communities and their lives in Britain, legislation was not having a real-world impact on attitudes. Thus, the forms discrimination took were evolving as highlighted earlier by members of the Caribbean community and as argued by Paul Gilroy.¹⁷⁴

Another event which Sattar talks about in relation to prejudice occurred in his adult life in Manchester. This incident is different from others discussed in this paper because it occurs between Sattar and a group of people from the Pakistani migrant community, who labelled him and his family as 'Mirpuri'. The word 'Mirpuri' as explained by Sattar is another word for down-class, referencing the caste systems that existed. Additionally, when stating that he chose to identify as 'British-Kashmiri', Sattar was 'made fun of by Pakistani's and even other Kashmiri's' with statements like 'are you British or are you Kashmiri' shouted at them in the streets.¹⁷⁵ Consequently, what this demonstrates is that even within migrant communities there wasn't an acceptance of other migrant communities and the way they chose to identify. Additionally, it also evidences the idea introduced by Gilroy and Paul that during this time frame British national identity was viewed as a rigid concept which did not account for migrant communities and the extent to which they claimed British national identity.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ The National Archives. (1965). Race Relations Act 1965. [legislation.gov.uk. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1965/73/contents/enacted](https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1965/73/contents/enacted) and The National Archives. (1968). Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968. [legislation.gov.uk. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/9/contents/enacted](https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/9/contents/enacted)

¹⁷⁴ Gilroy, P. (2002;2013;). There ain't no black in the union jack: The cultural politics of race and nation (2nd ed.). Routledge. Pg 42

¹⁷⁵ Sattar, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Kashmiri Lives. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁷⁶ Gilroy, P. (2002;2013;). There ain't no black in the union jack: The cultural politics of race and nation (2nd ed.). Routledge. Pg 12 and Paul, K. (2018). Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era. Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7591/j.ctv5rdvw1> pg 121

Community:

These experiences of discrimination are what made, community cohesion an important aspect to Sattar's life in Manchester. In the interview he discusses his contribution to community cohesion through the founding of the British Kashmiri Welfare Association. Sattar states that the aim of the association was to help get recognition for their ethnic status as Kashmiri, rather than Pakistani.¹⁷⁷

What is important to note is that they were choosing to identify as British while also fighting to identify as Kashmiri. Through the struggle to legitimise their identity as Kashmiri, this group of migrants demonstrates that it is not just Britishness that is part of the renegotiation of national identity in this period, but also the identities of every country affected by migration/ decolonisation in this time period.

Daalat Ali:

The next experience this study examines comes from Daalat Ali, who is a first generation migrant that came to live and work in Manchester. Ali's interview also came from a collection of interviews which aimed to preserve the experiences of Kashmiri people in Manchester. He came to Britain with his family after partition and they settled in a town called Rochdale in the greater Manchester borough of Oldham.

Prejudice and barriers to integration:

One of the barriers that Ali faced upon starting his life in Britain is the fact he did not speak English. This meant that he was very limited in the employment he could find as he could not freely communicate. However, one form of employment that he did find was working in a factory as a cleaner. This was not a job he enjoyed as the supervisors were of upper and middle class Pakistani

¹⁷⁷ Sattar, A. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Kashmiri Lives. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

heritage and 'were derogatory, they were not nice, they did not like Kashmiris'.¹⁷⁸ This discrimination continued throughout his employment and with no access to the English language he could not fight this. Ali's problems were compounded when his father had journeyed back to Kashmir to look after Ali's grandfather, leaving him as the responsible adult in charge of his two siblings and the mortgage.¹⁷⁹ Ali's experience in the workplace is just another example of how legislation in this time period was not bridging the gap between what the legislation wanted to implement and real life, but also the importance of migrant communities and the life lines they provided to those who were experiencing barriers to integration such as language as evidenced by Abid Hussain.

However, not all the experiences Ali had were bad. In the interview, he states how his fortunes changed when a textile union representative called Fitzpatrick saw some of the racist abuse that was directed at him. From there Fitzpatrick arranged for a translator to negotiate a day a week where he could leave work to go and learn English.¹⁸⁰ As a result of this Ali was able to remove a barrier that was preventing him from integrating into British society and identity. Also, important to observe is that again discrimination occurred between migrant communities, not just with the native British public. The racism Ali face was heavily influenced by the caste system that existed in the Pakistan-Kashmiri region after partition, and evidences how prejudices that existed within different national borders made the journey to Britain.

Community:

Furthermore, the theme of community comes up in interview and Ali discusses his work in and around the community. In 1972-1973 he says he was a member of the Socialist Worker Party and went out selling socialist papers and became a part of the Labour party in the 70s working for Oldham and

¹⁷⁸ Ali, D. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Kashmiri Lives. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁷⁹ Ali, D. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Kashmiri Lives. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁸⁰ Ali, D. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Kashmiri Lives. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

Rochdale council. For the remainder of his working life through to the 1990s, he did work as a councillor stating that he 'always liked working with people' and that the 'white working class took me like duck to water' because of the time and energy he expended into making the local community a more tolerant, safer and better place to be.¹⁸¹ The importance and consistent involvement in the community for over thirty years could be attributed to his Ali's politics and ethics. As a member of left-wing parties, it is clear that Ali's personal ethos embraces the importance of strong community relations as without them, he would not have had the same opportunities. Consequently, this is why he put great amounts of time and effort into building strong inter-community links. With better community links it is arguable that it helped progress the integration of migrant communities into Manchester, as with more understanding, there was a decreased risk of tensions due to a lack of understanding.

Summary:

To begin to summarise, when it comes to the lived experiences of black and Asian migrants there were a great deal of things, they had in common such as experiences of prejudice, integration, and negotiation of identity. However, there were differences such as where they migrated from and when, that resulted in different experiences.

From the evidence it is an unmistakable fact that Britain was not prepared for the changes that migration would bring to the concept of national identity. Both in terms of legislation, and the attitude of the public. It is the rigidity of definitions surrounding British national identity that began this forty-five year period of renegotiation and integration. As Kathleen Paul expresses, it was the public's view that 'if the British population was white and the colonials were black, then the colonials could not be

¹⁸¹ Ali, D. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Kashmiri Lives. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

British'.¹⁸² Consequently, migrants were racialised into a separate 'indeterminate space' of Britishness which was unique to them and their experiences as argued by Gilroy.¹⁸³

By contrast these two branches of the BAME (Black and minority ethnic) community had very different push and pull factors when it came to moving to Britain. A great number of the black community that moved to Manchester, were soldiers that came from their natives of Jamaica, St Kitts and Nevis, members of the Commonwealth and by extension Britain. For them the move to England to do with a sense of duty as members of the Commonwealth and perhaps more importantly the identity that many came to terms with as British subjects. Later migration from the Commonwealth nations in the black community came from a combination of factors. By the time the war had ended Britain was in economic ruin, as were many of the colonies. However, with the rebuilding of Britain and the creation of institutions like the NHS, the call of recruitments to the colonies meant many women came to help their families whilst also building a career.

When considering the Asian community, it has been unveiled as a much more complicated situation. At the same time the war was ending it became apparent that Britain was not going to be able to hold on to its empire forever. With the event of partition, it created a few tumultuous years that had great conflict. As seen in Hussain's family story, it was not out of a sense of duty that the Asian community came to Britain but a matter of need. The pull of economic advancement and the push of an unstable home community led many to move to Britain.

What the comparison of two different communities and in a location other than London has shown is that the rhetoric surrounding race in Britain and assimilation into post-war British society is a more complicated matter than it originally seems on the surface. As evidenced by the rich discourse of oral histories and histories written by historians, the introduction of a new variable into British society was

¹⁸² Paul, K. (2018). *Whitewashing Britain: Race and citizenship in the postwar era*. Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7591/j.ctv5rdvw1> pg 125

¹⁸³ Gilroy, P. (2002;2013;). *There ain't no black in the union jack: The cultural politics of race and nation* (2nd ed.). Routledge. Pg 45

met with much contradiction. On the one hand you had the discourse put out by the governments of the time that these communities are wanted and welcome in the post-war period, and then on the other hand through legislation from the 1960s onwards it was made increasingly more difficult for these migrants to not only come to Britain, but to live a life where their identities were constantly denied as compatible with British life and identity.

Chapter Three- Community Relations:

Community relations are an important social institution, they are the barometer through which social integration can be measured. The dictionary definition of community relations is 'relations between different groups within a community, or between governmental agencies or other organisations and the community that they serve'.¹⁸⁴ One of the dominant themes of community relations during this time period was race and identity. The most prominent way in which community relations regarding race and identity was affected during this time is by the legislation introduced by successive governments, such as the British Nationality Act of 1948 and 1981 and the Race Relations Acts of 1965, 1968 and 1976, as covered in previous chapters.¹⁸⁵ These laws set new parameters for identity, race and immigration during this time. However, in an attempt to ease the transition of these laws measures were put in place by both the government and migrant communities in order to help adjust to the changing landscape of Britain. Consequently, by examining community relations, a wider perspective can be achieved on integration and identity, and how successful it was in real world terms during this time frame.

Government measures:

Over this forty-five year time frame, successive governments brought in new laws in an attempt to adapt to the changing demographic of Britain. As time progressed, it became clear that the concept of British identity, as covered by Paul, Hampshire and Gilroy, was now at odds with the new demographic of Britain. With increasing incidences of racial discrimination through to the 1960s, it

¹⁸⁴ Oxford English Dictionary. (2022). Community. Oxford English Dictionary. <https://www-oed-com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/view/Entry/37337?redirectedFrom=Community+Relations#eid131392040>

¹⁸⁵The Nation Archives, (1948). British Nationality Act 1948. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/11-12-56/enacted>

The National Archives. (1981). British Nationality Act 1981. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1981/61/contents>

The National Archives. (1965). Race Relations Act 1965. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1965/73/contents/enacted>

The National Archives. (1968). Race Relations Act. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/71/enacted>

The National Archives. (1976). Race Relations Act 1976. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1976/74/contents/enacted>

became clear to the government that this could not continue and resulted in the creation of what would eventually become the Commission for Racial Equality.¹⁸⁶ The board's goal was to investigate cases of racial discrimination and create solutions which were appropriate and proportionate to each case.

Race Relations Board and Commission for Racial Equality:

The Race Relations Board, as part of the 1965 Race Relations Act, was created to 'assess and resolve individual cases of discrimination'.¹⁸⁷ However as previously discussed under the parameters of the 1968 Act the board was not empowered to go beyond the scope of what was defined as discrimination even if cases were evident. So, under the new 1976 Race Relations Act the Commission for Racial Equality was created along with a wider scope of what classed as racial discrimination. Under one of the first annual reports from the Commission for Racial Equality in 1978, it outlines the failings of the previous act to provide sufficient protections and provisions to stop acts of discrimination being committed against migrant citizens as well as failing to promote their integration and equal opportunities in British society.¹⁸⁸

Over successive reports there were key areas that were identified as problematic areas of conflict when it came to community relations. These areas included education, and police interaction. These areas involved the interaction of the British public and migrant communities which were part of daily life. As a result, education and policing became contentious grounds for the renegotiation of British national identity.

¹⁸⁶The National Archives. (1968). Race Relations Act. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/71/enacted>

The National Archives. (1976). Race Relations Act 1976. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1976/74/contents/enacted>

¹⁸⁷ UK Parliament. (1967). First Report of the Race Relations Board. UK Parliament. <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-lives/relationships/collections1/race-relations-act-1965/first-report-of-the-race-relations-board/>

¹⁸⁸ Commission for Racial Equality. (1978). Commission for Racial Equality First Annual Report 1977. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah RACE (Race Archives and Community Engagement) Centre, Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Centre, Manchester, England. <http://shorturl.at/dlux9> pg 18

Manchester and the Council for Community Race Relations:

An example of how the government led community relations on a localised level is evidenced by the MCCR (Manchester Council for Community Race Relations) founded in 1966, it was set up in partnership between Manchester council, the Home Office and the minority ethnic communities of Manchester.¹⁸⁹ As stated in their own history mission statement, their main purpose was to address 'immigration and the settlement of Black and Asian immigrants' in Manchester as well as cases of racism and racial discrimination.¹⁹⁰ The Commission outlines their role throughout time listing

- ' - Enforcement, under the Race Relations Act 1976 as amended, by taking up cases of racial discrimination, mainly in employment, but also in service delivery.
- Promotion of race equality and equal opportunities in Manchester by working with large and small organisations in the public and private sectors.
- Combating racial harassment by working with various agencies.
- Working strategically in the economic and social regeneration of Manchester.
- Undertaking projects to address specific needs of ethnic minority communities, which are not being addressed by the mainstream service providers.
- Assisting refugees, asylum seekers and migrant workers in their settlement and integration within the local communities, by focussing on racial harassment faced by them and ensuring action is taken by statutory agencies against the perpetrators.'¹⁹¹

These boards set up between central government, local governments and minority ethnic communities were tasked with the role of dealing with race relations issues on a smaller scale. By having smaller areas to cover this should have meant that community relations issues regarding race,

¹⁸⁹ Manchester Council for Community Relations. (2006). Background History. Manchester Council for Community Relations. <http://www.mccr.org.uk/public/history.htm>

¹⁹⁰ Manchester Council for Community Relations. (2006). Background History. Manchester Council for Community Relations. <http://www.mccr.org.uk/public/history.htm>

¹⁹¹ Manchester Council for Community Relations. (2006). Background History. Manchester Council for Community Relations. <http://www.mccr.org.uk/public/history.htm>

migration and integration could be dealt with faster and with better resolutions. However, as evidenced by earlier testimonies this was not always the case and consequently led to the education and policing being the contentious grounds on which migration vs nativism clashed over identity.

Education and the community:

The first area which this study will examine community relations in, is education. The reason education was a place of conflict in community relations is because the education system and its curriculum was wholly unprepared to provide an education to the increasingly diverse cultural and racial demographic of Britain. By the mid-1970s when legislation had only just started to embody a form wide enough in scope to confront the culture of prejudice and discrimination in the UK, the first and second generations of British born migrant children were already in the school system. This new generation were less willing to accept discrimination, particularly the kind their parents faced.¹⁹² Therefore, when students were confronted with an education that they could not identify with, as the curriculum was not diverse or inclusive enough, it started a process of renegotiation and recognition of British national identity.

One example of education as a contentious form of community relations comes from award winning musical artist, writer and educator Akala, who is of British-Caribbean and Scottish-English heritage, who started starting his education at the age of five in the 1980s. In his book *Natives*, Akala recounts how he was repeatedly discriminated against by both children and teachers. He recalls how he was placed in a specialist provision within his school for children with learning difficulties and made an example of repeatedly by teachers who did not recognise his full potential.¹⁹³ Instances of race based discrimination among the children of migrants in educational settings were not a rare occurrence, as

¹⁹² Simmonds, E Kirklees Local Television. (2022, October 31). Windrush: The Years After - A Community Legacy on Film [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EYxia9gFnU&t=2603s>

¹⁹³ Akala.(2018). *Natives Race & Class in the Ruins of Empire*. Two Roads. Pg 44

evidenced by Lorna Eells in the previous chapter when she was discriminated against by her teacher for the colour of her skin.¹⁹⁴

Repercussions at a local level:

Huddersfield is a town in the West Riding of Yorkshire with strong industrial job opportunities which attracted migrants in the postwar period. As a result, migrants settled in towns like Huddersfield and the populations of these towns subsequently developed substantial migrant populations. It is in these areas with growing migrant populations that further problems within the education system arose.

In a discussion on the education system in Huddersfield from the 1960s onwards, as the population became more diverse, it was clear that education became one of the first frontiers on which competing ideas of Britishness and integration occurred. An example of government policy that aimed to tackle integration in education, was the ‘bussing’ of black and Asian students to different locations to attend school. The bussing out of students from where they lived primarily occurred due to the notion that migrants would comprise too large a number in their local schools.¹⁹⁵ In an interview William Hunt, a community activist, recalls how he was ‘bussed’ to a school in Almondsbury which was about five miles away from where he lived at the time and that this sometimes involved getting two buses just to get to school.¹⁹⁶ Policies such as these were introduced by governments to try and improve community relations. However, the reality of this legislation was in fact dispersing “migrants” (first generation British born citizens) who were not visually assimilable with the notion of whiteness. Policies like this are examples of how discrimination evolved to take different forms in order to achieve the racialisation of migrant communities and render them incompatible with Britishness as argued by

¹⁹⁴ Eells, L. Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre. (2019). Home. Different Journeys, One Life. Sound Cloud. <https://soundcloud.com/aiucentre/albums>

¹⁹⁵ Paul, K. (2018). Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era. Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7591/j.ctv5rdvw1> pg 120

¹⁹⁶ Hunt, W Kirklees Local Television. (2022, October 31). Windrush: The Years After - A Community Legacy on Film [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EYxia9gFnU>

Paul Gilroy.¹⁹⁷ Joe Hopkinson also furthers the argument that government measures of promoting community relations were of an 'explicitly racial nature' stating that such efforts were clearly motivated by the factor of visual racial difference because otherwise policies that dealt with multiculturalism 'would have developed much earlier when white migrants from Ireland and Europe were arriving in great numbers'.¹⁹⁸ Consequently migrant communities felt it necessary to counteract these discriminatory practises by providing community supplementary education.

Community supplementary education:

With a lack of a varied curriculum the new generation of black British people were only able to view their identity through a colonialist lens. This representation was not one that encapsulated their identities and demonstrated the need for supplementary education where they would be free to explore what being British meant to them. Community spaces were created by black British people in order to connect to their heritage, and subsequently their history, culture and identities as both British citizens and members of Commonwealth nations from across the world. The experiences disseminated by Akala, Lorna Eels and others demonstrate how through the 1970s, 80s and 90s the concept of race was a polarising issue in mixed community spaces, such as schools.

Where supplementary education was provided as Akala notes having access to these communities ensured he was aware of his ancestry, or to quote to "make sure I 'knew myself'".¹⁹⁹ What this makes clear is that there was a need within migrant communities to have a place that allowed them to connect with both sides of their identity, and preserve these spaces for future generations.

¹⁹⁷ Gilroy, P. (2002;2013;). *There ain't no black in the union jack: The cultural politics of race and nation* (2nd ed.). Routledge. Pg 43

¹⁹⁸ Hopkinson, J. (2022). *Racism in memories of british schooling, 1960-1989* pg 103 and 112

¹⁹⁹ Akala. (2018). *Natives Race & Class in the Ruins of Empire. Two Roads.* Pg 44

In Huddersfield, supplementary education was provided to children from the age of five to sixteen and was funded by Kirklees council to address the proportion of underachieving black boys and girls in education at the time. This supplementary education was set up and run by the New Testament Church of God in Huddersfield, however it was not the only provider in the area, just the only one recognised legitimately by the council with funding. This education provision still runs today; however, it runs as a form of preventative and wider education resource, in order to help the ‘young, gifted and black’ individuals aware of the prejudices that they may face.²⁰⁰ The outcome of this council funded community provision resulted in a greater number of raced individuals having better educational opportunities that catered to them. Thus, creating a platform to access higher education, with some individuals going on to become lawyers, social workers, probation officers, business managers and trades people.²⁰¹ The common theme among these roles is that they all have a community focus, where they provide a service to people in order to enrich the community in which they live. The interviewees, all note how it was and continues to be a team effort and community spirit. Reverend Paul Lavene states how it was important as the provider for supplementary education to provide the children of African Caribbean descent with a sense of belonging, ‘knowing where they’re coming from because if you don’t know where you’re coming from you certainly can’t know where you’re going’.²⁰² These centres for supplementary education were not confined to Huddersfield and occurred in other places around the UK, such as London.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Botswain-Tompkin, M Kirklees Local Television. (2022, October 31). Windrush: The Years After - A Community Legacy on Film [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EYxia9gFnU>

²⁰¹ Lavene, P Kirklees Local Television. (2022, October 31). Windrush: The Years After- A Community Legacy on Film *Windrush: The Years After - A Community Legacy on Film* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EYxia9gFnU>

²⁰² Lavene, P Kirklees Local Television. (2022, October 31). Windrush: The Years After- A Community Legacy on Film *Windrush: The Years After - A Community Legacy on Film* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EYxia9gFnU>

²⁰³ Akala. (2018). Natives Race & Class in the Ruins of Empire. Two Roads. Pg 44

Overall, when confronting the distinct lack of an inclusive and diverse education, black and Asian students were repeatedly met with silences.²⁰⁴ What is important to note when addressing these issues is how individuals identify their experiences with British history and by implication British national identity.²⁰⁵ Additionally, the dismissal they faced from educators evidences how even into the late 1970s through to the end of this time period, there was a staunch defiance that there could be more than one definition of British national identity. Consequently, what is reflected here is that native British people were not ready to accept the idea that there were different definitions of British identity, despite education being an environment that fosters a constant learning approach. What is reiterated by the providers and recipients of supplementary education is that it was there to provide them with a sense of identity and belonging in a society that was slowly moving towards acceptance and diversity, that would more accurately reflect the legislation at this time.

Police and the community:

As the era of race relations had dawned on Britain in the 1960s with the introduction of the Race Relations Act, it had become clear to the Government the repatriation of multicultural and multiracial communities was not going to happen, or at least not in the numbers that they desired. The attempts at race relations legislation (Race Relations Act of 1965, 1968 and 1971) which was meant to protect these minority British citizens did not extend far enough as was made clear by reports from the Commission for Racial Equality (1968). As Simon Peplow argues minority ethnic groups, especially new generations who were the children and grandchildren of Commonwealth migrants, had well and truly begun to 'grow frustrated by systems ostensibly protecting them'.²⁰⁶ Repeatedly and increasingly there were clashes between these minority groups and police and when coupled with the fact that

²⁰⁴ Jordan, P Kirklees Local Television. (2022, October 31). Windrush: The Years After - A Community Legacy on Film [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EYxia9gFnU>

²⁰⁵ Jordan, P Kirklees Local Television. (2022, October 31). Windrush: The Years After - A Community Legacy on Film [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EYxia9gFnU>

²⁰⁶ Peplow, S. (2019). Race and riots in thatcher's britain (1st ed.). Manchester University Press. Pg 2

unemployment had grown from 2.2% in 1967 to 9% by 1981 the socio-economic climate of Britain was akin to a bonfire waiting for the spark to set it ablaze.²⁰⁷

Beginning in the 1970s there was a growing discontent among the young minority ethnic population of Britain. With successive pieces of race relations legislation failing, the British descendants of migrants felt unprotected and vulnerable. As stated by Helen Wells 'black children were scared but never said that and was frightened about all the hostility' that they faced regularly day in and day out, however they were not willing to accept this like their parents did.²⁰⁸ As Simon Peplow argues it was the growing disapproval for the lack of meaningful political action which was 'exacerbated by a police force appearing unaccountable for its actions and treatment of groups on the political fringes' such as minority ethnic groups which led to riots such as the well-known 1981 Brixton riots.²⁰⁹

The government sought solutions to try and quell the growing unrest between communities which manifested in the 1984 Police and Criminal Evidence Act.²¹⁰ This act increased the stop and search powers of police officers as they were to be used increasingly as 'impartial investigators into the truth'.²¹¹ However, the relationship between young people and the police was one which was marred and deteriorating even without the element of race added to it. There were very evident reservations about the introduction of this article to the act as seen in the Scarman report, however it was introduced nonetheless.²¹² Due to racial bias that still existed at this time, there was a disproportionate use of the article against minority ethnic individuals as observed by Barbara Wilding

²⁰⁷ Cape, e., & Young, R. (2008). *Regulating policing: The police and criminal evidence act 1984 past, present and future* (1st ed.). Hart Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781472564511> pg 123

²⁰⁸ Wells, H Kirklees Local Television. (2022, October 31). *Windrush: The Years After - A Community Legacy on Film* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EYxia9gFnU&t=2603s> Simmonds, E Kirklees Local Television. (2022, October 31). *Windrush: The Years After - A Community Legacy on Film* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EYxia9gFnU&t=2603s>

²⁰⁹ Peplow, S. (2019). *Race and riots in thatcher's britain* (1st ed.). Manchester University Press. Pg 2

²¹⁰ The National Archives. (1984). *Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984*. legislation.gov.uk. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1984/60/section/1/enacted>

²¹¹ Cape, e., & Young, R. (2008). *Regulating policing: The police and criminal evidence act 1984 past, present and future* (1st ed.). Hart Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781472564511> pg 122

²¹² Cape, e., & Young, R. (2008). *Regulating policing: The police and criminal evidence act 1984 past, present and future* (1st ed.). Hart Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781472564511> pg 122

and even through amendments years later, the stop and search article remains in 'disproportionate use against some black and minority ethnic groups.'²¹³

Despite continued drafts to legislation such as the stop and search articles, its disproportionate use on black and other raced individuals creates quite a bleak picture as far as improving race relations and acceptance of Britishness as not being exclusively white is concerned. To suspect an individual of a crime or a crime that is yet to be committed purely on a conscious or unconscious racial bias shows how little progress had been made in the realms of governing and public minds concerning stereotypes of race, within the time constraints of this study.

Summary:

This chapter aims to prove the importance of studying community relations when looking at migrant experience in relation to British national identity. By examining experiences from public domains such as education and policing there is a much deeper understanding of the effect that laws had on the migrant communities of Britain. What is clear is that despite a progressive narrative being formed by the introduction of race relations legislation, there was also the corresponding legislation that progressively restricted immigration and the rights of Commonwealth citizens in Britain. Additionally, it shows how migration and nativism were in conflict from the outset of 1945 right up to the end of this studies time frame in the 1990s; with the British public never fully accepting that there was no longer a singular definition of British national identity. Instead, it now had to grow to encompass all those who identified with Britain.

²¹³ Cape, e., & Young, R. (2008). *Regulating policing: The police and criminal evidence act 1984 past, present and future* (1st ed.). Hart Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781472564511> pg 132

Conclusion:

At the beginning of this study, this dissertation set out to evaluate how the concept of British national identity evolved from 1945 through to 1990 and evaluate if Britain had truly lived up to its reputation as a nation which had a rich multicultural and multiracial society that had accepted and integrated these new communities into a new national identity. In this forty-five year period Britain saw the end of the Second World War, the end of Empire, and the dawning of the Commonwealth to name just a few significant events which transformed the political and social atmospheres.

From the legislation introduced it is clear that over the forty-five year period, successive governments sought to reduce the flow of migration into the country while also establishing boundaries regarding who could identify as British in the aftermath of Empire. However, it is also important to acknowledge the progressive race legislation that was introduced which aimed to outlaw race-based discrimination in both direct and indirect forms. As a result, the laws that were introduced during this period aimed to operate a policy of balance that would restrict migration whilst integrating the migrant communities of Britain.

In the lived experiences of black and Asian migrant communities, it became clear that discrimination had greatly affected their relationship with Britain when considering identity. However, overwhelmingly it is clear that each person's identity is deeply individual to their experience and as a result the identity that a first generation migrant claims is not the same identity that subsequent generations identify with, which the existing historiography covers to a great extent. The experiences examined show a tendency among first generation migrants to view their lived experiences as part of British society and identity with a much more positive lens. As evidenced through cases of discrimination often being tolerated and played down or even labelled as simple ignorance and not the prejudice that it was. However, second and third generation migrants were much less tolerant of these experiences, and this consequently made them question their identities and place in British society. Over the forty-five-year period, the lived experiences examined demonstrate that if you were

from places of a different race such as the Caribbean and Asia that migrants could not visually assimilate into a 'imagined white homogenous identity'.²¹⁴ The examination of these individual histories within Manchester and Huddersfield contribute to the existing historiography by highlighting that it was not just legislation that affected the way migrants and subsequent generations related to their identity. Each individual experience has highlighted how a range of intersectional factors affected the perception of national identity. In the lived experiences of both black and Asian communities' factors such as family dynamics, gender, ethnicity and language skills all had a profound impact on the way national identity was and continues to be perceived. For example, in the experiences of Daalat Ali, and Lorna Eells language was a barrier to integration for them both and complicated their senses of national identity. However, even within the sub category of language their experiences of why they felt this was a barrier to their national identity and integration are very different. For Ali language was a barrier to his integration and identity in Britain because he did not have good English and could not interact and defend himself. For Eells, it was her connection to her native language and being discouraged to use it that affected her sense of identity and belonging. As a result of these intersectional factors, migrants assumed a greater sense of agency than some historiography implies when it came to race relations and consequently had to create their own ways of identifying with British identity. This was especially true as subsequent generations were born and raised in Britain. Black communities suffered more direct discrimination and on a wider scale than Asian migrants, however Asian experiences bring a new perspective to the historical discourse of lived experience as an ethnic minority in Britain.

The study into community relations, where legislation and lived experience intersect, highlights how race and migration were the dominant concepts that shaped perceptions of national identity in the specific geographic areas of Manchester and Huddersfield. As Britain settled into the 1960s, it had become apparent that the new community of migrant workers would not be repatriating, and thus

²¹⁴ Mead, M. (2009). Empire Windrush: The cultural memory of an imaginary arrival. *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 45(2), 137-149. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449850902819920> pg 137

the age of race relations was born. In the thirty years from the introduction of the first piece of race relations legislation to the end of this study's time period in the 1990s, different communities developed and thrived creating their own ways to identify as British. These communities became places to connect their British identities with their racial and ethnic heritage. Through a study of community relations and experience in the specific locations of Manchester and Huddersfield this study has been able to highlight how intersectional factors informed the degree of migrant communities' agency and control over their perceptions of national identity and how it has evolved. This is seen in the outreach programmes made by the Asian community in Manchester between migrant communities and the British population, but also between different migrant communities themselves which helped to promote harmonious integration over time. Additionally, in the study of the Caribbean community of Huddersfield, it is the efforts made to help reconnect the first and second generation British-born migrants with their heritage in order to help improve race relations that demonstrates how as time progressed legislation was not having the desired effect. Consequently, this study shows that community groups and events had a profound effect on how migrant communities were able to integrate themselves overtime and negotiate their sense of identity. Additionally, there is evidence of how community relations worked towards progress and the acceptance of different cultures and races, however within the constraints of this study progress in real terms was in its infancy.

In the historiographical debate on national identity in Britain, this study's findings closely support the argument of Randall Hansen that the racialisation of migrants is what led to the complication of national identity in this time frame and meant that migrant communities could not be wholly integrated into British national identity. However, what this study has brought to light is the depth of complexity involved in identity and belonging during this time frame for the black and Asian communities of Manchester and Huddersfield. The existing historiography places great emphasis on the legislation that was introduced by successive governments and the events that unfolded after their implementation. By examining these experiences in specific locations, this study has highlighted the

importance of recognising other factors that were influential in the formation of perceptions of national identity. What this approach revealed is that there should be more work done into the agency of migrants and their communities when it comes to race relations, identity and integration. Each individual history displays how the impact of legislation was immediate in terms of the law but in real terms, it was anything but. Consequently, it was through the agency of migrant communities and the work they did within their own communities and the wider British public that helped lead Britain to the nation that it is today. In the analysis of the evidence presented within this study, it clearly demonstrates that the extent of emphasis placed on legislation for forming multicultural society as it is today is too great in the current historiography. The findings of this study suggests that the work of migrants and their communities should be considered more when it comes to lived experience during this time frame, regardless of the established narrative.

Finally, to address the question asked at the beginning of this study as to whether British national identity managed to change and adapt to its new migrant community to be a society that fully accepts its rich multicultural and multiracial identity the answer within the time constraints of this study is no. Over the forty-five-year period that this study covers, Britain saw the end of its Empire, the beginning of the Commonwealth and the beginning of migration across the globe, as well as the beginning of changing attitudes towards race. Migrant communities came to Britain with British citizenship and identity as established by the 1948 British Nationality Act. They created their lives here with children and grandchildren over successive generations and began to see changing attitudes towards race and identity both in their local communities and in the law. However, while the integration of these communities into British culture and identity was beginning, it was clear that even in the 1990s Britain was not a nation that wholly accepted migrants into its national community and identity easily. As evidenced, there were still a great many incidences such as disproportionate use of police powers that displayed an institutional level of prejudice and discrimination against the migrant communities of Britain. To conclude, while Britain was beginning to make steps towards being a more

accepting nation, by the 1990s it was clear that national identity in Britain was a concept that had more than one definition and had not yet integrated migrant communities to be included fully.

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