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The Spatial Distribution and Housing Problems
of the Ethnic Minorities in Britain:
Focusing on the Asian Community in Govanhill

by

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Submitted as part of the
requirements for the Degree
of Master of Philosophy

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Regional Planning
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INTRODUCTION

Britain is a multi-racial society, and it is important that all aspects of social, political and economic life reflect this fact. At present, opportunities (for jobs, housing, education etc.) are not equally available to all members of this society. Many groups within the community suffer from this experience, but the black population of Britain suffers to a disproportionate extent.

These inequalities exist in many spheres, but it is the intention of this study to concentrate on their impact on housing — on type, tenure and location. This will involve an examination of:-

- i) The structures within society which create and maintain inequality.
- ii) The manners in which inequality manifests itself.
- iii) The attempts which have been made to improve or change this situation.
- iv) The value of present policy initiatives.

In the attempt to discover why members of black ethnic minority groups are particularly disadvantaged, the study will examine the relationship between race and class, and the effects of discrimination. Such factors help to explain why the ethnic minorities face specific and additional disadvantages.

The 'special needs' of the ethnic minorities are often discussed, but these are not the special needs of groups such

as the disabled or elderly. Many of the 'special needs' of ethnic minorities would be met if equality of opportunity, choice and access was achieved.

For a variety of reasons, ethnic minority communities tend to locate in the more 'run-down' inner city areas, and thus disadvantages are compounded. One proposed solution to this has been to advocate policies of dispersal, apparently on the grounds that smaller concentrations will cause fewer problems. A second solution has been to increase the level of resources allocated to these areas. It seems apparent, however, that such attempts at positive discrimination can only tackle the manifestations of the problems: they do not confront the causes of the problems.

Section I considers theories of segregation and concentration and the relationships between race and class. Section II looks at the development of the black communities in Britain, and at the way in which this was affected by immigration and race relations legislation. It also takes a detailed look at the development of the Asian community in Glasgow. Section III examines the policies (particularly housing policies) which have affected the development of the ethnic minority communities in Britain. The question of positive discrimination is discussed in some detail. SECTION IV describes a survey of the housing conditions of the Asian population in the Govanhill district of Glasgow. This is set in context by an examination of the official recognition which the ethnic minority communities receive in Strathclyde, and by a

consideration of the historical and economic background to the development of Govanhill. SECTION V considers the policy implications of recent experiences and, with reference to the survey of Govanhill, considers policy directions for the future.

For the purposes of the following discussion, 'ethnic minority' and 'black' will be defined as being of African, Asian and West Indian origin. 'Asian' refers to those of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin. It does not, however, include people from China or Hong Kong. It must also be recognised that careful distinction must be drawn between a specifically immigrant community and an ethnic minority community. Many of the residents of the latter may have been born in Britain, and many more may have been resident for many years or since early childhood.

SECTION I.

ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

- an examination of theory

For a variety of reasons, concerning which there is much dispute, immigrants and members of ethnic minority groups tend to live in fairly close-knit communities within the inner cities (e.g. Rex, in Peach et al, 1981. p.25). The distribution of housing, more than any other social need (e.g. health and education), is determined to a large extent by the operation of the market. The variety of theories prevalent in the analysis of the evolution of ethnic minority communities do, however, consider a substantially greater number of factors.

The major questions which recur within differing perspectives are these:-

- 1). What are the relationships between space, market forces, discrimination, legislation and choice?
- 2). What is the importance of race, ethnicity and class, with regard to the development of patterns of segregation?

Within these general concerns, the present study concentrated on the following key questions:-

- (a) The extent of inequality with regard to access to housing;
- (b) the importance of class position combined with racial origin as determinants of the degree of housing inequality;
- (c) the importance of these variables with regard to patterns of segregation and concentration;
- (d) the influence of discriminatory practices and policies in the area of housing.

To begin, I would like to consider briefly the facts supporting

the existence of a state of segregation in certain areas, both in the United States and in the United Kingdom. This will be followed by an analysis of three major perspectives in the theory of segregation.

Ethnic minorities have not participated in significant numbers in the rapid post-war suburbanisation of population. For example, in the United States in 1970, the 216 metropolitan areas had populations on average composed of 12% blacks. On average, the inner city areas were 21% black and the suburban areas 5% black (Kain and Quigley 1975, pp.56-57). Within the cities there is further segregation of the black communities in the decaying inner city areas surrounding the central business district (Kain and Quigley 1975, pp 9, 58). This has largely continued to be the case, despite the fact that, over recent years, the locations of industries and services employing unskilled labour have tended to move outwards from the city centre.

The situation in the United Kingdom follows much the same pattern, although the numbers concerned are not as great. Again, there is only slight evidence of a move to the suburbs and, as with the experience in the United States (Spain and Long, 1981) those who move tend to be in professional occupations or among the more successful small businessmen. (Nowikowski and Ward 1978). Although many members of ethnic minority groups are owner occupiers (particularly Asians), the finance required for housing in the inner cities is very much less than that required for the newer houses in the suburbs. Therefore cost may be an important constraint.

There are many local authority housing estates situated on the periphery of cities, but although there has been an increase in the number of blacks in local authority provision, they tend to be concentrated in the older, inner city estates (Robinson, New Community Vol.7, also in Urban Studies Vol.17, and the Runnymede Trust, 1975).

Segregation within ethnic minority communities themselves is a further feature which has recently been the subject of study. In Britain, segregation within the Asian community along national, religious and linguistic lines is marked, and apparently exists regardless of whether the community in question is resident in public or private sector housing (Robinson, in Peach et al, 1981). Among Asians in Britain there is also a tendency to occupational segregation. This can also be a feature of the relationship between the ethnic minority community and the host community, but the division between occupational classes, especially within the Asian communities, cannot be ignored.

In general, however, ethnic minority families are low income families. This is borne out by the findings of numerous studies (e.g. the PEP Report — Smith, 1977). A more recent document is the Government Reply to the Fifth Report of the Home Affairs Committee (1980-81 Racial Disadvantage). This is a government White Paper which concludes that:

"many members of the ethnic minorities are worse off than the poorest whites. They live to a disproportionate extent in decaying urban areas, with unattractive environments and poor housing, adults experiencing higher levels of unemployment, and their children often failing at school".

(Guardian, 27/1/82)

What effect do such circumstances have on patterns of segregation?
This is the situation which must be understood and explained.

In broad terms, theories of segregation fall into three main perspectives. Spatial analysis is typified by Park and the Chicago School; Aspatial analysis, tending towards a Weberian sociological approach, and proposed by such as Rex and Moore in Britain and Kantrowitz in the United States. Finally, an economically based Marxist analysis used by Castells, Harvey and Shah.

Spatialists place most of their emphasis on the idea that spatial distribution has a significant impact on social and economic factors, and should therefore be the primary area for analysis. Those following a Weberian approach consider that the effect of social and economic conditions, race, and the existence of discrimination and prejudice are key factors in the determination of the development of spatial patterns, and thus primary study should be directed towards these factors. For Marxists, the city is to be regarded as a dynamic entity, in which spatial form and social processes are in continuous interaction. Thus, the areas for study are these relationships and the class and political conflicts which exist within these social pressures. For such thinkers, racial segregation is the result of a complex set of structural determinants which are basically economic in nature, but have superstructural aspects.

The Weberian approach see the concept of race as important, for it is through race that the black community directly experiences

discrimination. It is this experience which Marxists agree will initiate the development of a class consciousness.

Spatialist Analysis

Despite the mass of evidence to the contrary, accumulated in recent years, it is apparent that many social scientists still cling to the idea that segregation is a temporary state of affairs; that the assimilation of the minority into the majority is inevitable. The idea was initiated by such theorists as Park, Burgess and McKenzie in the 1920s and 1930s. Much of their work is based on the belief that a city is composed of concentric zones, each zone representing a different stratum of the city's function and population. Between these zones there exists an overall state of competition for land use. Burgess suggested (Janowitz, 1967 chapter 2) that within and between these zones, a series of sub-communities emerge. It was into this category that he placed the ethnic minority communities. He further mentioned that statutory political boundaries seldom follow the boundaries of the communities, and that this could lead to "deficiencies in political action" : this could be a particular threat to already disadvantaged communities.

Within this view of the structure of the city, everything is held together by some "culturally derived form of social solidarity" (Harvey, 1973. p.131) — what Park called "the moral order" (Janowitz, 1967. p.12). This moral order could only survive if minorities assimilated with the dominant culture. Thus, for the good of the city on the whole, the spatial theorists advocate the de-segregation of ethnic minorities — a process which they maintain

is inevitable in the long term anyway. Burgess expands on this with the theory that urban growth is a resultant of organisation and disorganisation. By this he means that social order is a moving equilibrium, dependant on the reciprocal relationship between organisation and disorganisation. From disorganisation stems re-organisation, which means an adjustment to maintain equilibrium. This is of particular importance to immigrant groups.

"Disorganisation as a preliminary to re-organisation of attitudes and conduct, is almost invariably the lot of the newcomer to the city. The discarding of the habitual and often of what has been to him 'the moral', is not infrequently accompanied by sharp mental conflict and a sense of personal loss"

(Janowitz 1967, p.54)

There are many criticisms which are now made of the spatialist approach, but most acknowledge a debt to Park and others for being the first to link the idea of physical space with social organisation.

Race Relations Theory

Rex and Moore (1967) suggest that spatial theorists cannot argue that the situation must be seen in terms of overall competition for land use, if at the same time they believe that each zone is relatively self-sufficient, and comprises an internally integrated sub-community. Rex and Moore, therefore, introduce the idea of classes into these communities, which vary in terms of possession of property and need of communal support. Immigrant communities, they maintain, occupy a unique position, in that theirs is a

transitional situation, and -

"the communal institutions which are evolved should be regarded as a means of fighting discrimination and providing temporary security until some kind of outward move can be made"

(Rex and Moore, 1967. p.9)

Rex describes this situation as "defensive confrontation" (Rex, 1970).

Those immigrants inhabiting this zone of transition share certain facilities, but the extent to which they constitute a community depends on a variety of factors. These include the strength of their links with their country of origin; the extent of discrimination which is encountered; and the degree of anomie experienced. There will, however, be for most in the zone of transition, some form of sub-community in which they feel socially and culturally at home. As a result of this, the set of social relations which these groups experience, will be different from those experienced by the majority of the population in the host society.

Within such communities, Rex and Moore point to the importance of the role of local associations in the control of conflict; both between groups within the zone of transition and between groups from different zones. Such associations can help to establish an identity and serve to ritualise aggressive and defensive feelings (Rex and Moore, 1967).

Rex (1981), Kantrowitz (1981) and others continue to challenge the conventional views of the spatialists with their assertions that de-segregation and assimilation of ethnic minority

communities is neither inevitable nor desirable. Rex disputes the idea that the integration of communities will be achieved by the wide dispersal of the members of ethnic minority groups within the housing system of the host society, following policies advocating 'a good racial mix'. Rather he maintains that ethnic minority groups can only become part of the host society and achieve equality of treatment, if they experience feelings of social and political security. Rex's analysis gives the welfare state a prominent role in this process, as it is only by the expansion of welfare facilities that ethnic minority communities can possibly achieve equality of opportunity.

As a result of past discrimination on the part of local authorities and others, albeit as a result of a lack of understanding and awareness, the immediate hope for some balance of treatment, according to Rex, lies not in policies of dispersal but in the recognition of the existence of groups with particular requirements. This can best be achieved when these groups remain close-knit and readily identifiable. This highlights the centrality of the concept of race to Rex's analysis.

The problems of ethnic minorities do not result only from their location in decaying city centre areas (in that case surely their problems could be identified with those of all the inner-city poor). Rather, they result also (to a large extent) from discrimination — institutionalised or otherwise — and it is the effects of discrimination which locates them in the inner-cities, (Rex 1981).

From experience of the situation in the United States, Kantrowitz agrees that policies of assimilation and de-segregation should not remain unquestioned (Kantrowitz, 1981). He brings substantial evidence to show that these processes do not occur inevitably over time as maintained by members of the Chicago School and more recent spatialist theorists (e.g. Taeuber and Taeuber, 1964). Not only do blacks clearly resist de-segregation from defined areas of the inner cities, but according to Kantrowitz, there is evidence to support the idea that white European ethnic segregation is no temporary phenomenon either: (Jackson 1981 for New York; Hershberg et al 1979 for Philadelphia; Darroch and Marston 1971 for Toronto). These support the contention that there is evidence of the persistence of ethnic residential concentration. As to whether these forms of ethnic concentration are also forms of segregation, there is as yet little evidence. It must also be considered that residential segregation may not be the only form of segregation being experienced by ethnic minority communities.

In Britain, surveys such as that reported in Smith (1977) and Rimmer (1972) show that occupational, educational and social segregation are also important phenomena. Here again, there is little evidence of a trend towards de-segregation. Such evidence seems to indicate that spatial segregation should be seen as part of a wider pattern of structural segregation, which can be further complicated by discriminatory practices.

In general, Kantrowitz, Jackson (1981) and others above assert that de-segregation is not taking place in the manner originally

predicted in U.S. society, i.e. assimilation is not an inevitable occurrence. In fact, Jackson's study of Puerto-Ricans in New York (1981) actually shows a slight increase in patterns of segregation. The conclusion reached by such contributors is that, although segregation continues to exist, this need not necessarily be undesirable for the ethnic groups, as long as equivalent standards and opportunities are provided for all groups within society. It is here that the argument appears to become problematic, for it will be argued that the structural aspects of segregation prevent such equality.

Rex would appear to agree with the latter point. From his studies in Britain, e.g. Birmingham, Sparkbrook (1967) he goes further than Kantrowitz and others, by stressing the political and economic advantages to be gained by ethnic minority groups if a segregated position is maintained. This, however, is seen as an initially unexpected advantage emerging from what began as a negative experience for ethnic minority groups. Rex and Moore (1967) explain the development of patterns of segregation in terms of the key variables of race and patterns of discrimination. They also emphasise the role of competition and the operation of the market. In other words, ethnic minority groups are at present in competition with the host community for resources such as housing. This most frequently operates to the detriment of ethnic minority groups (Deakin and Ungerson in Donnison and Eversley, 1973). Deakin and Ungerson go further and state that

"the restrictions placed on black households by the operation of the housing market, are compounded by the additional restrictions on the type of employment available and levels of pay" (p. 225)

Despite the fact that the law has some control over competition for housing resources, by its very nature, a capitalist economy allows a significant degree of market freedom. This can permit groups of buyers and groups of sellers to unite and wield a form of monopolistic power. Most particularly in the case of ethnic minority groups, the existence of legal rights does not necessarily mean the possession of equal rights. In an attempt to compensate for this situation, ethnic minorities have sometimes developed alternative strategies which reinforce segregation. One such economic strategy involves housing finance. Owner-occupancy (for reasons which will be expanded on in Section II) is often the most viable option for ethnic minority groups. However, funding from traditional sources (building societies, etc), is often not available for the older inner-city property which these groups initially seek to buy. Thus there is a tendency among Asians to turn to alternative sources of finance, often provided from within the ethnic minority community itself. This often has the effect of emphasising the existing patterns of housing segregation. Other factors include the availability of cultural and religious facilities, and the feelings of 'community', which are of particular importance to immigrant groups.

Similarly, experiences of racialism and discrimination can lead to a desire to seek communal security. Thus, ethnic enclaves can perhaps be seen to be formed by both external and internal forces.

The Marxist Approach

The approach of Rex and others (e.g. Moore, Miles, Phizacklea) offers many useful insights into the problems of segregation: a further alternative, however, is offered by Marxist theorists. Castells (1977); Harvey (1973); and Shah (1979) are among the contributors to the debate who employ a Marxist perspective. They attempt to examine the overall structure of society in a search for an explanation of patterns of segregation.

Although they attach some significance to urban land use theory, a major criticism which they make of spatialist theory is the fact that they all but ignore the effects of 'social solidarity'. Social solidarity is seen as a series of social and economic relationships which affect the interaction of the ethnic minority communities with the rest of the society. These relationships have their origin in the economic system.

The concept of constant interaction is an important one in Marxist thought. Harvey (1973) describes the city as a complex dynamic system, in which spatial form and social processes are in continuous interaction. This approach incorporates some of the more important aspects of spatialist and aspatialist theory, but it takes the analysis further than simply an understanding of the systems which operate in the city. In conjunction with an examination of the independent features of social process and spatial form, a Marxist approach considers the relationships which exist within and between these features. It is of particular importance to recognise that these relationships are often

manifested in urban crisis and conflict. It must also be remembered that these relationships are never static.

Another aspect fundamental to this analysis is an understanding of the historical processes which have shaped society and, in this case, the city. Harvey proposes that modern urbanism is based on a global form of economic imperialism. From this point of view, the position of ethnic minorities in Britain today is seen as having evolved as a result of Britain's colonial past; supply of and demand for labour are two aspects of one situation. Harvey considers demand, Sivanandan examines the question of supply.

Sivanandan (1976) argues that immigration and the growth of black communities in Britain was a result of the economic demands of the British capitalist economy. The post-war demand for labour created peculiarly British patterns of immigration. In addition, the nature of the work available to immigrants was determined by the particular level of economic growth and the uniquely British colonial legacy. Unlike France or Switzerland, where the only interest was the economic exploitation of migrant labour, Britain's attitude to immigrant workers reflected a different colonial tradition. Britain had controlled the administration of the colonies, but had made use of sections of the black population in commerce and in the control of labour. Thus citizens of the British colonies had rights of abode in the U.K. that citizens of other colonies (e.g. those of Spain and Portugal) were not given. As Sivanandan has pointed out, this has led to a situation in Britain where blacks experience a peculiar form of 'domestic neo-colonialism' (1976).

Sivanandan further argues that this situation creates a split between the indigenous working class and the ethnic minority community. The profit from immigrant labour had only benefited certain sections of society, but the infrastructural cost of immigrant labour had been borne by the whole society, and especially by those in greatest need. This was because the poorer sections of society were forced to compete with the ethnic minority groups from the same resources. Thus, racist attitudes were fuelled, and ethnic minority groups came to be seen as the cause of deprivation.

In a wider Marxist analysis, Shah (1979) proposes that segregation reflects economic, political and ideological relationships. The need to re-establish the rate of surplus value required access to a labour force outwith the native labour force. Much of the black immigrant labour force fulfilled this need, although a large percentage were also employed in the public service sector. This conferred on ethnic minority groups the position of a 'class fraction'. That is, they did not form a separate class from the indigenous working class, but they were often perceived as having different or conflicting interests.

For Shah, therefore, segregation is not a problem to be explained, but is itself an explanation of the interactions and determinations of the economic, political and ideological structures. At the same time Shah appears to agree with Harvey's contention that the market exchange mechanism is the primary determinant of value in society, and it is only when this is recognised that problems of enforced

segregation can be dealt with constructively.

Castells' rejection of spatialist theory (1977) throws some light on the way in which this mechanism works, and its significance for the segregated nature of ethnic minority communities. He asserts that although housing type and housing conditions are socially significant, this is not because of the affect of the use of space, but of the way in which housing is distributed according to social class positions. The groupings which emerge within different classes of housing distribution can then be considered at least partly in terms of a system of cultural identification. This identification appears to affect and define the behaviour of a minority group:

"Although spatial forms may accentuate or deflect certain systems of behaviour through the interaction of the social elements which constitute them : they have no independant effect, and consequently there is no systematic link between different urban contexts and ways of life"

(Castells, 1977. p.108)

The defining characteristic of individual positions within the urban system, is a function of the class to which the individual belongs. Ethnic minority communities and other urban sub-cultures should, therefore, have their position defined with reference to the class position of their members, class position being dependant on the economic substructure of society and the market mechanism.

What of the role of the social and political relationships,

however, which exist throughout the urban system, and what part do these play in patterns of segregation?

There are many non-economic criteria (such as status and education) which are used by groups within society, as methods of social differentiation. Such factors have an effect on the way in which individuals regard themselves; which group(s) they identify with; how they view the social system; how they perceive conflicts between groups within that system; and how they resolve these conflicts. So for Marxists, class is clearly a key aspect of urban analysis.

Although Weberians accept the ideas of class and consequent class conflict as important phenomena within the structure of the city, there is a differentiation between the nature of such a struggle in the workplace, the city and in other spheres. In the Marxian perspective these struggles are only different aspects of the same process and cannot be considered in isolation. The common class interests stemming from the relationships to the means of production, are only at times obscured by the operation of the market mechanism and other social and ideological features of society. It is these that produce the conflicts between groups with the same class interests (in this case between groups of different races) which are emphasised in Weberian analysis. The same argument applies to the assertion made by Rex that those in the zone of Transition* have yet different interests again from

* The zone of transition is defined by Rex and Moore (1967, p.284) as an area including lodging houses and other sorts of accommodation, housing a mixed population of varying degrees of permanence and conflicting interests.

other disadvantaged minority communities and the majority of the labour force in the city. Rex further argues that the associations formed within the ethnic minority communities can serve to ritualise aggressive and defensive sentiments, and so dissipate class conflict. However, the provision of such a 'safety valve' does not solve the underlying problems.

The pressure to avoid overt conflict means that the question of choice (i.e. the apparent preference for a segregated life-style on the part of ethnic minority groups) is a problem for both of these perspectives. Discrimination does, however, seem to be a vital factor. It is the existence of discrimination in a variety of areas of social life which makes the 'choice' of support and solidarity (to a large extent) determined. For such reasons, Harvey and Castells also consider the arguments in support of the territorial organisation of ethnic minority groups. Harvey maintains that an 'appropriate' (i.e. appropriate for both the ethnic and indigenous working classes) method of political and social organisations could do a great deal to minimise conflict between groups with the same interests. The question of what could constitute such appropriate organisation is one which remains to be solved.

For many, including such different writers as Harvey and Rex, the segregation of ethnic minorities and the inequality of opportunity which they experience, exists primarily as a result of the functioning of a capitalist society.

It is possible, following Rex's argument, that residential

segregation may result in an increase of political power for ethnic minority groups. The larger and more visible the community, the louder is its potential voice. Such pressure may affect short term improvements, but there is a danger in this: the same danger that accompanies policies of positive discrimination. That is, that this limited form of power could maintain the equilibrium of the existing system for longer by alleviating the worst excesses but doing nothing to alter the basic injustices.

In conclusion, I believe that writers adopting the perspective of Castells and Harvey, offer a more complete explanation of the workings of the urban system, and the problems of ethnic minority segregation. They show such segregation to be a primarily structural phenomena. This will, I hope, be demonstrated in the course of this work.

The next question must be the implication of such a theoretical analysis for policy. At present, dispersal (according to Deakin and Cohen, 1970) does seem to be at least the implicit aim of housing policies. In Section III such issues will be examined, concentrating on the debate surrounding proposals for positive discrimination in favour of ethnic minority communities.

SECTION II

Introduction

This Section seeks to trace the evolution of the settlement of blacks in Britain, in the period since the Second World War.

The first chapter will look at the development of immigration and race relations legislation. The main aim is to show the strong links which exist between the type of policy considered appropriate at any given time, and the economic and/or political climate prevailing.

The second chapter examines the spatial settlement patterns of black communities in Britain, and the reasons which may have determined their development. It considers the nature of the areas in which concentrations of ethnic minorities tend to emerge; the types of housing, and the types of tenure most used by these groups. A major question raised by such an examination is the degree of control which an immigrant has over his location, type of housing and type of tenure. Can there be said to be any real degree of choice, or are these factors controlled by forces operating within the white community — either at an official or an unofficial level?

The third chapter looks at the development of the Asian community in Glasgow. This will provide a background to the study of Govanhill, described in Section IV.

Section II. Chapter 1.

Immigration and Race Relations Policy
and their Effect on the Development
of the Black Communities in Britain

A history of Colonialism has had a strong influence on patterns of immigration to Britain in the post-war period, more so than in other Western European countries. The years of depression in the 1930s had led to a fall in the birthrate of Western European countries. This, combined with the number of casualties in the Second World War had created a labour shortage, which began to manifest itself in the 1950s.

In the late 1940s and 1950s, the industrial sectors of the European economies were beginning to take off again, after a period of transition from being geared up to the supply of the war machine. The demand for industrial labour grew.

Three major sources of industrial labour were available at this time: those being displaced because of increasing mechanisation on the land; married women who had not previously worked but who had begun to do so during the period of the war; and immigrant labour from the Colonies and the less developed rural economies of Italy and Turkey, etc.

Britain did not have the same recourse to agricultural workers as did such countries as France and Germany. It was therefore more dependant on the latter two sources of supply. This created a climate which encouraged the immigration of Commonwealth citizens

into Britain. Initially, the forces of the free market were left to determine the number of immigrants coming to Britain. When necessary, these were supplemented by more specific recruitment drives.

By the early 1960s, however, this situation had begun to change. Towards the end of 1955 the British economy went into a period of recession, and as the demand for labour fell, immigration from the Caribbean declined. During this period the question of immigration control was raised. Thus, when the demand for labour rose again around 1960, this factor — combined with the fear of immigration control — caused immigration from the Caribbean to rise sharply. It continued to rise throughout 1961. In the eighteen months from 1961 until mid-1962, the net arrivals from the Caribbean amounted to 98,000 people (Rose, 1969; Deakin, 1970 (p.45)).

Immigration from India and Pakistan began in the 1950s, but it differed from the immigration patterns from the Caribbean in that, until threats of control, there was a very low proportion of women in the population (Smith 1977, p.27; Deakin 1970, p.50). A substantial number of people of Asian origin also came from the African continent in 1965 and again in 1972: (this will be further explained).

Immigration legislation began with the Nationality Act of 1948 which allowed Britain the supply of unskilled labour necessary to take advantage of this post-war boom. As needs changed, however,

the passing of the first Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1962 radically changed the existing patterns of immigration. The expectation of this control had led to a dramatic increase in the immigration of women and children, most particularly within the Indian and Pakistan communities. Thus, for the first time, the extent of immigration was contrary to the economic indicators; although it should be recognised that this increase in numbers did include a large percentage who were not economically active. The introduction of control and political agitation gave rise to a distorted pattern of immigration. It apparently induced many people to migrate at an economically difficult time: people who might possibly otherwise not have migrated at all.

Although the 1962 Act allowed for the admission of dependants, those coming with the hope of working were severely controlled by the introduction of a voucher system. Vouchers, A B or C were issued according to the skills which the potential immigrant possessed. Thus Commonwealth immigrants lost immediate rights of entry to Britain, and were only accepted when required by the economy. By 1964 permits for unskilled workers (C Vouchers) were virtually non-existent. The following year the numbers of A & B vouchers were reduced. The situation therefore became one in which only the most skilled workers were 'creamed off' from the Commonwealth.

The dilemma facing Government in this period seemed to be one of conflict between the political and the economic arguments. The demand for unskilled labour was declining, but there was still

a need for immigrant labour in many sectors of the economy where the pay and conditions did not easily attract members of the indigenous labour force. At the same time, the political arguments which had begun to develop against the growing concentrations of blacks, were beginning to gather momentum. The black population of Britain was increasingly viewed as a threat to jobs, housing, services, law and order. All the arguments are with us in greater force today.

Therefore, how could government be seen to be taking steps to control black immigration, and yet retain the potential of reserve stocks of labour? According to Sivanandan (Race and Class, 1978) the aim appeared to be to move gradually towards the European model of contract labour — without forgoing the Commonwealth relationship. In other words, labour would be imported exactly as and when it was needed, with no need to retain reserve stocks in Britain. Sivanandan maintains that this is exactly the effect of the 1971 Immigration Act.

The process was, however, a gradual one. The 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act increased the difficulties for dependants by stricter application of the existing rules. It also granted powers to impose more health checks. In 1969 more restrictive practices and legislation were instituted under the guise of an Appeals Act, ostensibly to make the entry voucher system more 'efficient and humane'. This made it obligatory to obtain an entry certificate before leaving for Britain: however, appeals

against the refusal of such a certificate were still held in the United Kingdom. No legal aid was available for the appeals procedure.

Generally, for both West Indians and Asians, complete families have been less likely to consider return than have single males or single females. Thus the paradox of the Commonwealth Immigration Acts has been that by closing the door to new entries, they have given an impetus to the permanent settlement of immigrants and their families : hence new and lasting housing needs had to be met. The 1971 Commonwealth Immigration Act has remained one of the most contentious pieces of legislation of all. It was intended to establish a new, unified system of entry control, with regard to 'aliens' as well as Commonwealth citizens. Instead, not only did it not abolish the old distinction between subjects and aliens, it also added a new distinction between 'patrials' and 'non-patrials' (Smith 1977, pp.25-26). The 1971 Act defines patrials as United Kingdom passport holders, who have at least one parent or grandparent born in Britain. As a result, the vast majority of patrials are white, and the vast majority of non-patrials are not. Patrials were given significantly greater chances of entry to Britain and, unlike non-patrials, had the right to bring their families with them. It is hard to see how legislation of this nature can be classified as anything other than institutionalised racism. The fact that the Labour Party promised a repeal of this legislation and then, when in power, neglected to do anything about it, has disillusioned many blacks

with the Labour Movement in Britain. The divisions which this has created have perhaps done as much damage to race relations in Britain as the legislation itself.

The 1971 Act preserved the right of entry for dependants and students, but such apparent rights were being steadily eroded in practice. Recent research by the United Kingdom Immigrants Advisory Service (UKIAS) bears this out: (Guardian, 9th March 1982). In a study (1981/82) of the cases of 45 Bangladeshis who had been refused entry certificates, it was found that 31 had been illegally refused on the grounds that the evidence that they had presented had been false. This allegation of fraud was found to be untrue. On the 16th February 1982, it was reported in the Guardian that evidence presented to the House of Commons Home Affairs Race Relations Committee by the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, showed that the waiting time for entry certificates for Indians could now be as much as six years.

The most recent attempt at legislation, the British Nationality Act, became law in 1981, but is not expected to come into effect until the beginning of 1983.

One of the reasons that this piece of legislation was initiated was the imminence of the end of the British lease on Hong Kong and the New Territories in 1990 : it will prevent many taking up their rights as British citizens to reside here. It will create five different types of British Nationality, and those classified as

British Overseas citizens will have no right of abode. Three of the new classifications of nationality will not include any right to pass it on to children, and could have the effect of making many children stateless. The new Act continues the idea of patriality, which in effect created first-class and second-class citizenship. In other words, the 'appropriateness' (most frequently, the colour) of a person's parents or grandparents decides whether or not they are entitled to the full rights of British citizenship. The legislation also provides for a further increase in the powers of the Home Secretary, in exercising his discretion to grant or refuse citizenship, for there will no longer be any right of appeal against refusal of naturalization.

Two of the new categories, Citizenship of British Dependant Territories and British Overseas Citizenship, in fact allows the Commonwealth citizen fewer rights than if he had been a foreign national, but a member of an EEC country. The Economist (2-8 August 1980) states that the proposals (which became the Act) "are intended quite bluntly to marry citizenship to the exigencies of British Immigration Control".

As with previous legislation, the British Nationality Act is a response to economic and political conditions. The present government must be seen to be taking steps to control immigration. A leaflet published by Strathclyde Community Relations Council and the Scottish Council for Racial Equality, 1981, states that

"the proposed measures come not from any urgent need to rationalise the nationality laws....but from political promises made to racist lobbies"

It should be stressed that as a result of the idea of patriality, immigration legislation since 1971 has had very little effect on whites, with large numbers of Australians, Canadians, etc. still free to come and take up rights of abode in Britain. It is this most basic of inequalities which gives credence to the existence of institutionalised racism in British Society.

The history of the development of race relations legislation in Britain shows rather different forces at work. The creation of a multi-cultural society has been the aim of liberal and left-wing groups: the impact of this can be seen in the majority of race relations legislation.

Jones (1979, pp.156-7, pp.177-83) points to the development of two types of strategy used in the attempt to improve race relations. The first is based on a desire to 'assist the colonial brethren'; in other words, a 'mother-country maternalism'. The second is based on a desire to promote equal status for blacks. This demands a political approach, rather than a morass of well-intentioned schemes at a very local level.

These two different types of approach also differed in terms of their time of peak appeal. The first initiative in 1962 was the non-statutory establishment of the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council (CIAC). The purpose of this body

was to advise the Home Secretary when requested on welfare matters affecting immigrants. In 1964, on the advice of the CIAC, the first National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants (NCCI) was formed. Its function was to support an advisory officer who had been appointed to co-ordinate and direct the efforts of statutory and voluntary bodies at a national level.

In 1965 a reformulated NCCI took over the responsibilities of both the CIAC and the NCCI. In 1968 this new body became the Community Relations Commission (CRC).

The role of the CRC was to encourage harmonious community relations, to co-ordinate nationally, and to advise the Home Secretary and make recommendations to him where they felt it to be appropriate.

From this description it does begin to seem that by the late 1960s there had been a move away from a naive form of humanitarianism to a recognition of the need for political change. The race relations legislation which ensued however, had, and still has, a long way to go. The fact that the chair-persons of all of these bodies were white seems to confirm the paternalistic nature of much of the legislation.

The 1965 Race Relations Act was relatively ineffectual, though it did establish the Race Relations Board, under the chairmanship of Mark Bonham-Carter. The purpose of the Board was to investigate complaints of discrimination.

The experience of the Race Relations Board, combined with the findings of the PEP* Report of 1967 on Racial Discrimination, led to a series of stronger measures in the Race Relations Act of 1968.

This outlawed discrimination in employment, housing, publications and the provision of goods and services. The Race Relations Board was extended in size and scope, and was now able to initiate investigations, rather than being solely dependant on receiving complaints.

Perhaps the most important piece of legislation has been the Race Relations Act of 1976. This combined the CRC and the Race Relations Board to form the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), one of the reasons being to facilitate a legal response to areas and cases of discrimination.

The reality has, however, been different. Since 1976 in Scotland, there have been 35 enquiries about assistance for victims of discrimination made under the Race Relations Act. Of these, help has been given in only three cases. To quote D. Sharma, an officer with the Commission for Racial Equality (Strathclyde CRC AGM., 1981) -

* Political and Economic Planning (PEP) is an independent research institute, applying the techniques of social science to matters of current practical importance. It is a charity governed by an executive committee of voluntary members and supported by donations and grants, enabling it to undertake large scale projects.

"It would appear that politically liberal legislation is being interpreted more and more conservatively by the courts"

A further cause for concern is the fact that under Section 70 of the Act, CRE is not empowered to pursue cases of incitement to racial hatred: such cases must always be brought by the Home Office. Section 71 of the Act allows CRE to promote equality, but provides no powers for the enforcement of this aim.

The Race Relation Act, 1976, also gave rise to a Select Committee Report, which recommended refinements to the further control of primary immigration. The recent publicity surrounding the virginity tests being conducted on entering female fiancées, illustrated the nature of the measures which are now being taken in the area of immigration control.

Thus it would seem that even liberally initiated legislation can be used to the detriment of the black community in Britain.

Lord Scarman (1981) states that institutionalised racism does not exist in Britain, although he does recognise that racial disadvantage and discrimination have not yet been eliminated. The inequalities which appear in almost all legislation in this area would seem to belie this statement.

The Home Office Report (Ethnic Minorities in Britain : 1981) points out that successive governments have done little to end discrimination in the past 20 years. This is manifestly true

in the area of housing (Smith 1977, pp.210-291).

An All-Party Group of MPs (the Commons Home Affairs Select Committee 5th Report, August 1981) have criticised the government for doing so little in 1981 to create policies which will tackle racialism and descrimination. They point to the fact that only 15 civil servants are employed by the Home Office to cover the combined issues of race, refugees and women, and the inequalities which these groups experience. They describe this situation as 'ludicrous'.

Such is the lack of faith of ethnic minority organisations in the legislation which exists, that very little use is now made of it. Either legislation is seen as overtly racist, as with the 1971 Immigration Act and the 1981 Nationality Act (see such journals as Race and Class and Race Today); or it is considered that it is subject to interpretation in a racist manner. The situation is further exacerbated when the representatives of the institutes of government, who have direct contact with the ethnic minorities (most especially the police), are considered with at least some justification (Scarman, 1981; Taylor and Dromey, 1979) to hold racist beliefs and to operate discriminatory practices.

SECTION II. Chapter 2.

The Development of Ethnic
Minority Communities at a
National Level

The effect of legislation on the control of patterns of immigration has been examined. I will now turn to the reasons which prompted the immigration of blacks to Britain, and the patterns of settlement which emerged. This must involve looking at the nature of the areas from which the immigrants came, and the location and growth of black communities in Britain. Further issues for consideration are the types of housing and types of tenure used by these groups, and some of the specific housing problems facing blacks in Britain. The emphasis will be on the Asian rather than the West Indian communities.

It is generally acknowledged that migration from the New Commonwealth to Britain was initiated by a variety of 'push and pull' factors. According to Anwar (1979, p.17) the factors affecting the decision to migrate can be one or more of four types:

- i) Those associated with the area of origin.
- ii) Those associated with the area of destination.
- iii) Intervening obstacles.
- iv) Personal factors.

This is a useful way of looking at the issue, if only because it demonstrates how complex the situation may be. In each case a variety of inter-related factors will be involved, which makes

generalisation difficult.

Nevertheless, certain themes do begin to emerge, particularly when the various groups are considered in class terms. Specific economic, political and social factors appear with regularity as the class position of black immigrants in Britain is examined. As was pointed out in Chapter 1, economic factors play a crucial part in determining patterns of migration. For example, the need which Britain had to augment the lower end of its labour market, combined with the under-developed nature of the economies in the countries of origin.

For the most part, immigrants come to Britain in the hope of employment and a better standard of living (although the case of the East African Asians was different). Some came intending to make a home here; but particularly among Asians, many came with the intention of earning enough to finance a better standard of living for themselves and their families in their country of origin.

Therefore, according to Smith (1977, p.24) and most other writers on the subject, the main reason for migration was the distinct difference between the economic prosperity of Britain, and that of the countries which had experienced colonialism: for as pointed out by the 1967 PEP Report (Daniel, 1968), 59% of the Pakistanis in Britain were unemployed before coming here —whereas only 5% of those who came were unemployed here. (The figure of 5% was, however, still twice the national average of the time).

A second major reason for immigration beginning on a larger scale from the early 1950s was the result of the partition of India in 1947. The creation of the Muslim State of Pakistan, and the splitting of the lands of the Punjab, left many people without the means of livelihood. This led many to seek a new life in Britain.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, more people (about 100,000) were displaced when the Mangla Dam Scheme (initiated to provide electricity and improve irrigation in the Punjab) claimed vast areas of land.

In addition to such reasons, immigration was given a further boost in the late 1950s, as a direct result of the temporary boom in the British economy. This created a shortage of labour, particularly in the unskilled manual sector. In an attempt to resolve this shortage, the British Government and other agencies encouraged the recruitment of black labour from the New Commonwealth. Enoch Powell, when Minister of Health, recruited nursing and ancillary staff for the National Health Service, a point which he seemed to forget when making inflammatory speeches about the plight of Kenyan Asians in 1967/68. The fact that direct recruitment was an important stimulus in the earlier stages of migration is shown by the figures given by Smith (1977, pp. 24-25).^{*} The PEP Survey had found that 12% of West

Indians, 9% of Indians, 7% of Pakistanis and 2% of African-Asians had a job waiting for them in Britain. ^{*}(See footnote on following page re. PEP Survey)

Thus, economic reasons have been the strongest considerations, whether as 'push' or 'pull' factors, when migration is being considered. Anwar (1979, p.21) in his Study of Pakistanis in Rochdale discovered that only a few of the professionals (doctors, etc) interviewed, gave other than economic explanations as the main reason for a move to Britain. Although economic reasons seem to be the basis for most moves, however, there is still a fundamental difference in terms of class. Those who came because it was necessary for the economic survival of their family, cannot be directly equated with those who came in an entrepreneurial spirit, to expand already successful businesses.

The timescale of migration has varied with the country of origin. Although the first immigrants of West Indian and South Asian origin began to settle in Britain just after the Second World War, the West Indians were the first to arrive in substantial numbers in the 1950s, 61% of West Indians entering Britain since 1945 had arrived before 1962, although a high percentage of these arrived in the eighteen months before the implementation of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act (Smith 1977, p.27).

According to the same PEP Survey*, only 27% of Asians had arrived

* The PEP Survey, quoted as 'Smith 1977' was carried out in 1973/74. It concerns that section of the population who are of Indian, Pakistan, Bangladesh, African Asian, and West Indian origin. The Survey covered only England & Wales, as the Asian and West Indian population in Scotland was seen as negligible. The groups which are excluded from the Survey, e.g. the Hong Kong Chinese and Malaysians, are estimated to form 11% of all members of racial minority groups in the United Kingdom.

before the 1962 Act was in force. Although many single men had arrived prior to this date, few Asians had considered the possibility of a more permanent settlement in Britain, and had not therefore brought their wives or families. The period between 1962 and 1968 was more important for the immigration of Indians and Pakistanis. This was not only because more families joined menfolk already here, but also because of the fact that as a result of stricter controls, the levels of qualifications demanded were higher. Thus the average level of qualification of those who migrated in this period was substantially higher than that of the group who had migrated prior to 1962.

At the end of this period, 1967/68, East African Asians from Kenya began to arrive in Britain. These people had been unprepared to relinquish British citizenship; therefore had to leave Kenya and decided to settle in Britain. It was this period which saw some of the greatest outcry by sections of the white population against the 'influx' of black immigrants.

This was followed by the arrival of the Ugandan Asians, expelled by Amin in 1971/72. Again there was an outcry of right wing British opinion. This led to political pressure to counteract the perceived threats of immigration. Such was its strength at about this time that the government was encouraged to increase restrictions in the 1971 Commonwealth Immigration Act.

Perhaps one of the reasons for this increase in pressure was the fact that many of the East African Asians did not appear to provide

a further reserve of unskilled manual labour. Many had owned small businesses in Kenya and Uganda and had formed a part of the *petite bourgeoisie* of these societies.

The most recent migrants to Britain have been Chileans and Vietnamese. The Chileans from 1975 and the Vietnamese from 1980. The numbers involved and the reasons for their arrival do not, however, make their positions equatable with those of the West Indians and Asians.

Much of the white racist support is built on the perpetration of the idea that blacks will soon swamp the Country. For example, in a recent statement Harvey Proctor, MP. claims that certain cities will be more than one third black within a generation (Guardian 15/1/82). This is belied by a Runnymede Trust Report — Britain's Black Population (1982.), which estimates that the black population of Britain will reach 3.3 million by the year 2000, and will afterwards stabilise at around 6% of the total population. The populations of the conurbations and indeed of some of the cities in which blacks tend to be concentrated, are in excess of 3 million, therefore the figure of one third does not seem to make very much sense. The statistical evidence presented by Smith (1977 p.20); Deakin (1970 p.58); and many others, shows how far this is from being the case. The 1971 Census shows 1.3 million non-whites originating from the New Commonwealth, resident in Britain. This figure was then 2.5% of the total population. The PEP estimate of 1974 figures is 1.6 million, a figure which would be 2.9% of the

total population. The same Survey broke this figure down into percentages according to country of origin. Thus, of 1.6 million 43% were of West Indian origin and 57% of Asian origin. The figure of 57% of Asian origin was further broken down to show 26% of Indian origin; 16% of Pakistani or Bangladeshi origin; and 15% of African Asian origin. It is therefore obvious that blacks are very far from becoming a majority in British society.

Since 1974, control of primary immigration has been so tight that the increase in these figures will have been small. Most of those who have entered since that date will have been dependants of those already here.

Despite the inaccuracy of numbers, racist propaganda does manage to sustain some credibility because of the visible concentrations of blacks which have grown up, mainly around the inner-cities. These concentrations tend to form in areas where demand for low cost housing and rates of unemployment are already high. This is perceived as a threat by the indigenous population. The larger size of many black families is seen as a further cause for worry, as it again increases the fear of being 'swamped'.

Before proceeding to examine the location and growth of these settlements, it may be useful to look into a little more detail of the demographic structure of the black population in Britain.

The greatest percentage of early migrants were male and young

adults; although considerable numbers of young women did come from the West Indies. It is only in the period since the Commonwealth Immigration Acts of 1962 and 1968 that this imbalance has begun to change. (Deakin 1970, pp.63-66). As a result of this tendency to migration in early adulthood, the majority of the adult population is concentrated within the age range of 25-59. The age structure has had a significant effect on patterns of family life — particularly in the case of Asians who, in their countries of origin, often maintain an extended family structure. The absence of grand-parents, who in India and Pakistan play an important role, weakens the traditional social structure.

A second demographic factor is the birth rate among immigrants. The average number of children in black households is larger than that in white households. The figures based on the 1971 Census are 2.86 as compared with 1.93. There are, however, a variety of influencing factors. Firstly, the age/sex structure of the black population shows that a higher proportion of females are of child-bearing age. Secondly, the definition of a household for many immigrant groups is very different from the definition of a household when applied to the majority of the white population. The extended family structure and general problems of finding accommodation lead to a household often comprising several families and numerous single people. This again is most particularly the case with Asian families. A final factor is that for reasons of differences in education and cultural

influences, modern methods of birth control have only recently begun to be accepted by black women; again, especially Asians. Between 1969 and 1974 there was evidence in the statistics of the Registrar General that the birth rate among Asians and West Indians had begun to decline. The number of births to the black population in Britain fell from 46,000 to 39,000 per annum between 1971 and 1975 (see M.Wilson 1977, p.25). One further point which should be made at this stage is that the majority of black children in Britain are not immigrants. The 1971 Census figures given below illustrate this, and obviously the figures for 1981 will be even greater.

(Smith 1977, p.33) Fig.II : ii

1971 Census	95% black children	< 4 born in the UK.		
" "	83% " "	5-9	" "	" "
" "	51% " "	10-14	" "	" "

A final aspect of the demographic structure, which will now be considered in detail, looks at the regions of Britain in which the black communities have settled. As mentioned, it would appear to be in part the very fact that they do tend to concentrate in certain areas which leads to widespread exaggeration of the actual numbers of blacks in Britain. Large concentrations are noticed, and the large areas where blacks are very uncommon are ignored. A full description of the geographical distribution is complex and can be based on many levels, e.g. regions, conurbations, towns or parts of

towns. The figures given below compare the regional distribution of Asians and West Indians with that of the whole population. The figures are based on 1971 Census data (Smith 1977, p.36) and are for England and Wales only.

Fig.II : iii

Regional Distribution of Black Minority Groups

	All Adults (age 15+)	West Indians	Asians
	%	%	%
South East	36	66	40
East Midlands	7	6	6
West Midlands	10	17	27
North West	14	4	9
Yorks and Humber	10	4	15
Rest of England and Wales	23	3	3

The figures show a high concentration of West Indians in the South-east and the West Midlands. The numbers of Asians resident in the South-east were not much greater than for the population as a whole, but a very heavy concentration is shown in the West Midlands.

Within in each region, the black minority groups tend to be concentrated in areas of conurbation, and within each conurbation, they tend to be located in specific towns or local authority areas. The figures given in Fig II : (iv) show national, regional and intra urban concentrations of people of New Commonwealth origin at enumeration district level. Column 1. shows for each of the places mentioned the number of enumeration districts in that area that come within the 5% of enumeration districts in Great Britain with the greatest number of residents of New Commonwealth origin.

At first sight the figures for London appear to be extremely high, but when considered in relation to the number of enumeration districts in the area, the concentration in the West Midlands comes a close second.

The concentrations on Clydeside are low, but it has too often been national policy to ignore the black people of Scotland on these grounds. The relatively small numbers do not necessarily prevent the existence of many of the same problems.

See Table on following page. (II : iv)

With smaller scale studies (e.g. CRC, May 1977) it became obvious that within these local authority areas the black minority groups tended to be concentrated in even smaller areas, usually surrounding the city centres and usually in older, pre-First World War housing stock. Within such areas concentrations within specific streets were also obvious. Studies which have been done since the 1971 Census (e.g. Webner 1979; Dhanjal 1977/78; Lomas 1977/78; Karn 1977/78; etc) show little change in this situation; and though others (Nowikowski and Ward 1978/79; Robinson 1979 and 1981) provide some evidence of moves to public sector housing and suburbia, the evidence for continuing segregation is at present overwhelming. The official response to this, i.e. policies of dispersal, is discussed elsewhere.

The development of patterns of concentration was explored in the CRC attitude study (Housing Choice and Ethnic Concentration, 1977). From the pattern of early residence reported here,

Fig. II : iv.

National Regional and Intra Urban Concentrations of
New Commonwealth Origin at Enumeration District Level

% of population born in NC with 1 or 2 parents born in NC, or born in GB with 2 parents born in NC.	EDs in worst 5%		
	Cut-off value = 17.4%		
	1	2	3
	No	As % of EDs in worst 5%	As % of EDs in area
<u>Country</u>			
England	4384	99.0	5.9
Wales	4	0.1	0.1
Scotland	40	0.9	0.4
<u>Region</u>			
North	11	0.2	0.2
Yorks and Humberside	319	7.2	3.9
North West	281	6.3	2.3
East Midlands	216	4.9	4.9
West Midlands	790	17.8	10.1
East Anglia	10	0.2	0.6
South East	2714	61.3	9.1
South West	43	1.0	0.9
<u>Conurbation</u>			
London Group A	1768	39.9	23.4
London Group B	740	16.7	8.1
Tyneside	4	0.1	0.2
West Yorkshire	296	6.7	7.8
Merseyside	5	0.1	0.2
S.E. Lancashire	207	4.7	4.1
West Midlands	677	15.3	16.1
Clydeside	36	0.8	0.9

("Census Indicators of Urban Deprivation
Working Note 6")

it would seem that the basic consideration for new arrivals was to seek a house which was occupied by people from their own country : the desire to live in an area mainly populated by them was not as frequently expressed. In practice, however, it can be seen that the two conditions frequently coincide. This conforms to most previous patterns of migration in that new migrants will tend to move into areas where former countrymen live. It has also been suggested (Jowell and Shaheen, 1974) that even those who do not wish to do so, will be pushed towards these areas by patterns of discrimination.

The study found that ethnic minorities expressed both advantages and disadvantages of living in an area of concentration. A major advantage was that it often meant nearness to place of work in city centre public service industries. Further advantages included: ethnic community facilities and shops, especially for Asian groups; proximity to places of worship was also important. In general, it was felt that the need to preserve cultural identity was more likely to be met in areas of ethnic concentration. The problems with such areas of concentration were expressed in terms of the deprived nature of most of such areas; the overcrowded and inadequate facilities; and the lack of housing choice which would mean having to live beside those they would have avoided in their country of origin. In general, such conditions were felt to create social problems which could affect the preservation of cultural identity.

Despite the disadvantages, however, relatively few of those questioned were seriously considering moving, although it was

obvious that those in owner-occupation were more satisfied than those paying for privately rented accommodation. The majority of those in local authority properties were West Indians, and although reasonably satisfied, some expressed a desire to move to local authority property in an area of higher ethnic concentration, e.g. Brixton. The team working in the Lambeth area estimated that only about one in seven of all black people questioned wanted to move in an outward direction, away from the inner city.

The problem for this and other such studies is to try to assess the extent to which people's expressed desires are dependant on the opportunities which they perceive to be available. For many black people, the opportunity to move from an area of high ethnic concentration is simply not available (the reasons will be examined later). For those who do intend eventually to buy their own houses, an important consideration is finding cheap accommodation to allow a deposit to be saved. Surprisingly, in this connection, one of the reasons for moving to more dispersed areas was that they were often seen to be cheaper; i.e. in areas of high ethnic concentration, demand is high from a largely uncatered for section of the market.

Jowell and Shaheen (1974) raise two issues which they believe may lead to more problems for members of ethnic minority groups seeking houses in the future. Firstly, they consider that because of ethnic concentration, many will have been shielded from direct experience of discrimination in the housing market. If a move towards dispersal gathers momentum, then experience, perceptions and expectations of discrimination are likely to increase.

Secondly, the comparative satisfaction with housing conditions expressed in 1974 may change, as more and more blacks become aware of how poorly their conditions compare with normally accepted British standards.

Since the Census of 1971, studies have noted no major shift in the regional distribution of the ethnic minorities. Any change which has occurred has taken place at a more local level: this will be examined when the roles of the three types of tenure (owner-occupation, private rental and local authority provision) are considered. The development of the Asian communities in Scotland has not been included in this discussion, but will be looked at in some detail at the beginning of the next chapter.

Most families of Asian origin and a large percentage of those of West Indian origin have looked to owner-occupation as a solution to their housing problems. According to figures published by the Community Relations Commission in 1976 (Housing in Multi-Racial Areas, p.39), 76% of Asians and 50% of West Indians (as opposed to 54% in the population as a whole) are owner-occupiers. In the case of Asian owner-occupiers, the relationship between tenure and socio-economic groups is quite the reverse of the situation in the population as a whole. In the Asian community the likelihood of owner-occupation increases as the socio-economic grouping of the occupation of the head of the household moves from 1 to 5, i.e. Asians in the less skilled and lower paid categories are more likely to own their own home. Smith (1977/78, p.19) gives figures which highlight this relationship.

Fig.II : v.

<u>General Population</u>	77%	professional and managerial	— owner occupiers.
	20%	unskilled	— "
<u>Asian Population</u>	58%	professional and managerial	— "
	85%	unskilled	— "

As far as the presence of Asians in privately rented accommodation is concerned, Smith again found the situation to be the opposite of that for the general population; i.e. the percentage of Asians in such accommodation is higher in the non-manual sector than in the manual sector. On present information there would appear to be no significant difference between the percentages of Asians in various socio-economic groups in local authority provision.

There are many reasons why ethnic minority groups (and in particular, Asians) are represented to such a high degree in owner-occupation: there also seem to be many reasons which leave them little alternative.

Some distinction must be drawn between the middle class Asians who are better able to compete in the wider housing market for good quality suburban owner-occupation, and those Asians — for whom owner-occupation is the best way of meeting their particular housing needs at a low price. It may also be the case that the professionals feel less need of the security of owner-occupation, which is a factor very much stressed by unskilled Asians in a variety of studies (including the study of Govanhill, Section IV).

Owner-occupation in the older inner-city areas is of poor quality, not at least in terms of such factors as size and location : it is better suited to working class Asian needs than the alternatives. In particular, it is preferable to the privately rented accommodation, in which most of this group began their stay in Britain. Although such property may meet short-term needs, however, Karn (1978-79, p.49) points to some of the problems which may emerge in the longer term. The ending of policies of slum clearance and the concentration on policies of urban renewal has, in part, been responsible for the stock of cheap, old, and often deteriorated housing in areas surrounding the city centres. The problem which Karn foresees is as follows:

"The life of these properties is indefinite, being partly dependant on the success of area improvement policies. A vicious circle is thereby created because the success of area improvement policies is very dependant on the viability of owner-occupation, which accounts for more than half of the housing stock in such areas : owner-occupiers are dependant on the willingness of lending institutions to provide mortgages, and the lending institutions will only do so if they regard the properties as having a secure future, which is dependant on the success of the area improvement policy."

This may be the case, although the extent of Asian dependance on the conventional lending institutions is a matter for debate: nevertheless, the possibility that such areas could decline still further cannot be ignored.

The question of the financing of owner-occupation is an important one, and certainly the situation among ethnic minority

groups displays major differences from the situation of the population as a whole.

According to the figures published by the Community Relations Commission (Housing in Multi-Racial Areas, 1976. p.39) 39% of West Indian owner-occupiers and 33% of Asian owner-occupiers have obtained a loan from a local authority, as opposed to 13% of the population as a whole. The ethnic minority groups would therefore have been at a particular disadvantage when local authorities restricted the availability of finance. The Report goes on to point out that many members of ethnic minority groups do not conform to the demands of the building societies, either in terms of the types of property which they seek to buy, or in terms of income requirement. Unless the building societies can be encouraged to lend lower down the market, there may be a resurgence of ethnic minority use of the more expensive forms of finance provided by private loan companies, etc.

Asians do invest in the property which they have bought, but at present the majority invest most heavily in the interior amenities and decoration, rather than in the exterior of their property (Dhanjal 1977/78, p.88). Thus, although this may have some impact on the future availability of finance for housing in these areas, in most cases a more co-ordinated structural and environmental improvement scheme would be necessary before the building societies would be attracted to invest. Therefore, as Karn (1977/78) points out, although the government professes to

be concerned about the state of the inner cities, and stresses the desirability of owner-occupation, the whole emphasis of mortgage lending remains directed towards financing new suburban housing, and away from the inner cities. The plight of these areas of inner cities may become even worse if future generations of Asians decide that the cultural influences towards owner-occupation will not suit their life-style in Britain; and the small trend towards Asian application for local authority housing begins to grow.

One further factor which should be considered here is the ability of many Asian families to buy property outright, without resorting to a loan. According to the PEP Report (Smith 1977, p.225), 23% of Asians are outright owners, a figure which is the same as that for owner-occupiers in the general population. (The figure for West Indian owner-occupiers is much lower, at 4%). This type of percentage is more than borne out by the findings of the Survey of Govanhill.

As distinct from the general population, however, it is the poorest Asians who are most likely to have bought outright. Karn's more recent figures for Birmingham show a similar situation (1977-78, p.55).

The figures shown in the following table are percentages.

Fig II : vi.

Main Source of Finance	Britain & Ireland	Pakistanis/ Bangladeshis	Indians	West Indians	All
Local Authority	16	3	16	45	12
Building Society/ Insurance Company	37	3	5	24	15
Bank	10	63	41	10	39
Finance Co.	11	11	9	16	11
Vendor/Solicitor	3	1	2	-	1
Friend/Relative	-	3	5	-	2
Cash	23	15	20	-	18
No Reply	1	-	2	5	1

It is interesting that it is only in the Asian community that finance from friends or relatives features as a possibility. This would seem to reflect the cultural traditions of strong community ties in these groups. The PEP Survey also discovered that of the homes which were bought outright, nine out of ten were terraced houses, and two-thirds were built before the First World War. It was also noted that outright ownership was more common amongst those who had least command of the English language. Although some of the people had borrowed a lump sum from friends or relatives, a small percentage had brought enough money with them to Britain, and it was nevertheless apparent that a variety of informal 'pooling arrangements' (Smith 77, p.225) were in operation. For these people, there was little alternative, for they would not have been eligible for a building society or local authority loan.

Among the general population the patterns of tenure does not vary

much from region to region (with the exception of privately rented accommodation being more common in London, and Local Authority provision being more common in Scotland). For Asians (and to some extent West Indians), however, the proportion of owner-occupation is much lower in the South-east than elsewhere in the Country. At the same time, the South-east contains a higher percentage of Asian and West Indian middle class: therefore, the relatively low rates of owner-occupation in this group may explain some of the regional variation. Another factor must be that house prices are considerably greater in the South-east, so for some of the poorer families owner-occupation may not be an option.

Nowikowski and Ward (1978/79) stress the importance of differentiating between classes in the Asian community when attempting to explain types of housing tenure and finance. Within the Asian middle class they identify three groups: the professionals, businessmen and the petit bourgeois. Their study in Manchester led them to the conclusion that for the latter two groups, ties with the wider ethnic community remain very strong, even where the families themselves have moved to the suburbs. For these groups, ethnic identification is important both culturally and for business, thus — although they have themselves dispersed — the existence of areas of ethnic concentration remain very important. Although there is some evidence of dispersal along class lines, for the present, ethnic identification remains strong.

There remain large numbers of Asians in privately rented accommodation, especially in the South-east. All research shows

this is considered to be the least satisfactory alternative, and the CRC attitude study (1977) makes it clear that this is the group who most desire to move, not necessarily away from areas of ethnic concentration, but away from that type of tenure.

The position of Asians in the local authority sector is not yet very clear. The cultural influences towards owner-occupation remain important, most particularly amongst Pakistanis : there is, however, some evidence to show that moves into local authority provision are on the increase. Robinson points to the pioneer role of the East African Asians in the shift of Asians towards council housing (Robinson 1980 'Urban Studies'). The move was aided by a general desire for better standards, but also by economic motives. By this time (early 1970s) there was less question of eventual return (Anwar 1979) and therefore there was less need to save all surplus monies. Even for those who still anticipated return, council housing made economic sense. Council housing freed a lump sum which could then be sent for investment in India and Pakistan. Analysis of the locations of Asians in council housing in Blackburn shows a distinctive spatial concentration in the estates close to the city centre (Robinson 1981, p.163). The estates which contain large numbers of Asian families tend to be located near the existing areas of Asian owner-occupation. It would therefore appear that centrality to the Asian community is still a desired feature. The Blackburn analysis is based on expressed preferences 1967-78 (Robinson 1981, p.164), and indeed the mapped preferences do tie in closely with allocations.

However, it must be considered that even stated preferences can be dictated by a variety of external factors.

A variety of studies (e.g. Race & Council Housing in London — Runnymede Trust, 1975; PEP Studies, 1973 and 1976 — Smith 1977); show racial bias in local authority procedures (though mostly unintentional) can have a significant affect on the expectations and aspirations of ethnic minorities in the local authority sector. Many of the local authority rules, such as the length of residence qualification, have discriminated against the ethnic minorities. The cultural influences on the assessments of housing visitors and the need for the wider education of such officials were often ignored. In 3 out of 10 areas covered by the PEP Survey, there was evidence of discrimination in allocation (Smith, 1977. p 264) and in many areas ethnic minority families were placed at a further disadvantage, by the lack of larger properties in the local authority stock.

Local authority provision is another area where positive discrimination must be considered, if some of these imbalances are to be rectified.

To return to the question raised at the outset, it would seem on the surface that most Asians in Britain choose to live in communities which contain a high percentage of people from a similar background, and that it is their preference for owner-occupation which concentrates them in the areas surrounding the inner-cities.

Looking deeper, however, it becomes apparent that the original

reasons for patterns of settlement were mainly economic, and that once these patterns were established, the pressures on new immigrants to follow suit were enormous.

Lack of provision for special needs (e.g. the extended family structure) left very few alternatives open to them. Because acceptance of these limitations may sometimes be implicit, some Asians may themselves feel that they have made a free choice. This does not, however, detract from the fact that it is the operation of the British economy (and in particular the housing market) which is an important influence in the development of concentrations of immigrants. The concentrations of ethnic minority groups tend to follow this established pattern.

The question of choice is important, and is one which will be raised again. If choice does not exist for many members of ethnic minority groups, then what are the constraints preventing it? Can such constraints be explained by such factors as differing access to finance, local authority provision, and employment? What is the importance of a possibly inadequate knowledge of rights and opportunities? How important are wider issues, such as poverty, and how much can be explained in terms of social class position?

It seems clear from the issues discussed in this sector that all of these factors are important. The idea that it is the concentrations themselves which are the cause of the problems is totally inadequate. It is apparent, however, from the following discussion of approaches to policy, that this is an idea which retains considerable influence.

Section II. Chapter 3

Patterns of Asian Migration into and within Glasgow

One of the greatest problems facing any study of the Asian community in Scotland, is the almost total lack of statistical data. This is further compounded by the fact that, at the present time, the 1981 census figures are not yet available. Nevertheless, it is obviously important to examine what information does exist.

This section will look at the historical background to immigration in Glasgow, and the patterns of Asian immigration and settlement which have so far emerged.

Population estimates made by the three Scottish Community Relations Councils (CRCs) (Strathclyde, Lothian and Tayside) were published in the 1979/1980 Annual Report of the Scottish Council for Racial Equality (p.32). According to these figures, Scotland has a population of between 25,000-30,000 of Asian ethnic origin. Of the total, Strathclyde Region has the biggest population, with an estimated 12,000 Indians and Pakistanis (mostly from the Punjab Region), and 2,000 Chinese. Lothian Region estimates a population of 3,000 Indians and Pakistanis, and 900 Chinese. Tayside Region does not supply a figure, but it is considered that the population is higher than that of Lothian Region. In each case, the majority of the regional populations inhabit the cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee. Within the cities the majority of the populations are located in areas surrounding the city centres.

A more recent estimate has been made of the population of Glasgow District (Education Sub-Committee, SCRC 1981), which gives figures of

13,000 Punjabis (8,000 of these Pakistanis and 5,000 Indians).

There are also small Bengali and Kashmiri populations in Glasgow.

The number from Hong Kong and the New Territories is now estimated at 3,000 in Glasgow District.

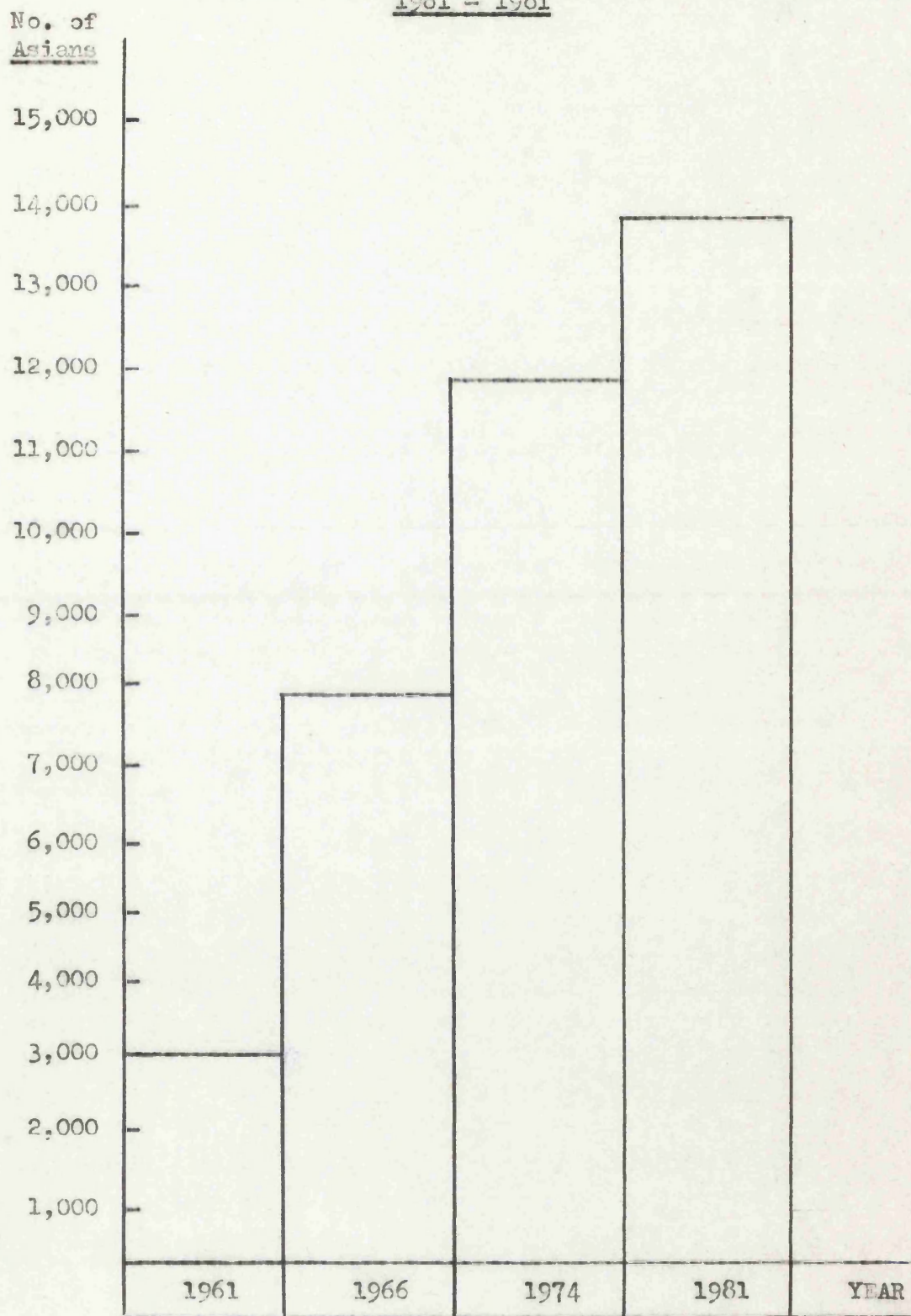
It is unlikely that this increase, since 1979, is a result of much primary immigration, for the rules regarding the immigration of dependants and fiancés have been strictly applied. It is rather more likely that the figure for Glasgow has been affected by migration patterns within Britain. Again, however, there is little statistical evidence to substantiate this claim.

The diagram (Fig.II: vii) gives some illustration of the pattern of Asian migration into Glasgow over the last twenty years.

The history of migration to Glasgow is a long one, beginning with the Gaelic-speaking highlanders, displaced by the Clearances at the beginning of the 18th century. In the years following the Irish potato famine of 1845 several million people left Ireland, and those who settled in Glasgow practically doubled the population of the city. The problems which arose as a result of the religious divide that this created have never really been solved. At the beginning of this century, East European Jews came to settle in Glasgow, refugees from the political persecution they had faced in Tzarist Russia and under other such regimes. In the 1920s many Italians came to settle in Scotland, and in the 1930s the political situation in Germany led many to emigrate likewise. The 1971 Census figures for Glasgow

FIG II : vii

Estimated Flow of Asian Immigration to Glasgow
1961 - 1981



showed populations of more than one thousand who had been born in Italy and Germany. After the second World War, all industrialized countries were short of unskilled labour. Britain attempted to resolve this by launching recruitment drives in the West Indies and in India and Pakistan. Glasgow, however, was not substantially involved at this stage, as it had a comparatively plentiful supply of indigenous labour. The majority of Asians who came to Glasgow during this period, came as seamen, and some stayed. It wasn't until the 1950s that Glasgow Corporation decided to recruit much needed labour for the public transport system, from the Punjab area of India and Pakistan. The recent partition of India had left many people without a home or their land, thus many were only too willing to take up this offer. From about the same time, the Chinese population of Glasgow also began to increase — but the Chinese did not fulfil the same function of a labour supply for the public services and at least until recently have remained concentrated in the catering industry. 98% of the Hong Kong Chinese who have settled in Glasgow are from Kwongtong Province. The dialect of this group is Hakka. As is the case with the Indians and Pakistanis who have come to Glasgow, a large proportion of the Chinese came from a rural background.

The immigrant population of Glasgow has been added to by some of those expelled from Uganda by Amin, and by some of those fleeing the Pinochet regime in Chile. The settlement of the Chilean refugees has been somewhat different from the rest, in that they were initially allocated housing in the peripheral estates of Drumchapel and Faifley.

Later they spread more throughout the city — but at present it is still the aim of most to return to Chile, if the political climate changes.

Only one study has attempted to examine the development of Glasgow's Asian community: that done by Kearsley and Srivastava in 1974. At present the only other information available is the working knowledge of members and staff of the Community Relations Council, and members of the various ethnic minority groups. While this can be a useful guide, the lack of consistent statistical information again presents problems. Kearsley and Srivastava's study (The Spatial Evolution of Glasgow's Asian Community, 1974) was based on data collected from electoral registers, and on a questionnaire survey of 10% of households in the main centres of Asian residence. This survey is now considerably out-of-date, and the use of the electoral register — as they admit — has several shortcomings. Nevertheless, Kearsley and Srivastava do provide some indication of the pattern of development of the Asian community in Glasgow from 1950 until 1971/1972.

The pattern in the early 1950s in Glasgow conformed with the 'lodging house era' identified in other large cities in Britain. The main concentration of Asians at this time seems to have been in the Gorbals. An assessment of the numbers involved is difficult because of the large numbers not represented on the electoral register. The population at this time was mostly male and employed in the transport section of Glasgow Corporation, or in other areas of the service sector which offered only poor pay and irregular hours.

In such a situation, the cheap rented accommodation and ease of access to the city centre offered by the Gorbals were obviously important factors in the initial location of the Asian population in Glasgow.

(See Fig. II : viii)

The Gorbals and the East End of Glasgow (north of the River Clyde) had provided the initial residential location for previous groups of immigrants to the city. There was at this time still a substantial number of people of East European origin living in the Gorbals. The East End had been the focus for immigrants from Ireland. The overcrowding which had persisted in this area left little vacant accommodation for any new group of immigrants.

By 1961, Kearsley and Srivastava estimated that the Asian population of Glasgow was around 3,000. A process of relocation to single family dwellings in Govanhill, Pollokshields, Garnethill and Woodside had begun (See Fig. II : ix).

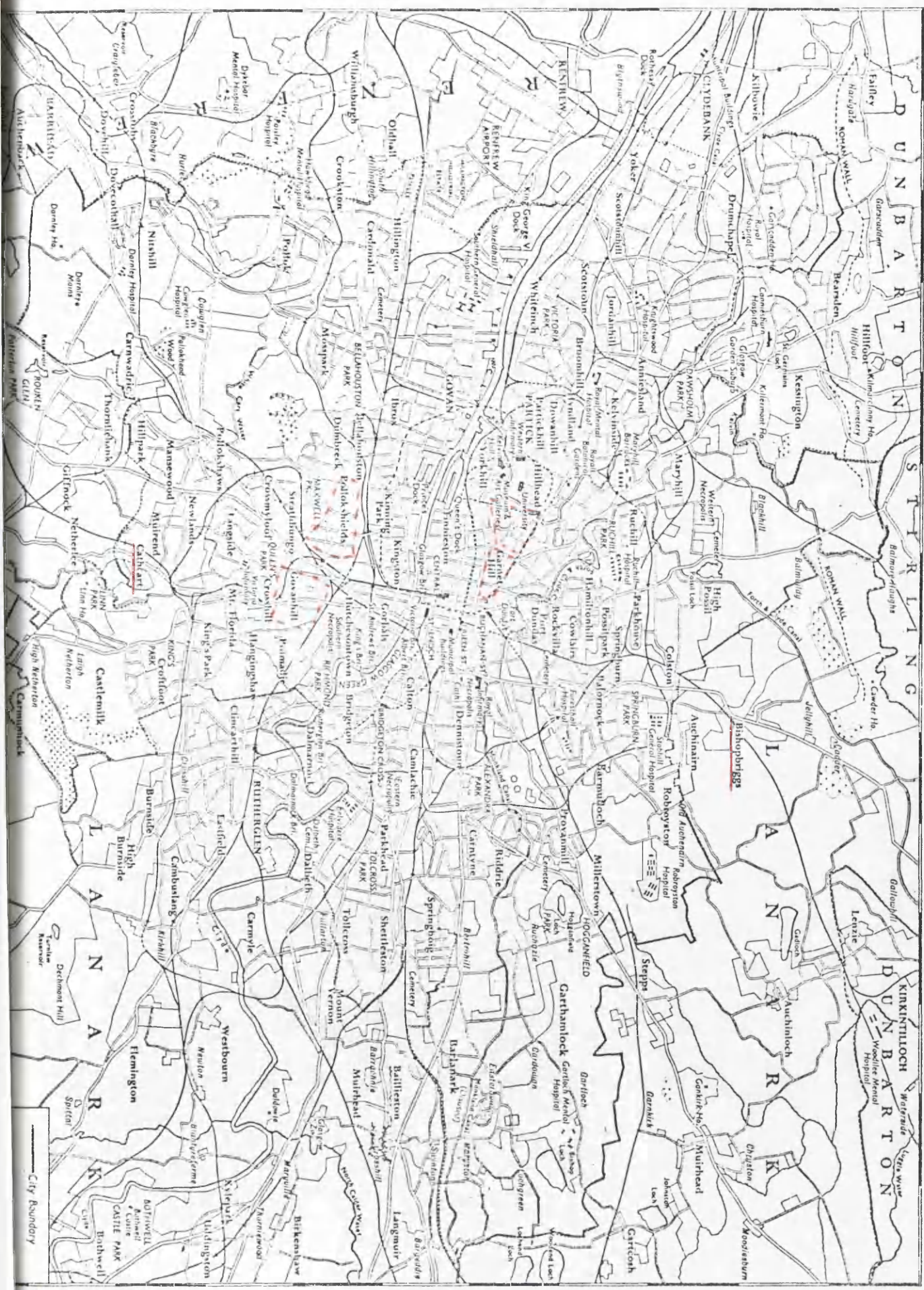
It should be noted that this pattern of relocation is not always evident. In Dundee the lodging house era was absent, and settlement began with single family dwellings (Robinson, 1981).

At this time the occupational structure began to change, as small family businesses (shops, workshops, warehouses) began to emerge. In 1966 Kearsley and Srivastava estimate that there were 8,000 people in Glasgow of Asian ethnic origin, and that an increasing percentage of these were children. By 1971 they put the figure at 12,000, although noted that the rate of growth is

[illegible]

City Boundary

THE CITY OF GLASGOW



declining. In the period from 1961 until 1971 Asian families seemed to consolidate their location in the areas mentioned on the previous page. The move from the Gorbals was much increased by the programme of redevelopment — involving widespread demolition of the old tenemental property. During the second half of this period, the majority of moves made by Asian families seemed to involve the desire to become as central as possible to the emerging concentrations in Pollokshields, Govanhill and Woodside. Garnethill had begun to decline as a centre of concentration, when cut off from the rest of Woodside by motorway development. (Since this time, Glasgow's Chinese community has become well established in the Garnethill area).

The residential location changes which occurred at this time also showed a change in the structure of housing tenure. Of the families interviewed by Kearsley and Srivastava, 40% had originally rented accommodation, and of these 9% had shared accommodation. The motivation among Asians towards ownership of property appears strong, and for many this was a major incentive to move. The areas mentioned were therefore ideal — in that they contained a significant percentage of cheaper property for sale, had good public transport services and allowed easy access to the city centre.

Despite the move to concentration, however, in 1974 there were only a few very limited areas where Asian households form more than 40% of the total. Kearsley and Srivastava point to the fact that although it is common for one close to house a majority of Asians, it is very unusual for any one street to be dominated in this way.

Kearsley and Srivastava conclude their study by pointing to a potential problem — one which has not as yet been the subject of research. Most of the property which was then owned by Asians was covered by Comprehensive Development Area Schedules: thus it was anticipated that the communities could face serious disruption when these were implemented. They maintained that these proposals would create a severe shortage of the type of housing stock favoured by the Asian community, and that such a situation could lead to conditions of overcrowding.

The redevelopment of the Gorbals had already led to significant shifts in the location of the Asian population, but relocation any further from the city centre would have meant a move to higher cost areas.

At present, the concentrations previously mentioned are still strong, but there is some evidence of change; for example, Primary schools in areas which previously had no need of special language provision, are now requesting special teachers. Most of these changes are still within an area close to the city centre (for example, Cessnock), but the situation remains one of change.

Further problems could be created by the removal of small shops and warehouses occupied by Asian-owned businesses. This, it was thought, could lead to severe economic deprivation within the Asian community. The possibility of the worst of these effects being alleviated by a change in the social and economic goals of

the second generation of Asians in Glasgow was a factor which Kearsley and Srivastava left to be assessed. In other words, would the aspirations and expectations of the second generation be significantly different from those of the parents? Would they be satisfied with the same type of housing and the same occupations, or would Local Authority housing begin to play a more significant role, and jobs outwith the traditional sector become more important?

The situation since 1974 does not seem to have been one of compulsory purchase orders being slapped on Asian families in Glasgow. The areas of community concentration identified by Kearsley and Srivastava seem to have remained reasonably stable: policies have, however, changed. The emphasis is now on rehabilitation rather than redevelopment, and the declaration of Housing Action Areas and the growth of Housing Associations have reflected this change.

There are, however, still many unanswered questions. To what extent have Asian families become involved in the programmes of Housing Action Areas and Housing Associations? What is the take up rate among Asians of such housing aid as repair grants, environmental improvement grants, etc? To what extent are the local authorities prepared to recognize any special housing needs of Asian families?

Is there any indication that Asian families in Glasgow are moving out to the suburbs? There is some movement away from the city centre: for example, to Bishopbriggs and Cathcart (Fig.II : ix),

but the extent of this move and the type of family involved has not been studied. A major question arises as the demographic structure of the Asian population changes. What housing problems will be presented as more and more Asians reach retiral age?

The issue of jobs for the second generation of Asians is an increasingly important one. A study of the Indian and Pakistani school leavers in 1974 (Glasgow University, published by the Scottish Immigrant Labour Council, 1979), showed increasing levels of unemployment, as it became more difficult to find a place for children in the traditional family businesses. Presumably, that situation is now worse. Therefore, what are the particular problems faced by Asians in the job market in Glasgow?

Finally, it is important to look at the religious, social and cultural facilities which serve the Asian population in Glasgow. There are now seven mosques in various districts, and a new Glasgow Central Mosque is at present under construction just south of the city centre on the south bank of the River Clyde. There are three Sikh temples and a Hindu temple in Glasgow. There is no Chinese temple; many of the Chinese population worship at shrines at home. Some of the Chinese have a tradition of ancestor worship, some are Buddhist and some are Christians.

It is unlikely that the existence of such facilities contributed to the original establishment of communities, for in most cases the facilities came after a community had situated.

It is, however, possible that they had an influence on the relocation of families who wished to move within the city.

All of the communities teach cultural and/or religious traditions to their children. There are Islamic, Sikh, Hindu, Bengali, Bangladeshi and Chinese schools (mainly as a supplement to State education, but sometimes providing an alternative, particularly for girls who have reached the statutory school leaving age). These schools are attended collectively by over 1,000 pupils (CRC estimate).

There are at least twenty-five ethnic minority organizations in Glasgow; mainly with religious or cultural interests, but some have a political function; for example, the Indian Workers' Association and the Pakistan People's Party. The major organizations have representatives on the executive of the Community Relations Council.

The Asian community in Glasgow are well-established, but perhaps not as vocal as those elsewhere in the Country.

The study described in Section IV Chapter 3 makes some attempt to answer the questions raised in this Section, but a much more extensive programme of research will be necessary before any reliable picture of the present situation will emerge.

SECTION III

Introduction

Section III seeks to examine the policy responses to the housing problems of black ethnic minority groups in Britain. In this context there are several questions which must be better understood.

First, how appropriate is dispersal as an apparent policy aim, and does it conform with the wishes of the ethnic minority communities? Second, how useful are policies of positive discrimination: do they confront the real problems, and how important are the dangers of a reaction from the white majority community?

These questions can be further broken down. Do ethnic minorities wish to remain concentrated, or to disperse? Do they wish to disperse in concentrated groups, or to integrate as individuals within the wider community? Do Asians have characteristics of family structure, educational achievement, occupation, etc, which would distinguish them from other groups? If such groups or individuals do wish to disperse, what are the main constraints preventing this?

Access to housing finance and local authority provision has been discussed, but equality of opportunity extends further than this. Can policies of positive discrimination improve equality of opportunity and access for all sections of the black community, or will they operate disproportionately in favour of those already

occupying more advantaged positions? How will such policies affect those members of the white working class, who suffer from some of the same disadvantages? What is the possibility of such policies being used as fuel for racist propaganda?

This section looks at the role of central and local government policy, and questions its effectiveness in resolving such issues.

SECTION III. Chapter 1.

The Development of Housing Policy
as it Related to the Ethnic Minority
Population in Britain

Housing policy as it relates to blacks in Britain can usefully be viewed as having three distinct stages. From the early 1950s to 1961/62 there was a primary, unco-ordinated reaction to the problems : problems such as the multi-occupancy of the 'lodging house era' (Rex and Moore 1967, p.133), and 'twilight zones' (Rex and Moore 1967, p.272).

From 1962 to 1968/69 there followed a more reasoned series of policies affecting the public and the private sector. These had as a basic theme the desirability of the dispersal of the concentrations of black immigrants.

From 1969 to the 1980s a more sophisticated series of policies emerged. These also affected both the public and the private sectors of the housing market, and again were based on the idea that the dispersal of black concentrations would benefit the black and the white communities. At this later stage, however, the concept of positive discrimination began to emerge within liberal thought as an acceptable approach. (There has, however, been a more recent backlash against this). Further, consideration had to be given to the fact that increasing numbers of blacks had been born in Britain. The expectations of these people tended to be higher than those of their parents,

therefore housing became one of the areas where the pressure for improvement became greater.

There is overwhelming evidence from numerous studies (e.g. Smith 1977; Rose et al. 1969) which illustrates that concentrations of racial minority groups (most especially black) are associated with poor housing, poor jobs, low incomes, in the case of Asians with large extended families, with a high ratio of dependants to wage earners. Deakin and Ungerson (1973, pp.224-225) quote sources which claim that it was the availability of jobs which determined the original distribution of blacks in the major conurbations. Once the pattern was established, blacks continued to be affected by developments in the employment markets in their areas. The restrictions on the type of employment available limited the types of housing to which the groups had access.

The blacks who are more dispersed among the white population are far less likely to suffer from these disadvantages than those who live together in local concentrations (Lomas, 1975). This may be in part explainable in terms of the higher socio-economic grouping of many of these people (e.g. Nowikowski and Ward, 1978; Robinson, 1981).

This type of research, while valuable in highlighting the disadvantaged position of many blacks in Britain, has also created problems. Government policy has for many years been based on the assumption that it is these concentrations which cause disadvantage

among blacks, and thus policies of dispersal have been advocated. It must be considered that the solution may not be this simple. The reasons for the development of these concentrations have been considered in the first section : from this it seems apparent that the causes of disadvantage are much more complex than the results of geographical concentration. Issues such as the links between race and class, the functioning of the British economic system, and the effects of racial discrimination must be considered.

The 1950s : An unco-ordinated response. The early patterns of settlement in Britain, resulting to a large extent from economic factors, have proved a strong determinant of the present spatial distribution. This remains the case, despite the fact that initially there was little use of the public housing sector. As has been stated, the first policy responses were mostly concerned with the problems of lodging houses and 'twilight zones'. These problems, particularly after the Milner Holland Report of 1965, were viewed almost entirely in terms of multi-occupation. The extensive use of lodging houses and the multi-occupancy of older properties in the inner-city, was the major option of the original immigrants. This situation continued from the early 1950s until the early mid-1960s. During this period there was an official recognition of the particular needs of immigrants, and indeed - according to Deakin (1971, p.151) where possible, the Labour controlled councils (under which the majority of black immigrants were living) ignored the presence of immigrants altogether.

Although multi-occupation was identified as a problem,

dealing with it involved the co-operation of several local authority departments. In general, the departmental and inter-departmental bureaucracy which existed, proved too cumbersome for much progress to be made. A further difficulty was the size and extent of the problems. The Milner Holland Committee (1965) identified eight boroughs in London alone, in which housing conditions showed increasing signs of stress, due to the problems of multi-occupation. Deakin and Ungerson (1973, pp.226-228) point out that the Milner Holland Report considered that blacks were not a special case; that their problems were the same as those of all newcomers to London. For example, the Irish community suffered from high rates of multi-occupancy too. Deakin and Ungerson are, I would maintain justifiably, dissatisfied with this. They state that blacks in Britain —

"find themselves in a situation which combines many of the different features of those households in greatest need. Nevertheless.....colour operates as a separate handicap." (p.228)

In general, local authority housing departments had limited powers, and so were prepared to accept only limited responsibilities. Many of the measures which in theory they could use (e.g. declaring buildings unfit for habitation), depended on the co-operation of the planning department, the public health department, etc., or even of central government. The one major attempt to solve the problems of the 'twilight zones' (i.e. the areas where large, old houses, too good to be classified as slums, had become multi-occupied lodging houses (Rex and Moore, 1967. p.20), came with the Housing Act of 1961. This Act was, in part, a result of pressure

from local authorities to increase their powers within these zones. The Act allowed local authorities to apply housing management regulations to properties in an unsatisfactory state, which were in multi-occupancy. It allowed for certain maintenance or improvement work on those properties, to be designated as necessary; and gave the local authorities the power to carry out and charge for this work when the owner was unco-operative. Perhaps most importantly, this piece of legislation (later supported by the Housing Act of 1964) allowed the local authorities to set a limit on the number of people permitted to live in any given property.

The situation in these areas was such that the effects of this legislation fell to the greatest extent on immigrant landlords, who were blamed for the conditions of the multi-occupancy, without regard for the special needs of this section of the population. A 'scapegoat' (Deakin 1971, p.158) having been found, little further analysis of the situation was thought necessary, until the arrival of greater numbers of immigrants' dependants from 1961 onwards. It was after this period that local authority home loans for blacks became relatively numerous, perhaps as a way of avoiding the allocation of local authority stock to these families. This, however, was a short term solution, for multi-occupancy began to appear again: this time in owner-occupied property bought with the help of local authority loans.

Thus, during the 1950s, when the demand for a supply of unskilled labour was great, the problems and needs of black immigrants

with regard to housing, were largely ignored. Labour councils paid little attention to Labour Government policy, which advocated that need should be considered before length of residence as a qualification for local authority housing. During the 1950s the limited supply of public housing was needed by many, therefore immigrants were obliged to find their own solutions. The older housing of the inner cities temporarily filled the lack of organised provision. Despite these problems, it is true that the needs of the initial immigrants were, to some extent, suited to this type of accommodation. However, as families arrived, and the needs of the black communities changed, the existence of discriminatory practices in the housing market became a more important issue.

The 1960s : The drive for dispersal. The White Paper on Commonwealth Immigration in 1965 appeared to be 'the first systematic attempt to define official policy on the integration of minorities, and to devise solutions covering housing and other fields of social policy' — (Deakin 1971, p.149). It made the point that Commonwealth immigrants did not cause the housing shortage — but as with all other proposals, it refused to acknowledge that black communities in Britain have a set of needs and problems which are peculiar to their situation as a visible minority (in the field of housing and all other aspects of social, political, and economic life. As such, they are often interpreted as being in competition with the white working class for the same scarce resources. The White Paper did not, therefore, make a very positive contribution to a policy which would attack the specific disadvantages faced by blacks in Britain.

As the black communities increased in size, the idea of dispersal began to emerge as an objective of central and local government policy. The assumption was that a greater degree of contact between white and black would improve race relations. It was also thought that the reduction of concentrations of multiple deprivation would reduce the strain on the social services in the inner city. The arguments against policies of dispersal have been put elsewhere, but the most powerful criticism in this context is that concentration may provide the basis for the growth of communal institutions and the provision of services geared to specialised needs. The period between 1961/62 and 1968/69 was, however, a confusing one in terms of the lack of support from a variety of non-governmental institutions for the emerging official policy of dispersal. Burney (1968 'Housing on Trial') pointed out the fact that estate agents appeared to direct black immigrants to specific areas — areas where there was already a significant percentage of blacks and where the property was such that building societies would not readily lend on it. This was perhaps making use of the fact that, in the past, blacks seeking housing finance had been obliged to use less orthodox methods. Community support to raise the deposit (particularly among Asians) was common, and the use of loan companies was such that the market for these expanded. It is also true that following the peak period of Commonwealth immigration in 1961/62, the services of council mortgage schemes were widely used by blacks, but from 1965 until 1969 (and again in the present climate) council mortgages became very restricted — if not non-existent. Owner-occupation

and private rented housing were the options most in use by blacks in the first part of the periods 1961/62 and 1968/69. It was not until after 1966 that blacks (West Indian rather than Asians) began to demand and achieve their rights to local authority housing provision (e.g. in Birmingham in 1968, 250 blacks went into council accommodation — Deakin 1971, p.159). This was not, however, an end to the problem of access to local authority housing. Although the White Paper of 1965 had abolished the differential qualification period for those who were not British born, the housing which was being made available to blacks was disproportionately situated on the older, pre-war estates. This appeared to be the result of a procedure by which applications were graded by housing visitors (Burney - 'Housing on Trial', chapters 7,8). Thus it seems that during this period, blacks in Britain were at a disadvantage — whether they attempted access to local authority provision, or remained in the private sector — either in owner occupation or in private rented.

There was, however, one policy direction which seemed to offer greater hope of an improvement in the conditions of blacks in Britain. As a result of spatial distribution, any government policy directed at the inner-cities would seem likely to have a significant effect on the black population. A proposal of the Milner Holland Committee, 1965, was that the inner areas of cities should be designated as 'areas of special control'. This helped to give the impetus for two reports by the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants Housing Panel (NCCI, 1967a and 1967b).

These two reports attempted to highlight the special needs of the black population. However, despite the increasing recognition of the need for specific policies (even in government circles), the official policy of the Home Office remained one of being adamant about the need to contain the problems of the black community within the overall structure of the general housing policy. Further, the problems of the black communities tended to be viewed as a single issue: little attempt was made to differentiate between the needs of Asian, West Indian and other groups. It is only in more recent reports by the Community Relations Commission (later the Commission for Racial Equality) that some attempt has been made to stress the differences, e.g. the need to accommodate the extended family structure of many Asian households, and the needs of relatively large numbers of one-parent families in the West Indian community. Even so, there is still a tendency in many official circles to consider the black communities as homogenous with regard to the problems which they experience.

Positive Discrimination in the Urban Programme. The announcement of the Urban Programme in 1968 led to another change in the emphasis of housing policy as it affected the black population. The Plowden Report, 1967, had introduced the idea of positive discrimination. As this gained acceptance, so also did the idea that the areas of disadvantage which they mentioned, were areas of multiple deprivation. Thus the White Paper of 1968 — Old Houses into New Homes — contained a recognition of the

fact that the areas with high concentrations of ethnic minorities, were areas with a series of other problems, and that these problems must be treated as inter-related and inter-dependant. It was this series of proposals which led to the introduction of General Improvement Areas, enabling the local authorities to treat the problems of disadvantaged areas, without having to consider each issue in isolation. In 1969, Community Development Projects (CDPs) were initiated. As with the Urban Programme, these were centrally administered by the Home Office and, as with the Urban Programme, attempted a co-ordinated, interservice action to deprived areas. (These schemes will be further discussed in the following section).

There was still a problem, however, in that although the idea of positive discrimination to deprived areas had gained some acceptability, this aid could not be seen to be specifically directed at blacks. The strategy simply operated on the assumption that if blacks were disproportionately disadvantaged, then they were disproportionately likely to benefit from any new initiative. There was, however, scope for some special allowances to be made with regard to information leaflets being printed in ethnic minority languages, and the training of housing department staff with regard to the cultural differences between the black and white population. The establishment of housing advice centres was also considered to be of particular benefit to the black minorities. The 1972 Housing Finance Act introduced a system of rent rebates and allowances, which permitted local authorities to charge an economic rent for the accommodation.

Again it was assumed that if blacks were most in need, then they would benefit most from this provision. However, in a system where one benefit can counteract another, the scheme was not successful. The Act was rescinded, although the benefits remain.

The Milner Holland proposals for areas of special control emerged again in the 1974 Housing Act, which introduced the idea of Housing Action Areas. This empowered local authorities to declare properties for improvement, and gave them powers of purchase to ensure that this improvement was carried out.

Recent Initiatives. Throughout this period Housing Associations had been developing as an important method of revitalising the inner-cities. Their formation was aided by the Housing Subsidies Act of 1967 — their scope further boosted by the Housing Act of 1974. From the outset, Housing Associations have been particularly useful in catering for people with particular disadvantages or special needs. The process of establishing Housing Association links with the local community is an important one, and increasingly it is recognised that the publication of information in ethnic minority languages, and the distribution of this information in places which cater for the interests of the black population, is of particular importance. As the age of the black population increases, the role of Housing Associations in providing for the special needs of the elderly, may become an important one.

The housing policies which have developed since 1968

have not, however, developed within the Urban Programme. Although the original intention was that housing should be an integral part of the programme, it soon became obvious that the financial burden which this would place on the total allocation of funds would be too great. Also, there would be problems in attempting to tackle a problem such as housing solely on an area-specific basis. A co-ordinated policy, which considered the processes of allocation in all tenure sectors and the allocation of housing finance, was considered necessary before an integrated picture of needs (present and future) could be formed.

This leads to the question of ethnic record-keeping, which has always been a difficult subject. The problem remains largely one of who should keep such records; who should have access to them; and how they should be used. Most local authority housing departments (SSRC Survey, C.Jones 1979. p.241) now admit arguments in favour of separate record keeping, but few admit to actually doing so. This does not necessarily mean that separate records are not normally kept, but that it is not done as official policy.

While various organisations (see Nottingham CRC 1981) admit the advantages of separate record keeping (e.g. to highlight cases of discrimination), the problem of potential misuse is important.

The issue arises primarily in the area of public housing. This is also the area in which most of the policy of the last

twelve years or so has operated. Little has been done to tackle the problems of owner-occupation. By 1976 figures (CRC July, 1976. p.39) 76% of Asians and 50% of West Indians, as opposed to 54% of the general population, are owner-occupiers. Although there are grants available for repairs and improvement under a variety of schemes, the basic problems of housing finance in inner-city areas have not been solved. These problems have been compounded by the fact that these inner city areas have often been officially and unofficially subject to 'red-lining' by building societies (Weir 1974, Roof).

One of the major problems affecting housing policies in general since the 1950s, is that housing departments, local authorities and central government feel that they cannot be seen to be doing what needs to be done, in counteracting the disadvantages faced by the black population. Further, the aim of dispersal has remained, often unstated, at the root of much policy, without any serious questioning of its negative effects. Certainly, in recent years, comments such as those of Cullingworth (1969) :

"Dispersal is a laudable aim of policy, but this policy needs pursuing with full respect for the wishes of those concerned"

have gained a great deal of support.

The arguments of Rex (1981) have already been examined, but there are other objections. Smith (1974, p.306) maintains that an effective policy of dispersal is impossible within present

legislation. The implementation of such a policy would involve coersive measures. Smith advocates the creation of nucleii of black communities on local authority estates, around which can be built a community which can reasonably demand access to any specialised facilities which a mainly white community would not require. The eventual aim should therefore be:

"to change the structure of opportunity so as to remove the constraints which at present tend to prevent dispersal from happening"

(Smith 1974, p.326)

This may be acceptable, but Smith does not define what he means by constraints.

In Section I, I maintained that these constraints are rooted in the class structure of British society, i.e. that class position determines position in the housing market. The processes which force most blacks to form a particularly disadvantaged strata of the British working class are the constraints which must be removed. It is for this reason that the black population of Britain cannot be considered as a homogenous group. Different class positions create different interests; therefore in the Survey quoted in Section IV, for example, the position of the Asian small businessman cannot be entirely equated with the position of an Asian employee in a manual occupation.

For these and other reasons which will be examined further, it would appear that policies of dispersal will not solve the problems of inequality and disadvantage, which affect the working class members of ethnic minority groups. In addition, the ties of culture, language and experience of discrimination are factors which discourage dispersal for all classes within ethnic minority groups.

This raises the question of how to ensure total equality of opportunity and equality of access to housing for all groups within society. One response proposed has been positive discrimination. This will be discussed further in the following chapter.

SECTION III. Chapter 2.

The Question of Positive Discrimination

The question of positive discrimination in favour of the black communities was raised in the previous chapter: it may be useful now to examine this contentious idea in a little more detail.

Scarman (1981) in his report of the disorders in Brixton, is obviously not happy with the idea of positive discrimination. Several times he makes reference to the need for positive action, but never really defines what this would entail. In his conclusion he states that:

"a policy of direct, co-ordinated attack on racial disadvantage inevitably means that ethnic minorities will enjoy for a time positive discrimination in their favour. But it is a price worth paying, if it accelerates the elimination of the unsettling factor of racial disadvantage from the social fabric of the United Kingdom."

(p. 9.4 Scarman Report, 1981)

By talking of positive discrimination in terms of it being 'a price worth paying', it is obvious that he considers it to be a far from ideal response, and he points to the problems of the backlash which it might create within the white majority community.

The idea of positive discrimination in favour of disadvantaged groups or areas began in the mid 1960s. Partly in response to

riots, there had been a movement in the United States towards area based policies, in an attempt to cope with inner city problems.

In Britain it was in the area of education that the idea gained the greatest acceptability. The Plowden Report (1967) proposed two new concepts: the need for Educational Priority Areas (EPA), and for positive discrimination. The justification was that there was a need in many cases for a compensatory environment within the school, to balance home and community circumstances. The implication was that it was circumstances external to the school, which were preventing the achievement of equal opportunity for all children.

While the aim was laudable, however, the idea that school was or could be distinct from the rest of the environment is a misleading one. Titmuss (Edwards and Batley 1978, chapter 2) points out that although positive discrimination is a form of selectivity, it "requires as its pre-condition a universalist framework". The aim should therefore be to provide a "framework of values around which can be developed socially acceptable selective services; aiming to discriminate positively, with the minimum risk of stigma in favour of those whose needs are greatest".

Pinker (Edwards and Batley 1978, chapter 2) extends the argument by claiming that positive discrimination is the only form

of selectivity compatible with the idea of a welfare society, because its ultimate good is the achievement of optimal rather than minimal standards.

To return to the issue of discrimination specifically in favour of the ethnic minorities — education was only one of the areas in which such treatment was often advocated. Before 1965, almost the only intervention by central government in the treatment of ethnic minorities (once they were resident in Britain) was in education. In 1965, a White Paper (HMSO, 1965) published by the Labour Government, took up a Ministry of Education recommendation to disperse the ethnic minority school population. The Paper suggested that about one third ethnic minority children should be the maximum permitted to any one school — 'if social strain was to be avoided, and educational standards maintained'.

The first sign of provision for special aid to areas with a high concentration of ethnic minorities came with Section 11 of the Local Government Act, 1966. This ostensibly provides a 50% specific grant out of Rates Support, to help with the staff costs incurred in 'dealing with some of the transitional problems caused by the presence of Commonwealth Immigrants'.

The wording of this is typical of much of the attitude enshrined in legislation. It perpetuates the idea that ethnic minorities cause problems, rather than suffer from them.

A further point to be emphasised is the difficulty in proving eligibility for many under Section 11. Despite numerous applications, no grant has yet been made to any authority in Scotland.

The establishment of the Urban Programme in 1968* did seem to acknowledge that the problems of the ethnic minorities were causally related to the problems of inner cities. The analysis did not, however, extend much further than this. The programme did attempt to deal with some of the problems experienced by ethnic minorities, but at the same time it was recognised to be a method of reducing the stress caused by their presence. Emphasis was placed on the recommendations such as those made by Plowden, and education was highlighted as a priority. Although it was recognised that the disadvantages experienced in many areas were multiple, the methods of intervention which were considered lacked imagination. In general, they concentrated on the use of the services for which the government was already responsible. The possibilities of intervention in income distribution, employment, and the wider allocation of resources in the housing sector, were not really examined.

The exercise of positive discrimination by means of the

* The Urban Programme is one of a number of area-specific positive discrimination programmes or studies, the aims of which in general terms, have been to help alleviate some of the problems of 'urban deprivation'".
(Edwards and Batley 1978, p.2)

Urban Programme, was limited by a lack of clear and co-ordinated objectives and a lack of the necessary finance. In addition to this, it became increasingly clear that the scheme was becoming politically unpopular with those who took the view that it provided unfair advantages for blacks.

The reaction seemed to produce a more positive response from the advocates of the programme. In other words, ethnic minorities, with others, were argued to be the victims of the deprivation of the areas in which they lived — rather than the cause of it. However, the projects which emerged after this could not now be seen to be devoted strictly to the problems of ethnic minorities. It was in this respect that the flexible nature of the programme can be seen as useful. Although it had often been detrimental to a co-ordinated response, it did often allow the balance of allocations to be shifted towards projects concerning ethnic minorities.

The most significant drawback of the Urban Programme in terms of this study, is the fact that it contains no provision for the allocation of resources to housing. Although the costs involved would easily have commandeered the allocated budget for the total programme, it is impossible to consider a successful attack on the deprivation of inner city areas, without a co-ordinated response to housing problems.

Scarman, while wary of the idea of positive discrimination did not make any recommendations which cannot be accommodated in

the remit of the Urban Programme and other existing structures. Quoting President Johnston, he accepts the necessity of an attack on the social and environmental conditions of ethnic minorities. What neither of them really considered was the necessity of an attack on the causes of these conditions. These causes must be sought in the patterns of inequality which are experienced by most members of ethnic minority groups. The British class structure, the disadvantaged position of those at the bottom of it and the discrimination on grounds of race and class, should all be examined in the search for 'causes'.

A major question which Scarman raises, is how far is it right to go in the attempt to meet the needs of ethnic minorities? He states:

"It is clear from the evidence of deprivation that if the balance of racial disadvantage is to be redressed, as it must be, positive action is required".

(Scarman, 1981. p 6.32)

He goes further, and makes it clear that this does not just mean ensuring that the ethnic minorities are taking up their full share of social provision.

The first difficulty comes when Scarman then states that the problems of disadvantage faced by ethnic minorities are the same as those faced by any other special needs group (e.g. the elderly; one-parent families). I would maintain that this is not the case. The presence of discrimination on the grounds of race and class makes the problems faced by ethnic minorities different.

The idea of positive action only touches on the conditions of deprivation and perhaps discrimination, not the causes of either. The idea of positive action differs from that of positive

discrimination in that positive action consists of special programmes directed at areas of acute deprivation, but with need as the criterion used, and not racial origin. Most of the philosophy of positive discrimination also considers the manifestations of deprivation only.

Both concepts may have their uses in the short term alleviation of the worst of conditions. In the longer term, however, they may eventually be detrimental to any aim of equality of treatment and opportunity for the ethnic minority communities. For example, the enforcement of ethnic (or other group) quotas in employment, could have the effect of lowering the standards of education and experience demanded of these groups. This could have a negative effect on the drive to create equality of opportunity within the educational system. It is the ability to compete on totally equal terms with the rest of the population which must be the eventual goal for ethnic minority groups.

The most important role which such policies may have to play is in a raising of the level of social conditions. This may have the effect of raising the expectations of ethnic minority groups and create a greater degree of self-confidence. It is likely that this would lead to a greater willingness on the part of ethnic minority groups themselves to press for change.

It could perhaps be argued that bad social conditions led to the riots of the summer of 1981, and that these did have the effect of attracting government attention and producing some action on the problems of inner cities. However, it would seem that most of the government reaction to the situation was again simply amelioration (e.g. the request for the Scarman Report and more community policing). Little or nothing has been done about unemployment for example, which is without doubt a major cause of the problems of working class communities and ethnic minority communities in particular.

It would seem, therefore, that such unco-ordinated reaction against the worst of conditions does not lead to a solution of the problems. A few community centres will not solve the issue, and as yet the government has done little to implement even the cautious recommendations of the Scarman Report (e.g. Conference on Scarman Report organised by Strathclyde CRC, 6/2/82). From this experience it would seem that a more co-ordinated approach by ethnic minority groups, resulting from a rise in expectations, may have a more positive effect on the situation of inequality which persists.

That said, however, there are many potential drawbacks. Apparently favourable treatment for a visible minority may prevent the support of the indigenous working class in any advance towards equality. There is some evidence (e.g. the growth of such organisations as the National Front and the

British Movement), that it may even lead to open conflict between groups where interests are, in fact, often similar. As an example, they may often be living in the same inferior housing conditions. Thus, positive action on discrimination may have a stigmatizing affect and prevent the development of a united approach by all of those who experience disadvantaged living and working conditions in British society.

The major questions for policy in the area of housing of ethnic minorities will reappear in the Survey described in Section IV. These questions can be defined as follows:-

What evidence is there for the existence of inequality of access and opportunity?

How important is the class position of the various members of ethnic minority groups as a defining factor?

What influence do these factors have on the choice of housing and location available to ethnic minorities?

How can policy be formulated in order that a situation of equality can be achieved?

With these issues in mind, it is necessary to examine such factors as social class; the incidence of unemployment; patterns of mobility; family structure; type of tenure; access to finance; access to grants etc.; participation in community and housing issues; aspirations and perceptions of choice.

The factors governing the housing conditions of the Asian and West Indian communities are certainly not identical, but the issues mentioned above are all of some relevance to the situation at the national level. The study described finds many of the same features to be of relevance to the smaller Asian community of Govanhill in Glasgow.

Section IV. Chapter 1.

An Examination of the Official Response to the Presence of
Ethnic Minority Groups by Strathclyde Region and Glasgow District;
with Particular Regard to Housing Policy.

This chapter will examine the roles and policies of regional and local government bodies as they effect the ethnic minority communities in Strathclyde.

To what extent do the various bodies recognise special needs; and to what extent do they respond to the representations of ethnic minority organizations? What is the role of such organizations as the Commission for Racial Equality, the Scottish Council for Racial Equality, the Strathclyde Community Relations Council, and the Strathclyde Campaign Against Racism? How useful are the recommendations of the SCRE, and how receptive are the relevant bodies likely to be?

As has been mentioned, there is a distinct lack of information on the problems of ethnic minorities in Scotland. However, the first annual report (1979/1980) of the Scottish Council for Racial Equality (SCRE) provides a useful collection of data, including the report of a survey of all the Scottish local housing authorities. In the annual report, SCRE describe their formation and function as follows:-

" The Scottish Council for Racial Equality (SCRE) is an autonomous body established on the 28th March 1979, based on the Scottish Standing Committee for Race Relations; a group devised to co-ordinate the interests of the three member Community Relations Councils (CRC) - Strathclyde, Lothian and Tayside"

(SCRE Report 1979/80 p.1)

The objects of SCRE are: to encourage the establishment of harmonious community relations; to promote equal opportunity (in terms of the Race Relations Act, 1976); to promote facilities for employment, education and social welfare; and to bring together representatives of statutory and voluntary bodies, and other organizations, to this end.

The survey of the sixty Scottish housing authorities showed that they knew very little about the numbers of Asians resident in their areas, and that little or no reference was made to the specific issues involved in regional reports, structure plans, or housing plans. It is now more than three years since the current legislation on race relations came into effect. As far as the housing authorities are concerned, the most relevant clause is Section 71 of the 1976 Race Relations Act. This states that

"....it shall be the duty of every local authority to make appropriate arrangements with a view to securing that their functions are carried out with due regard to the need to:

- (a) eliminate unlawful racial discrimination;
- (b) promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups"

In an attempt to examine the implications of this clause for policy in the area of housing provision, SCRE undertook its survey of the positions of the Scottish housing authorities. It was recognized at the outset, however, that the nature of the legislation with which Scottish local authorities are expected to comply, is vague.

Guidelines laid down by the Department of the Environment tend to

concentrate on the situation in English urban areas. The role of public housing in Scotland is different. In 1978, 54% of Scottish houses were rented from a local authority or New Town, as opposed to only 30% of houses in England (Regional Statistics, 1980). The public sector is of much greater importance in Scotland. Furthermore, much of the worst of Glasgow's local authority stock is in schemes on the periphery of the city : the newer schemes closer to the city centre are highly prized. Again, this is somewhat different from the English situation, where inner-city schemes tend to be older and considered to be less desirable.

Nevertheless, these differences are not catered for by the relevant Scottish publications. The Scottish Development Department (SDD) Manual for guidance, 'Assessing Housing Need', makes no special recommendations concerning provision for ethnic minorities, although other minority groups are considered. The Scottish Office and others have also mentioned the interests of minorities other than South Asians and Chinese; for example, Scotland's travelling people, whose numbers are estimated at around 800 families. When contrasted with the estimated 25,000 — 30,000 of Asian origin in Scotland, this shows priorities to be somewhat confused, despite the fact that the needs of the travelling people are perhaps rather more immediate. Given that a new system of policy and programme planning for housing has been introduced recently (1977) in the form of Housing Plans, to enable local authorities to comprehensively assess housing need and to adopt appropriate policies, failures to recognise the special needs of the ethnic minorities seem

particularly obvious.

Of the housing authorities surveyed by SCRE, none outwith the cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen considered that the numbers of ethnic minorities resident in their area were large enough to warrant any special consideration. Nevertheless, SCRE believes even in the thinly populated rural areas it would be relevant to include some element in the normal training schedule for housing managers, on the subject of race relations.

It was apparent from the survey that a number of housing managers and directors confused the responsibility for the creation of equal opportunity, monitoring and planning, with programmes of positive discrimination. This is obviously another reason to clarify the administrative basis of the 1976 legislation.

Of the authorities questioned, Dundee seemed to be the most progressive. It was the only one which knew the approximate size of the ethnic minority population resident in its area, and was in 1980 the only one to provide information or guidance for these groups — in their ethnic tongue where necessary. Only Glasgow and Edinburgh had had discussions with their Community Relations Councils (CRC), but although both favoured continued discussion, neither felt that such meetings had, as yet, had any affect on existing policy or its administration. None of the major urban authorities had provided any input on race relations in their training of housing staff.

The survey shows that the response of Scottish local authorities

to the position of ethnic minorities has at best been patchy. Problems are admitted, but few positive steps have been taken. In the absence of any real guidance from central government, SCRE believes that the local authorities will not adequately fulfil their responsibilities to the ethnic minority communities. It maintains that intervention at the level of the Scottish Office is essential. There is, however, some question as to whether central government has in the past proved any better at taking such initiatives than has local government. Central government does pay some lip service to such issues as the need for the provision of government literature in the ethnic minority languages (e.g. supplementary benefit leaflets), but in general the example set has not been a shining one.

At present, however, the Scottish Office has no direct responsibility for race relations, and it is therefore unable to provide authoritative guidance to local authorities. SCRE therefore stresses the urgency of effective initiative by central government. At the local level, SCRE has used the results of the survey as a basis for the formulation of a series of proposals. These include the keeping of records; consideration of the issues in structure plans; the regional report; housing plans; local plans and action area plans; information and guidance being available and advertised; the establishment of contact with the ethnic minority organisations, and staff training in the area of race relations. In general, local authority policy concerning ethnic minorities should be prepared to look ahead and take initiatives —

— rather than being merely reactive.

In their annual report for 1981 SCRE state that the results of the survey were circulated to all Scottish housing authorities by the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA). Although the majority of authorities did not want advice from COSLA on the main issues, the problems of potential discrimination against ethnic minorities in the provision of housing services as a result of inappropriate policies, have been brought to their attention, and SCRE have now produced a booklet 'A Fair Deal for Ethnic Minorities', which followed discussions with the Institute of Housing's training officer for Scotland. The Institute has agreed to circulate the advice contained within this publication to all Scottish housing authorities. Three main areas in which allocation policy can be implicitly discriminatory are highlighted:

- i) Residential qualifications, which are often inappropriate for ethnic minority groups;
- ii) the shortage of larger dwellings which discriminates against those with an extended family structure, and
- iii) the disproportionate social and economic deprivation experienced by ethnic minorities, which can make them especially vulnerable to the processes which tend to concentrate those in the greatest need in the least desirable areas.

It is therefore recommended that housing authorities should re-examine a variety of issues; e.g. the processes of registration on waiting and transfer lists; the points system in operation; the rules governing nomination to housing associations; new town and Scottish Special Housing Association (SSHA) provision. It is also recommended that the local authorities re-consider the planning decisions leading

to the declaration of Housing Action Areas, and the effect of planning decisions on housing stock in the private sector. The latter is of particular concern to ethnic minority communities, as they are often concentrated in the areas considered to be most in need of treatment.

The need to keep records is again stressed (and it is pointed out that a number of English local authorities have found the extra cost involved to be minimal), not only with reference to local authority housing, but also of such issues as the uptake of grants and the use made by the ethnic minorities of housing advice centres. It is recognised that such records could be subject to misuse, but SCRE believes that liaison with ethnic minority organizations and appropriate staff training programmes will minimise the dangers.

The final point leads on to the question of the participation of ethnic minority groups in these issues. It is perhaps in this area that the recommendations of SCRE are most lacking. Insufficient emphasis is placed on the important role which must be played by organizations with their roots firmly in the ethnic minority communities. Intermediary bodies like SCRE and CRCs have an important role to play, but they must not be slow to step aside to allow the communities themselves to take the initiative.

In its assessment of the situation in Scotland, SCRE does not paint a particularly bright picture. When examining the situation in Strathclyde (Glasgow) in more detail, however, it becomes clear

that things are improving as a result of a combination of initiatives; i.e. those taken by the local authorities, those taken by the CRC, and those taken by the ethnic minority organizations. It is, however, only very recently that such changes have begun to occur.

In his profile of Glasgow housing in 1965, Cullingworth makes no mention of ethnic minority groups, other than to say that immigrants (i.e. anyone from outside Scotland), rarely find a house in the council sector. Much more recently the Glasgow District Council publication : 'Implications of Population Changes to 1983' (September 1978) makes no mention of the presence of ethnic minorities. As mentioned by the SCRE survey, no structure plan, including the Strathclyde Structure Plan, makes any reference to the needs of ethnic minorities. The introduction of the Housing Plan system has also neglected to consider the needs of ethnic minorities.

Although the four Housing Plans for Glasgow cover many issues and areas of relevance to ethnic minorities, they do not mention them as having any specific problems. For example, Housing Plan 3 discusses dwelling size imbalance (p. 44); the role of other public housing agencies (eg. the SSHA and the Housing Associations in Govanhill and Pollok) (p 7.7 — p 7.11); and the role of the private sector, where the interest of the Abbey National Building Society in Govanhill is specifically mentioned.

The most encouraging signs appear at a more local level. The survey reports of the Garnethill and Woodlands (see Fig. II : ix)

Local Plans both contain estimates of their ethnic minority populations. In Garnethill the total population is estimated at 2,000, of which 750 are estimated to be Chinese, and 250 are estimated to be South Asian. As with all other areas of the city in which there is a high concentration of ethnic minorities, the levels of owner-occupation are much higher than the Glasgow city average: in Garnethill the figure is 52%, the Glasgow average is 23%. Most of the housing in Garnethill is eligible for district council home loan finance, but falls below the value threshold set for building society finance. In Garnethill Primary School (the only primary school in the local plan area), 77% of the children have parents who are immigrants. The survey report for Garnethill states (p. 2.13) that the population of the area is considered to be representative of inner city residential areas in general, and it is not intended that this should be disturbed.

The population of Woodlands is estimated to be around 4,850 — as with the population of Garnethill — there has been a decrease in numbers since 1971, mainly due to policies of rehabilitation, and in the case of Garnethill, clearance. The estimated number of the population of Woodlands (those not born in Britain — of which the majority are Asian) is 13,065, i.e. 27% of the population of the area. Of the 1,924 dwellings in Woodlands, 58% are in owner-occupation, and as is the case in Garnethill, a very low percentage is owned by the local authority (less than 10% in each case). A fact which may be surprising in an area of high ethnic concentration, is that the occupancy rates per house are 0.1% lower than the average for Glasgow. In Willowbank Primary School, which is the only one in the area, 76% of the pupils have parents who are immigrants.

Despite having acknowledged that the area is multi-racial, however, when mentioning the 'other educational facilities' available at the Woodlands Teachers' Centre, no mention is made of the multi-cultural resource centre and English language classes for Asian women which are housed there. It is pointed out that there is one Moslem Temple in the local plan area, but when mentioning the other churches serving the area, no reference is made to the other Sikh, Hindu and Moslem temples of the city. Finally, reference is made to the fact that the cinema on St. George's Road used to show South Asian films, but the cinema is now closed. Despite the fact that reasonable coverage of the presence of ethnic minorities in the area, no positive statement such as that contained within the local Garnethill local plan is made.

The Pollokshields and Dumbreck local plan survey report is more disappointing. The area has a substantial ethnic minority population, perhaps particularly in East-West Pollokshields, but no mention is made of the existence other than to refer to the two Sikh Temples in the area. As with the other areas, the rate of owner-occupation is much higher than the average for Glasgow: 68% for the area as a whole, and 72% and 58% respectively for Pollokshields East and West. In Pollokshields West there has been a 31% increase in owner-occupation since 1971. In this case the occupance of 3.16 persons per dwelling is higher than the city average for all types of housing of 2.93.

Of the four plans covering the areas with the highest

percentages of ethnic minorities, Govanhill Local Plan is the only one which makes absolutely no reference to their presence. Neither the survey report of 1979 nor the written statement of 1981 acknowledge the Asian-Chinese communities of the area. As with the local plan areas mentioned, the level of owner-occupation in Govanhill is significantly above the average for Glasgow, as is the amount of housing for private rental. This feature of the distribution of the ethnic minority community in Glasgow conforms to the patterns observed nationally.

In the Section on education, there is no mention of the significant percentage of children from an Asian or Chinese background on the rolls of the two non-denominational primary schools. This is despite the fact that there is a need for special English language teaching in these schools. When the religious provision of the area is discussed, the wide range of religions represented in Govanhill is also unmentioned.

The four local plan areas mentioned are those with the highest percentages of ethnic minorities in the city, but while Garnethill and Woodlands acknowledge that the presence of these groups must have an impact on planning issues, Pollokshields and Dumbreck and Govanhill do not seem to see this as relevant. *

A major step in a positive direction was taken in 1981 when Glasgow Housing Department approached Strathclyde CRC to arrange for the translation of the booklet 'Your Home in Glasgow', describing the council housing points system, into ethnic minority

languages. Translations were made into Urdu, Punjabi and Hakka (Chinese)
A representative from the Housing Department sits as an observer on
the CRC executive.

Glasgow District Council Labour Group (in this publication
Glasgow's Council Housing) 'A New Dimension' (1978-1979), while not
mentioning the ethnic minorities specifically, does emphasise the
need to "make council houses available to persons and groups who
currently find it difficult to obtain accommodation", and as a basis
for the future development of housing policy they recommend that
"council housing be given a wider role in society". Such
recommendations have obvious implications for the ethnic minorities,
and should therefore be expressed in more detailed terms, such that
all groups with special needs may begin to see that they can be
catered for within the local authority's remit.

A new direction which may gain in importance as the restrictions
on local authority housing finance increase, is bank provisions of
loans for property which falls below the levels acceptable to the
building societies.

This, however, could have two effects. On the surface it could
increase the availability of finance for house purchase by the ethnic
minority groups. On the other hand, it could attract a larger range
of potential buyers who had previously ignored such areas.

There are one or two further encouraging signs of initiative
from the housing department. A current CRC project on the housing

of ethnic minorities in Glasgow has attracted the interest of the housing convenor and a member of the housing research department. The majority of advances in official response to the presence of ethnic minorities in Glasgow have, however, come about by other means: in the main through the work of the CRC; the Campaign Against Racism (CAR), and a variety of ethnic minority organizations. The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), the national body, has until now, taken little interest in Scotland, with Scottish affairs being administered from Manchester.

A major role was played by the CRC in securing Urban Aid provision for multi-cultural education in Glasgow, in the absence of any grant under Section 11 of the Local Government Act of 1966. The project began with a request to the convenor of the Strathclyde Education Committee in 1976. Section 11 funding was refused by the Secretary of State for Scotland, but by 1978 the CRC and the Glasgow division of the education department sent the proposal to the Urban Renewal Unit. The project was approved just before the end of the term of the last government.

The scheme began at the beginning of the 1980/1981 school session and will run for three years, with the possibility of a further two years' funding at the end of that time. The provision will cover every aspect of education in the ethnic minority communities from pre-school to adult education, and will employ 45 extra teaching and other staff. The scheme itself is only part of the picture. The Education Department of Strathclyde also

support the language centre (for children between 8-16 who are recent settlers in Britain and whose first language is not English); a Unit dealing with older pupils at Cardonald College of Education; and eleven extra-curricular language and cultural schools in Glasgow.

CRC is also active in support of an attempt to introduce Asian languages into the curriculum in some secondary schools, and organizes home-tutoring schemes, summer schools, and the development of community education.

Under guidance from CRC and the ethnic minority organizations, Glasgow District Libraries have established Asian language collections at six libraries throughout the city. Audio items are available at two of the city's libraries.

The Scottish Adult Basic Education Unit has been encouraged to consider the problems of adults (particularly women) from ethnic minority groups, who have little command of English.

Education is only one area of CRC involvement: the executive committee includes representatives from housing (as mentioned), the education department, the social work department, and the community police branch. Two regional councillors are also members.

A major concern of the CRC at present is the lack of provision for abandoned or abused Asian wives, which is apparently

an increasing problem. Women's Aid have set up a hostel for such women in Kilmacolm, a residential village to the South-West of Glasgow. The CRC believe, however, that such a location does not meet the real needs. They are at present considering the possibility of a site closer to the city centre, and the question of finding member(s) of the Asian community to run such an establishment.

The needs of the elderly from ethnic minority communities are changing, as the role of the traditional extended family begins to change. The Social Welfare Sub-Committee of the CRC recommend that housing and social work departments should attempt to anticipate the problems before they become serious.

A Community Enterprise Programme which has been initiated by the CRC in conjunction with the Manpower Services Commission, tackles the problem of Vitamin D deficiency in the Asian population. This can lead to rickets in children and disorders of the pelvic bone in women.

The project began in October 1981 and lasts for one year. It involves a process of education of Asian families and the distribution of information. The problem arises because an adequate diet in a sunny country is not adequate in a climate like that of Britain, and many people do not change the diet when they emigrate. Vitamin D can be absorbed from the sun's rays through the skin, but in this country a dietary supplement is often necessary to achieve the same levels in the body.

A number of Asian women are employed on this project, for the ability to communicate in Punjabi (the spoken language of most Asians in Glasgow) is often essential.

The CRC also offers interpreting services, which aid members of the ethnic minority communities to deal with courts, children's panels, hospitals, the DHSS and in the area of consumer protection.

Some local authorities and other bodies do approach these services for the translation of official documents and publications. The examples of such translations are varied, but not as numerous as they should be. In the year 1980/81 the translating services dealt with, for example, a planning permission guide for Monklands District Council; the Glasgow Housing Department points system leaflet; the Environmental Health Department's instructions on food hygiene, and a health directory for Glasgow (S.W.) Health Council. The Planning Department has recently approached the services for a translation of the Islamic Faith (a guide to the rites and practices of Islam), which will enable them to deal with the planning warrant application for the new Glasgow Mosque.

The Strathclyde Campaign Against Racism, a body connected to the CRC, but with a more overt campaigning role, has also received encouraging responses from the Education and Social Work Departments. The annual multi-cultural children's festivals organized by the CAR have the support of both, and a leaflet on Britain as a multi-cultural society, produced by CAR, has been accepted by the Modern Studies section of the Education Department for use in schools.

A one-day conference for secondary school children is currently being arranged on the same topic, again with the support of the Education Department.

The role of SCRR is rather more geared to campaigning on national issues, e.g. the law, the role of the police, housing policy, etc.

Unfortunately, until now, the CRC and other such bodies have remained at the forefront of contact with the local authorities and other statutory agencies. Although these organizations obviously include members of the ethnic minority groups and organizations, they are not controlled by them. It would seem that there must come a time when the ethnic organizations can approach such bodies directly, rather than through the liaison of intermediary agencies.

One important move in this direction recently was the formation of the Scottish Asian Action Committee (SAAC), which was set up to oppose the decision of Sheriff Middleton, who refused to imprison a man for the rape of a twelve year old girl, because of cultural differences between Asians and British in terms of marriageable age, etc. The SAAC took their protest to the Secretary of State for Scotland, and succeeded in preventing the re-appointment of the Sheriff to the Bench. Having achieved its immediate goal, the group nevertheless remains in existence, and would appear to provide a potential for future action by the Asian community itself.

The contact of statutory bodies with such groups must be increased if the real needs of the ethnic minority communities in Glasgow are to be understood and dealt with.

SECTION IV.

Chapter 2.

The Historical and Economic Background
to the Development of Govanhill

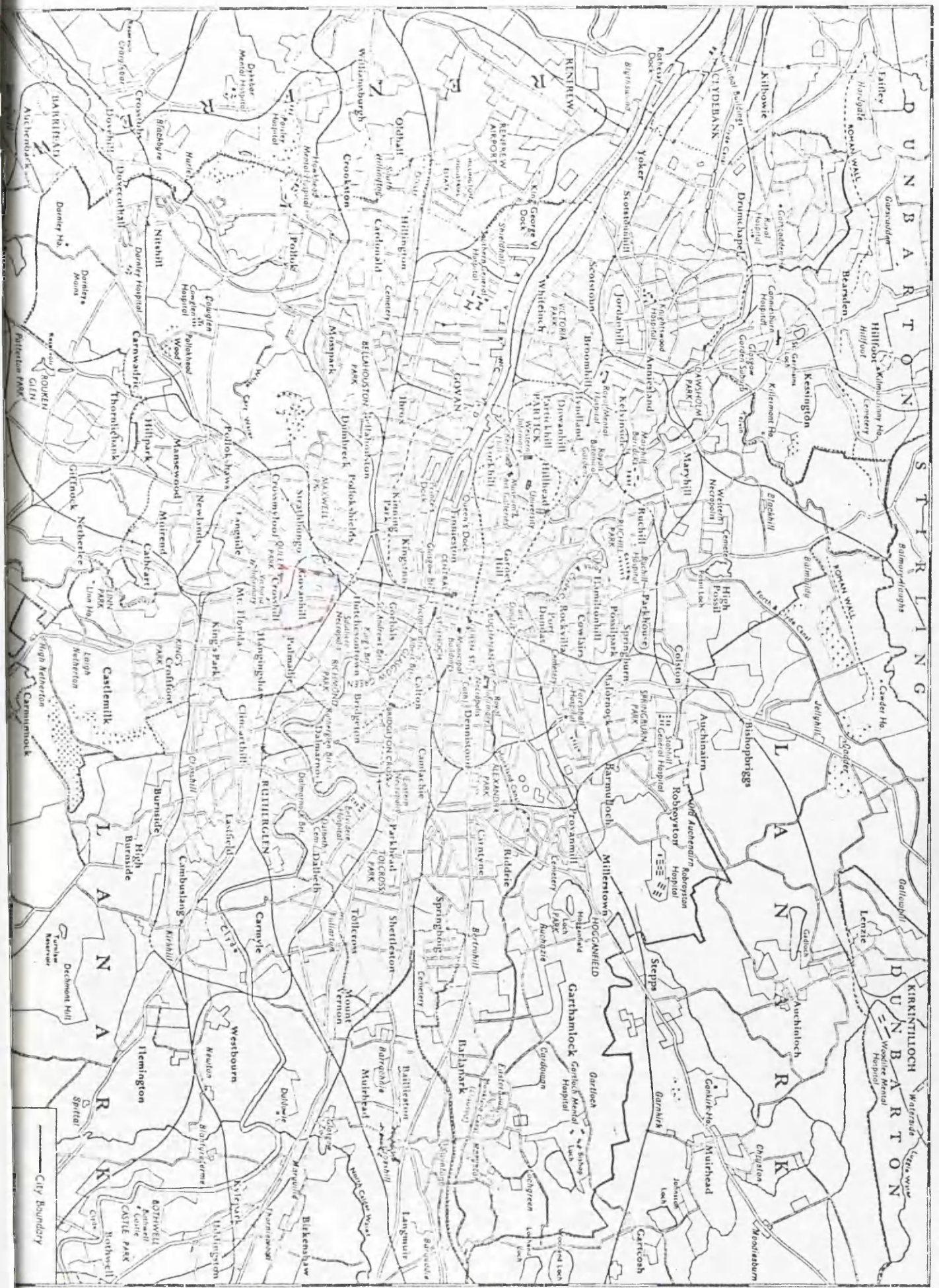
In this section the results of the survey into the housing conditions of Asians living in Govanhill will be examined. However, it may be useful to begin by looking at the development of housing in the area, and the nature of the improvement schemes now under way.

Govanhill, like many of Glasgow's old inner-city areas, is currently experiencing the process of re-development. This is long overdue.

Govanhill is located one mile to the south of the city centre (see Map IV : (i)), and began life as almost purely residential in the boom years of the nineteenth century. The area was part of Renfrewshire until 1877, when it became a Police Borough, with its own elected council. In 1891 it became part of the Glasgow Corporation area, and the situation remained thus until Glasgow Corporation became Glasgow District under reorganization in 1975.

The building of the tenements began in Govanhill in the 1860s, when new suburbs of Glasgow were being developed to accommodate the new industrial working class. 1872-1876 were the peak years of development for Govanhill, and also for such areas as Dalmarnock, Springburn and Maryhill. This period was closely followed by one of recession. When the City of Glasgow Bank failed in 1878, this type of speculative development failed with it. Nevertheless, the

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distinctive grey sandstone tenement blocks had now become a feature of working class residential areas.

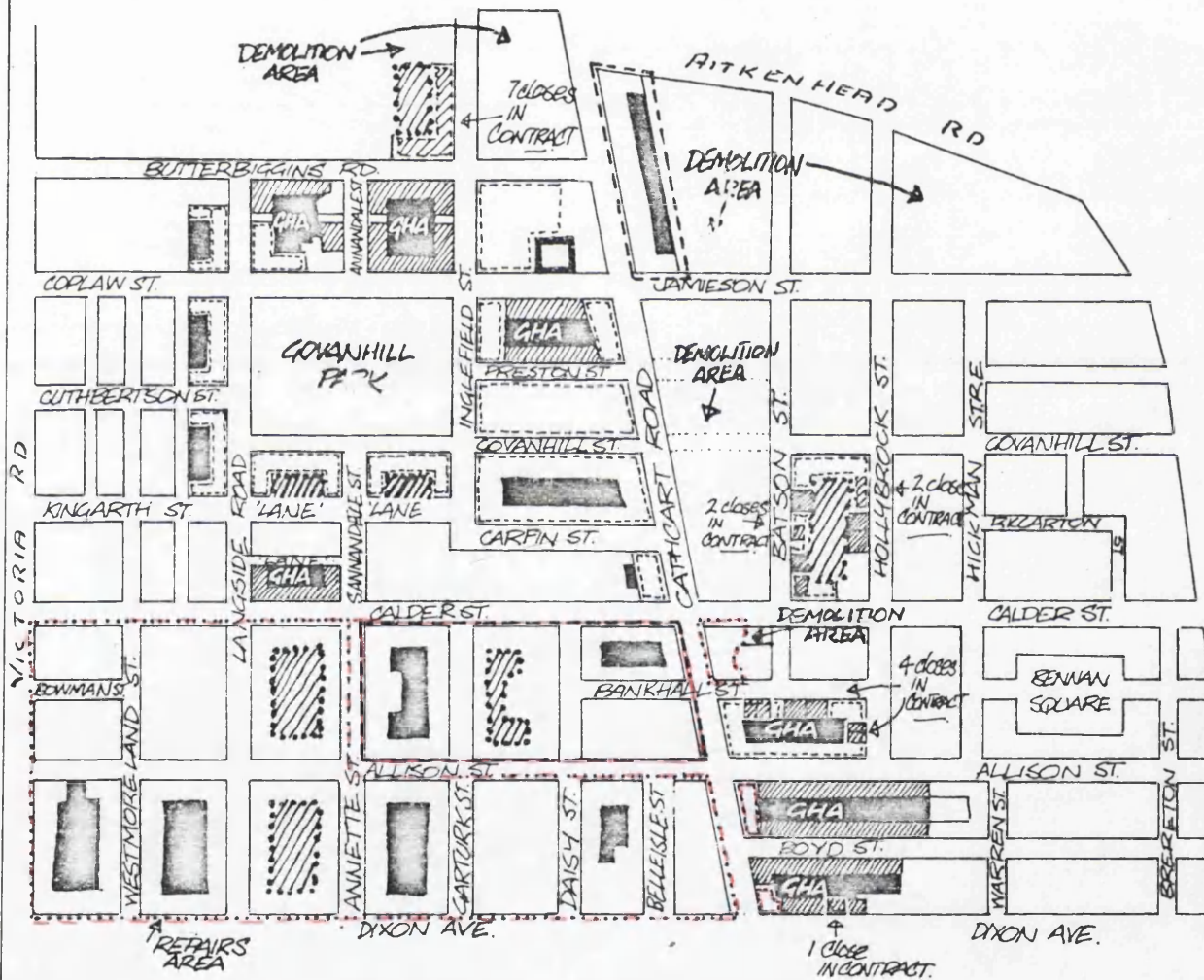
By the mid-1880s the city had recovered from this slump, and building began again. By the beginning of World War I most of Govanhill had been developed, with privately built tenement blocks. Glasgow Corporation completed the development of the area during the inter-war period, with more tenements and some cottages nearer the periphery of Govanhill. In the period since the Second World War there has been virtually no new buildings in Govanhill.

Like many other areas of Glasgow, Govanhill suffered from high living densities and official neglect, i.e. slum clearance was concentrated on worse areas. By the 1950s most of the property was in a poor condition. This situation was made worse by the originally poor lay-out, and the lack of open space and community facilities.

In the 1960s, when the Corporation began its programme of inter-city redevelopment in Glasgow, the oldest part of Govanhill (around Aitkenhead Road — see Map IV : (ii)), was designated an outline Comprehensive Development Area, but work did not begin immediately. The older districts closer to the city centre were in a worse condition, and so took priority.

It was not until the beginning of 1974 that the planning department began its programme for the comprehensive redevelopment of Govanhill.

GOVANHILL PLAN



BACKCOURTS

IMPROVED



TO BE IMPROVED



CLOSES

IMPROVED



TO BE IMPROVED



FEASIBILITY STUDY



REPAIRS AREA



One of the first major problems to be tackled was overcrowding. The 1971 Census shows that 46.1% of the dwellings in the area had only 1 or 2 rooms; while a further 37.4% had 3 rooms. The Scottish Census states that occupancy of less than 1.5 persons per room is acceptable, but that if there is an occupancy rate any greater than that, the dwelling is considered to be overcrowded. The figures given in Table IV : (iii) below compare the occupational density in Govanhill in 1971 with the Scottish average, and with the averages of the main cities of Scotland (Katz, p.226, 1981)

TABLE IV : (iii)

Household Occupational Density : Persons per room by various Regional Units — 1971					
	Over $1\frac{1}{2}$	Over 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$	Over 3 or 4 to 1	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 or 4	Less than $\frac{1}{2}$
Scotland	6.5	12.7	25.3	36.8	18.7
Aberdeen	3.9	12.8	28.3	37.8	17.4
Dundee	5.7	13.3	27.8	38.7	14.5
Edinburgh	5.3	10.7	23.5	38.1	22.3
Glasgow	14.2	15.1	27.0	31.5	12.2
Govanhill	15.4	16.2	26.8	32.7	8.8

The table shows that although Govanhill is not much worse than Glasgow as a whole; in terms of the Scottish average, and the averages for the other major cities, overcrowding is significantly worse.

A second major problem in Govanhill was the lack of basic household amenities. The figures in Table IV : (iv), again for 1971, show that the situation in Govanhill is again significantly worse than the Scottish average. In this case, it is also significantly

worse than the average for the city of Glasgow as a whole.

(Katz, p.227, 1981)

TABLE IV : (iv) Based on 1971 Census Data

Lack of Basic Household Amenities : By various Regional Units				
	No hot water	No bath or shower	No inside W.C.	Exclusive use of all 3 Amenities
Scotland	7.1	12.1	5.7	86.3
Aberdeen	9.0	22.4	10.0	74.8
Dundee	12.1	18.9	8.5	80.0
Edinburgh	6.7	14.3	1.9	82.5
Glasgow	15.9	22.3	9.7	75.2
Govanhill	26.9	39.6	9.9	57.7

For these and other reasons, the first report for the Govanhill Local Plan — a working document produced in 1974, designated housing as a priority.

The distribution of household types in Govanhill at about this time is given in Table IV : (v), below.

TABLE IV : (v)

Distribution of Household Types in Govanhill : 1970		
	Number	%
Corporation-owned inter-war tenements	913	11.7
" " " " cottages	249	3.2
Privately-owned inter-war cottages	76	1.0
Pre-1914 tenements	6,548	84.1
Total :	7,786	100

Of the 6,548 pre-1914 tenements, the local plan identified 49% as scheduled for clearance. Of the remainder of this figure 2,576 were to be improved by some voluntary scheme.

The District Council's role in the initial stages of the redevelopment

of Govanhill was mainly one of clearance. By the mid to late 1970s, however, the District Council input had begun to tackle the problem more positively, and policies of new building and rehabilitation figured strongly in the Local Plan. A major new provision is to be a health centre for the area and a site has been allocated. A presently vacant site has also been earmarked for a development of sheltered housing.

Programmes of rehabilitation and environmental improvement are now under way. The areas designated Housing Treatment Areas are now almost complete (with not inconsiderable help from the Govanhill Housing Association). Of the properties designated Housing Action Areas for Improvement, work has begun on most and is at various stages of completion: again, Govanhill Housing Association projects figure prominently.

The properties in the third area, designated a Repairs Area, are the properties in which the majority of members of the ethnic minority communities are concentrated. (See Map IV : (ii).) According to the Local Plan, these properties are at present above the minimum tolerable standard, but have yet to be surveyed to "ascertain rehabilitation potential". Some work has been done by the District Council on the rehabilitation of backcourts in this area; but at present work on the tenements themselves is dependant on the initiative of tenants and owners to apply for environmental improvement or repair grants.

The second major body concerned with the rehabilitation of

housing in the Govanhill area is the aforementioned Govanhill Housing Association (GHA). The GHA was formed in 1975 by a group of local residents, and is run on a voluntary basis, although full-time staff are employed. The Association is sponsored by central government through the housing corporation, and also by the Glasgow District Council. Strathclyde University funds the architectural services through their ASSIST programme. (ASSIST is a unit of the Department of Architecture and Building Science at the University of Strathclyde. It was formed in 1972 as an action-research project to examine the feasibility of the voluntary improvement of Glasgow's tenement housing. It is a community-based design practice which attempts to involve local people in their own housing programme. ASSIST now operates from three local offices in Glasgow, one of which is in Govanhill).

By April 1981, GHA had improved 632 houses in the Govanhill area (figures from GHA Annual Report, 1981). 119 of these belong to private owners and landlords, who are funded by district council home improvement grants and loans. The rest are owned by GHA and are rented to tenants. The GHA maintain all improved properties by providing a factoring service for both owners and tenants. The property which has been involved in the GHA schemes was below the minimum tolerable standard in terms of living densities and the three basic amenities.

There are some Asians resident in GHA property, but apparently not in significant numbers. Those who were resident in the property before improvement seemed to accept the GHA offer to buy

the property, and then moved elsewhere (whether within Govanhill or not is not clear). Few took up the options either to undergo the improvement process as owner-occupiers, or to rent the property back from the GHA, once improvements were complete.

Finally, it may be useful to look at the way in which the population structure of Govanhill has changed, and how it compares with the city average.

Tables IV : (vi) and IV : (vii) illustrate the age profile by sex for Govanhill and Glasgow in 1961 and 1971 (Katz 1981). The age structure of the community in 1971 shows a higher than city average of 20-29 year olds and 0-4 year olds : this is more pronounced than the situation in 1961. This may be explainable to some extent by the age structure of the ethnic minority population in Britain, which contains relatively high percentages of young children and young adults. It is, however, only since 1971 that the Asian population of Govanhill has really grown. 1971 Census data shows that -

87%	of the population are of Scottish descent;
6.9%	" " Irish " and
5%	" " English & New Commonwealth descent.

(Katz, 1981)

The total population of Govanhill has declined since 1971, due to policies of clearance and rehabilitation. In 1971 the figure was 19,486 : the survey report of the Govanhill Local Plan (published in 1979) estimated the population of the area to be 13,600. No figures for the present percentages are given, but it appears likely from the survey described in the following chapter, that the percentages are now higher than those quoted in the Census of 1971.

The Asian population of the Govanhill area will now be examined in more detail.

Fig IV : vi
(1961)

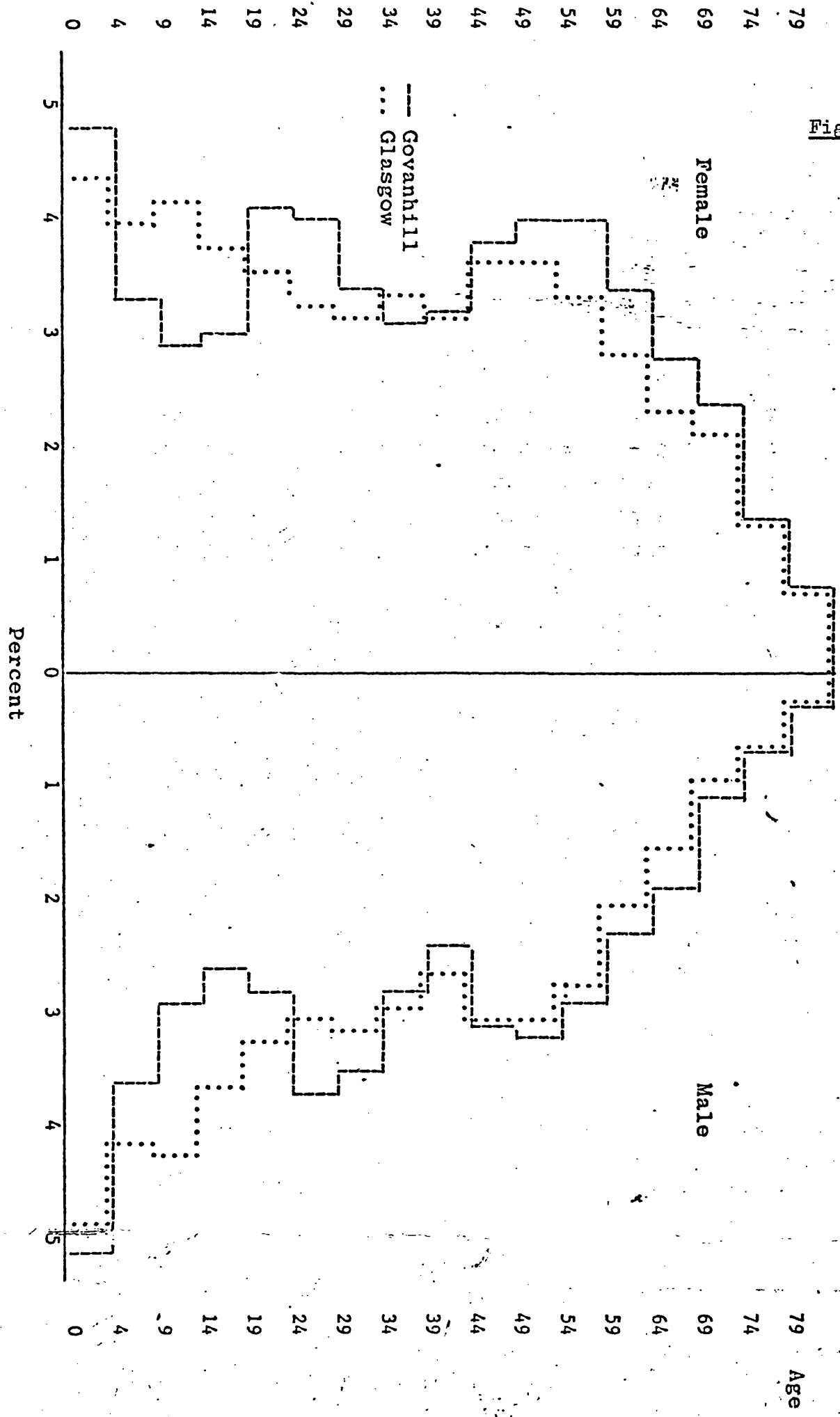
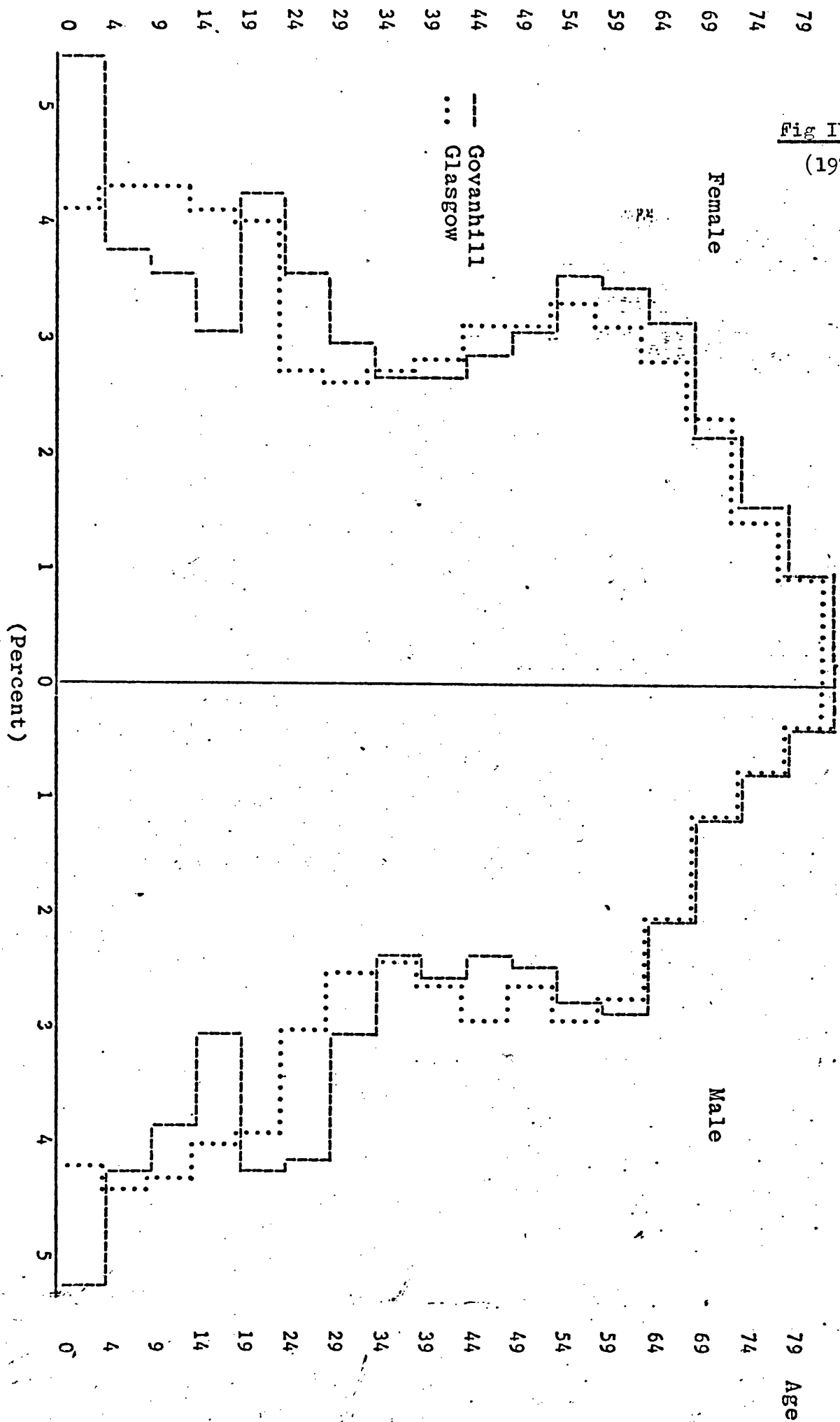


Fig IV: vii
(1971)



SECTION IV. Chapter 3.

Govanhill Survey

The survey described in this chapter covered 30 Asian families living in the Govanhill area of Glasgow. The aim was to examine many of the issues connected with housing, which appear most relevant at a national level. The issues discussed in Section II Chapter 2 give some indication of what they may be. The object was to explore the relevance of these features to the situation in Glasgow, and to uncover any similarities between this and the national experience.

The major issues which seem to have emerged from this study are:-

- 1) The extent of inequality of opportunity and access to housing.
- 2) The importance of class position combined with racial origin as determinants of the degree of inequality.
- 3) The influence which these factors exert over the choice of housing and location available to ethnic minorities; and over patterns of segregation and concentration.
- 4) The influence of discriminatory practices and policies in the area of housing.
(These may be intentionally racist, but it seems more likely that many policies have an unintentionally discriminatory effect).

In the attempt to assess the importance of these issues to the Asian communities in Glasgow, the following factors were examined:

The origins of the households chosen, their nationality, household size, social class, and the extent of unemployment. Migration patterns, both within Britain and within Glasgow, were considered and related to ethnic origin and social class. Housing conditions; tenure; amenities; overcrowding and necessary repairs. Housing payments; ease of access to finance; sources of loans and mortgages; and rents. Applications for council houses. Information and access to services; knowledge of organisations and grants available; sources of information, participation in community and housing organisations. Finally, aspirations for the future and the perceived chances of these being met.

Govanhill was chosen for the study because those with a knowledge of Glasgow's Asian communities (e.g. members of Strathclyde CRC) consider it to be fairly representative of the areas of the city in which these groups are concentrated. There is, however, a slight over-representation of Glasgow's total Pakistani community, and a slight under-representation of the Indian community. There is also a significant proportion of Glasgow's Chinese population resident in the area, but the survey is confined to those of Pakistani, Indian and Kashmiri origin.

The survey was conducted in the area of Govanhill, designated a Repairs Area (see Fig.IV : ii). From local knowledge and from a study of the electoral register, this appeared to be the part

of Govanhill in which most Asians were concentrated. The numbers of Asians resident in Govanhill's district council provision in housing association property were low.

The Repairs Area comprises 1,885 housing units (figures from an initial door-to-door survey of the area). Of these, at least 257 are occupied by Asians (this figure is calculated from the door-to-door survey, combined with the use of the electoral register). This figure is about 13% of the total number of housing units. The figure of 257 is possibly an under-estimation, as it is likely that many Asians are not registered*. It must also be considered that some housing units may be occupied by more than one family; or more likely, that the family in occupation may have an extended structure.

The sample used in the survey was 30 families, chosen from 257 names: the sample is therefore more than 10% (11.6%) of the estimated total. The numbers of names chosen from each street were proportionate to the total number of Asian names in that street. It must not be assumed, however, that each street comprised of a single quality of housing. The variations within each street could be quite significant.

* In December 1980, a check of the electoral roll of Park Ward was organised with the help of the Scottish Immigrant Labour Council. Park Ward includes Woodlands and Garnethill, two of the inner city areas of Glasgow with significant ethnic minority populations. This revealed 248 people from ethnic minority groups who were not registered on the electoral roll, although they were entitled to be.

The sample was also chosen to reflect the differing proportions of Indians and Pakistanis in Glasgow and Govanhill. Kashmiris consider their State to be separate from India: they are, however, often viewed as being of Indian origin. It was possible, with expert help, to distinguish between those of Pakistani origin and those of Indian origin, by the family name. Because of the slight over-representation of Pakistanis in Govanhill, the chosen sample also contained this weighting.

The thirty families chosen were divided along ethnic lines in the following manner:-

Fig IV : viii

Ethnic Origins of Govanhill Sample

21	of	Pakistani origin	(1 Kenyan Asian)
7	of	Indian	"
2	of	Kashmiri	"

In the first section I would like to discuss 'the people', their origins, their nationalities, social class, household sizes, family structures, and rates of unemployment.

Of the thirty families, many heads of households had applied for, and secured, British nationality. None of the heads of households had been born in the United Kingdom.

Fig IV : ix.

Nationalities of Govanhill Sample

18 heads of households held British nationality				
6	"	"	held Pakistani	"
6	"	"	held Indian	"

Fig IV : x.

Ethnic origins of British Nationals

Of the 18 who held British nationality -				
15 were of Pakistani origin				
1	was	of Indian	"	
2	were	of Kashmiri	"	

It would seem from these figures that Pakistanis are more likely to seek British nationality, i.e. about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Pakistanis hold British nationality, while only one out seven of the Indians do so.

When this feature is broken down by length of residence in Britain, there does not seem to be any indication that it can be explained in these terms. Only 2 of the sample of 30 (1 Pakistani and 1 Indian national) have been resident in Britain for less than 5 years. Therefore, most of the families surveyed have had time in which to consider application.

Social class has been highlighted as a vital issue throughout this study. The sample of Asian families in Govanhill was broken down according to the Registrar General's classification*.

The following Table shows the results, based on the occupation of the head of the household.

Fig IV : xi Social Class by Ethnic Origin

Class	Pakistani	Indian	Kashmiri	Total
Intermediate II	2		1	3
Skilled Occupation III.				
(a) non-manual	8	4		12
(b) manual	1			1
Partly skilled IV.	1	1	1	3
Unskilled V.	2			2
Unemployed	5	1		6
Retired	2	1		3
	21	7	2	30

* The Registrar General's definitions of social class appear in the Classification of Occupations 1980 : Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (HMSO. 1980, p.x.)

"Since 1911 it has been customary as an aid to certain kinds of statistical analysis, to arrange the large number of unit groups of the Occupational Classification into a small number of broad categories, called social classes" : I) Professional occupations; II) Intermediate occupations; III) divided into (a) non-manual and (b) manual Skilled occupations; IV) Partly skilled occupations; V) Unskilled occupations.

(Classes II and IV are also divided according to whether the job is manual or non-manual. In this study, however, all of class II are non-manual and all of class IV are manual).

"As far as possible, each category is homogenous in relation to the basic criterion of the general standing within the community of the occupations concerned".

The classifications are based on such factors as income, level of education required and employment status.

The unemployed and the retired are, for the purposes of this study, considered as separate groupings.

There are two particularly striking factors about these figures. First, the high proportion classified as social class III (non-manual): two out of five of the total sample fell into this grouping. Of this group of 12, 11 were small shopkeepers. Second, a further one-fifth of the total sample was unemployed — again, a high proportion. The actual extent of unemployment was, in fact, even greater; the figures given in the Table only consider the heads of households. Four other individuals were found to be unemployed. It can also be noted that no-one in the sample fell into the first classification.

Further considerations in an attempt to describe the people involved in the study, are family structure and household size. The survey found only one example of multi-occupancy, but of the thirty families interviewed, eight (all Pakistani) had an extended family structure. When this figure is broken down by the social class of the family, there does not appear to be any significance to this factor. An extended family is here defined as anything other than married couples or parents and children.

It would seem from this figure that although an extended family is not unusual in the Govanhill area, it is far from being the normal structure for Asian families resident there.

It may be, therefore, that household size is of more importance than the family structure, when attempting to assess the housing needs of Glasgow's Asian community.

Fig. IV : xii.

Household Size by Social Class

Number of People in Household										
Class	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
Intermediate II		1			1		1			3
Skilled Occupation III										
(a) non-manual	1	3	2	3		2	1			12
(b) manual				1						1
Partly skilled IV.		1		1		1				3
Unskilled V.						1	1			2
Unemployed			3	2			1			6
Retired	1			1					1	3
Total	2	5	5	8	1	4	4		1	30

The figures given in Fig IV : xii show a wide spread of household size, but as may be expected, there is a significant proportion of larger households. Three out of five of the households have more than 4 members, and one out of three have more than 5. This would imply problems if these people were to apply to Glasgow District Council for housing. All four of Glasgow District's Housing Plans have pointed to the shortage of larger accommodation.

Again it would appear that social class is not a particularly useful indicator. Large and small households are spread throughout the seven categories used.

A second area for analysis is migration within the United

Kingdom. This will be divided into movement before arrival in Glasgow, and movement within Glasgow.

Of the thirty families, nineteen had come straight to Glasgow from their country of origin. Most of these had made several moves within Glasgow, several from a starting point in the Gorbals. This pattern agrees with the findings of Kearsley and Srivastava (1974). Of the remaining eleven families, all but one had first settled elsewhere in England (see p.3 appendix 1). Therefore more than one third of the sample had continued to be relatively mobile after the move to Britain. Fig IV : xiii shows the number of families who have moved to Glasgow from elsewhere in Britain by social class.

Fig.IV : xiii.

Moves to Glasgow from
Elsewhere in Britain
by Social Class

Class	Number of families who have moved from elsewhere.	Total number of families in this class
Intermediate II	1	3
Skilled Occupations III		
(a) non-manual	5	12
(b) manual	-	1
Partly skilled IV	2	3
Unskilled V	-	2
Unemployed	3	6
Retired	-	3

The sections of the Asian population in Govanhill who have been most mobile appear to be concentrated in three groups: social class III (non manual) (small shopkeepers); social class IV (cooks and bus drivers); and the unemployed. This may be explainable in terms of entrepreneurial motives on the part of the small shopkeepers, but the motives of the other groups are rather more difficult to interpret.

As stated, there has also been a significant degree of movement within Glasgow, although mostly between areas with a significant presence of Asians. Fig IV : xiv. gives the number of moves within Glasgow, by social class, for the whole sample:

Fig IV : xiv.

No. of moves within
Glasgow by Social Class

Class of family	No. of moves in Glasgow					Total No. of families in this class
	0	1	2	3	4	
Intermediate II.	1			1	1	3
Skilled Occupations III.						
(a) non-manual	3	7	2			12
(b) manual	1					1
Partly skilled IV.		1	1	1		3
Unskilled V.		1		1		2
Unemployed	4		1	1		6
Retired		1			2	3
TOTAL						30

Two features emerge from this table, again related to the III non-manual group and the unemployed. The shopkeepers are all in the 0, 1 & 2 move categories, the majority having made one move. Although these figures are obviously related to some extent to length of residence in Glasgow, they may also be viewed as a reflector of the need of the small shop owner to remain close to his place of work. For such people there seems little advantage to be gained by frequent moves. From conversation with this group it would seem that these moves had been to improve housing conditions, rather than to improve proximity to place of work. The high percentage of unemployed who have made no move may simply be a reflection of lack of finance and lack of choice. These features will, however, be more fully considered in the next Section, when type of tenure will also be taken into account.

The third Section will deal with type of tenure, overcrowding, amenities and repairs.

The thirty households consisted of twenty-five owner-occupiers, four renters, and one 'other' (householder living rent-free in a property owned by a relative). Fig IV : xv and Fig IV : xvi show tenure type and more detail, and compare the situation of the Asians with the situation in Govanhill and in Glasgow as a whole. (Latter figures from Govanhill Local Plan Survey Report, 1979).

Fig IV : xv

Type of Tenure by Ethnic Origin

Type of Tenure	Pakistani	Indian	Total
Outright owners	11	5	16
Owners with mortgage or loan *	2	2	4
Owners with District Council loans	4	1	5
Renters	3	1	4
Others	1	-	1
TOTAL	21	9	30

* Loan other than a District Council loan.

Fig IV : xvi

Types of Tenure Occupied by Asians
Compared with Types of Tenure in
Govanhill and Glasgow

Figures are given as
percentages

Type of Tenure	Asians in Govanhill (Repairs Area)	Govanhill	Glasgow
Owner Occupied	83.3	40	22
Private Rent	13.3	43	24
District Council	-	17	54
Other	3.3	-	-

These figures make it clear that the patterns of tenure of Asians in Govanhill and perhaps in Glasgow, are very similar to the patterns observed at the national level, i.e. a very high

percentage of Asians are in owner-occupation. Of these in owner-occupation it is also apparent that a high percentage own their homes outright. The figure for Govanhill (16 out of the sample of 30) is much higher than the figure quoted by Smith (1977, p.223). The PEP Report discovered 23% of Asians to be outright owners of their own homes, a figure which was the same as that for the general population. The survey of Govanhill shows more than half the sample to be outright owners. This may be explained by the poor quality, and hence the low price of much of the property in Govanhill.

The comparison with the figures for Glasgow shows that the rates of owner occupation in Govanhill are higher than average for the city. The same is true for all of the city areas (mentioned in Section IV, chapter 1) with a substantial ethnic minority population. The rate of owner occupation in this sample is, however, much higher than that for Govanhill as a whole.

When type of tenure is examined in conjunction with social class and number of moves within Glasgow, the patterns discussed in the previous section become clearer. All in social class III (non manual) have made 2 or fewer moves, eleven are owner-occupiers, and the majority of these (8) own their property outright. When property is owned outright, the incentives to move would appear to become much reduced. Of the unemployed who have not moved, three out of four are in rented accommodation, and have been there for a number of years. For such people, the chances of finding alternative accommodation at a similar price must be minimal.

Fig IV : xvii gives a more general view of the type of tenure by social class and by ethnic origin.

Table IV : xvii

Types of Tenure by Social
Class and Ethnic Origin

	Owned Outright		Owned Mortgage/ Loan		Owned District Council Loan		Rented		Other		
Class	Pak.	Ind.	Pak.	Ind.	Pak.	Ind.	Pak.	Ind.	Pak.	Ind.	TOTAL
2		1			2						3
3 non-manual	6	2	1	1		1	1				12
3 manual									1		1
4		1		1	1						3
5	1				1						2
Unemployed	2		1				2	1			6
Retired	2	1									3
	11	5	2	2	4	1	3	1	1		30

The PEP Report (Smith 1977, p.212) observed that the percentages of owner occupation among unskilled Asians were higher than those among Asians in the professional classes and managerial classes. There are no professional or managerial people in this sample, but otherwise the results seem to conform to nationally observed trends. Owner occupation is higher in the Asian community than in the white community.

The extent of outright ownership in the two ethnic groups mentioned is high in both cases. The percentage of outright ownership among those of Indian origin is greater, but with a sample of this

size, this is not significant.

Of the thirty dwellings, 13 are overcrowded by the standards of the Scottish Census 1971, i.e. more than 1.5 persons per room.

Fig IV : xviii shows the distribution of overcrowding by type of tenure, social class and ethnic origin.

Fig IV : xviii

Overcrowding by type of Tenure,
Social Class and Ethnic Origin.

Class	Owner Occupied		Rented		TOTAL
	Pakistani	Indian	Pakistani	Indian	
II	1				1
III Non manual	2		1		3
III Manual		1			1
IV	1	1			2
V	1				1
Unemployed	2		2		4
Retired	1				1
Total:	8	2	3	-	13

From these figures it will be seen that Pakistani families suffer disproportionately from overcrowding, i.e. eleven out of twenty one Pakistani families are overcrowded; whereas two out of nine Indian families are overcrowded. Overcrowding is spread throughout the different types of tenure. The unemployed suffer from overcrowding more than any other group, i.e. four out of six are overcrowded.

Overcrowding seems to be a significant problem; nearly half the households surveyed were found to suffer to some extent. It occurred in all social classes, but of the fifteen families in social class III (manual and below) nine suffered from overcrowding, while only four of the fifteen families in class III (non manual and above) suffered from the same problem. It would seem that this factor bears some relation to class position.

As all property inhabited by the households surveyed is within the Repairs Area, all households should have a kitchen, inside toilet, hot water, and a bath or shower. This did not prove to be the case. Twenty five of the dwellings did have all four amenities, but three lacked one and one property lacked two. One household had shared use of all amenities. Of the households that lacked amenities, there was no case where work was in progress to rectify this lack. Two of the owner occupied houssss had no bath or shower; one owner occupier had shared use of amenities. The other two properties were rented by families in which the head of the household was unemployed: one had no hot water and one had no inside toilet or bath or shower. The lack of amenities in the latter cases is rather more serious, but it cannot be ignored that there was also a lack in social class III (non manual). Grants are available to rectify these deficiencies, but no applications had been made.

Twenty one of the thirty households stated that they considered repairs (external or internal) were necessary to the property. Again, there was little evidence of work in progress. Information on grants

and other such issues will be considered later.

In general, many of the findings about housing conditions follow nationally observed trends. It must be pointed out, however, that many people in Glasgow experience similar conditions — the problems are not confined to the Asian community. The difference lies in the fact that larger percentages of the Asian communities are affected, because of the concentrations in inner-city areas.

Housing finance is an area in which differences between the Asian and the white communities are marked.

Of the sixteen families who own their homes outright, ten bought them outright; six of these used savings, two used a bank loan, and two received the house as a present. In two cases there was also some help from a relative or friends. Six families had gradually paid off a loan for their home: again, help from relatives or friends was mentioned in two cases.

Five families of the sample of thirty were buying their homes with the help of a District Council loan. None had experienced any difficulty in obtaining the loan. Of the four families buying with the help of a mortgage or a loan other than one from the District Council, only one was receiving a mortgage from a building society. Two had arranged loans with friends and relatives, and one had a private arrangement with the previous owner of the house. The latter had been refused a mortgage, but this was the only mention

of a refusal in the sample of thirty. It seems likely, then, that some of the sample would not have approached a building society in the first instance, preferring to rely on their own resources and private arrangements. It would also appear (from conversations in the course of research) that some families were also aware of the fact that much of Govanhill is not eligible for building society mortgages.

Those in rented accommodation paid sums varying between £15 and £22 a week. The only item which was included with the rent (in three of the four cases) was basic furniture. It is likely that this remains from the time when the rights of the landlord were greater, if he let furnished accommodation. Tenants' rights have, however, been strengthened since then.

Only one family claimed to have experienced discrimination when seeking housing. This unemployed head of household living in rented accommodation stated that an application for a council house had been made four years previously, and that no offer had been received. This was interpreted as discrimination.

This leads on to the question of access to council housing. Only eight of the sample of thirty considered that council housing would suit their needs and had made an application in Glasgow. Of the eight, two had received an offer of housing. These offers had been turned down on the grounds that the neighbourhood and/or location was unsuitable. It is unlikely, however, that this

absence of offers is a result of direct discrimination. It is more likely to be the result of the shortage of larger accommodation in Council stock. Of the eight applications, six of the families had seven or more members (although in one case the application was for a single person - a widowed mother). Of the two offers which had been received, one was for this woman, and one for a family of eight.

Again, it would appear from experience of research that it is the composition of local authority stock which is discriminating against Asian families. Nevertheless, it is also true that many Asians state a preference for owner-occupation. Most view the type of tenure as offering greater security. This is perhaps an understandable sentiment among people who are often made to feel that they are aliens in this society.

Another issue which can cause problems for Asian families is access to information and services. Repair grants have been mentioned, but there are apparent shortages of information at many levels. Experiences of organisations distributing advice on any housing issues were limited. In five cases Glasgow District Housing Department had provided information, but in seven cases Companies seeking contracts to carry out repairs and improvements had been the source. There were examples of information being provided by a doctor, the DHSS, and a Tenants' Association, but the majority of people had received what little information they did have from friends, relations and neighbours. (This is not, however, an unusual finding with any group of the population). There was only

one case in which information had been received printed in an appropriate minority language.

It seems obvious that there is still a considerable need to ensure that Asians in Glasgow are informed of their rights and of the services available. Again, this is probably also true for the population as a whole, but the concentration of the Asian communities in some of the more disadvantaged parts of inner city areas seems to indicate that particular efforts should be made in this direction.

Despite the variety of community based organisations (see Section F, appendix 1) operating in Govanhill, there was relatively little awareness among Asians of their existence or activities. The level of active participation was very low indeed. Eighteen of the thirty households were aware of the existence of one or more of the organisations, with the best known being Govanhill Housing Association (in 14 cases). When questioned about their knowledge of the purpose of these organisations, however, only eight people responded positively. Only four of the households, all Pakistani, had ever been represented at any of the meetings of community associations, each one at a different type of meeting. Of these four, two of the families were in social class II, one in social class V, and one retired. It would appear that — as is the case with the general population — social class is some determinant of levels of community participation.

Only three families from the sample considered that there was

sufficient information available about what was going on in Govanhill. It would certainly seem that the lack of knowledge of community organisations is even more severe than the lack of knowledge of housing rights and services available. If the impact of community organisations was greater, then awareness of rights and services might be increased. This does not, however, release the local authorities from an obligation to ensure that the distribution of relevant information is improved.

Finally, I would like to examine the housing aspirations of Asians in Govanhill, and the perceived chances of these being fulfilled.

Of the thirty families, twenty three considered that owner occupation was the type of tenure which best suited their needs. This is two less than the figure at present in owner occupation. Five considered that council housing would be the most suitable, and two expressed no preference. Of the five who considered that council housing would be preferable, two were at present in owner occupation. The reasons for preferring local authority provision were, in general, lower costs; but security was also mentioned by some of those at present in private rented accommodation. Security was also an important reason for those who expressed a preference for owner occupation. The potential investment and lack of rent were other major reasons. It seems clear from the latter that many people interpreted 'owner-occupation' as 'outright ownership'.

Again, this seems to confirm national findings, that the

majority of Asians prefer owner-occupation. Three of those who expressed a preference for council housing were at present unemployed, and in private rented accommodation. It is possible that they did not consider expressing owner-occupation as a preference, as it was not a realistic aspiration.

Fifteen people (half the sample) expressed a desire to move away from Govanhill (10 Pakistanis and 5 Indians). However, only four considered that there was a good or reasonable chance of this happening. Only five knew specifically where they wanted to go, and only one of these indicated a suburban area. The remainder mentioned better quality areas within the city. This would seem to indicate that choice is limited, and that this is implicitly or explicitly accepted. The Table below shows desire to move, and 'perceived chances of this' by social class.

Fig IV : xix.

Desire to move from Govanhill
and Perceived Chances of this
by Social Class

Desire to Move				Perceived Chances of those who wish to move		
Class	Yes	No	Don't know	Reasonable/ Good Chance	Poor/ No Chance	Don't know
II	2	1	-	-	2	-
III non manual	8	3	1	3	1	4
III manual	-	1	-	-	-	-
IV	2	1	-	-	1	1
V.	1	1	-	-	-	1
Unemployed	1	5	-	-	1	-
Retired	1	1	1	-	-	1

The majority of those who desire to move are social class II and III (non manual), so also are the majority of those who believe that there is a good chance of this happening. The high percentage of unemployed who do not wish to move may simply reflect a realistic view, and aspirations are thus limited. One surprising factor is that both families in social class II believe that their chance of moving is poor.

Nevertheless, the differences in aspiration do seem to be reflected, to some extent, in social class position.

In conclusion, it has been established that Govanhill is one of the inner city areas of Glasgow in which the Asian communities are situated. This conforms with nationally observed patterns of concentration.

The sample chosen for this Survey did not include sufficient numbers of people in social classes III (manual), IV and V, to draw many conclusions about the relevance of class position, but nevertheless some trends have emerged. These have been most noticeable when examining types of tenure, incidence of overcrowding and aspirations.

The fact that so many of the sample were found to be unemployed is important. Unemployment in Glasgow is generally high: the figure for the inner conurbation in July 1981 (six months prior to the survey) was 78,574, i.e. 17.5% of the eligible population (Strathclyde Regional Council, 1981).

Nevertheless, a figure of one in five of heads of households is very high indeed. This seems to dispel the myth that Asians can continue to absorb members of their own communities into the businesses which they own. Unless the economic climate changes, this situation can only get worse, when those at present at school begin to seek work. In the sample of thirty families, there were seventy eight children below sixteen years of age.

It does seem obvious that class position has at least some influence on opportunity and access in the housing market. The influence of race can be observed in patterns of concentration and types of tenure. Discrimination was not highlighted as an overt problem, but it is obvious that access to council housing (for example) is often limited by the size of some Asian families. There may be other instances in which the same types of forces operate.

Some of the more important issues affecting the housing of Asians in Britain have been examined. We must now consider the implications of such findings for policy.

SECTION V.

What Role for Policy?

The evidence presented in this study, both of national and local experience, indicates that the black ethnic minorities in Britain do have particular problems. These exist in the area of housing and also in other economic and political spheres. For example, types of employment and high levels of unemployment, lack of political representation and trade union involvement.

Some of the problems which they face are also faced by many members of the white population, but for blacks in Britain the difficulties and disadvantages are compounded by further problems which arise in response to their race. Not least among these are what would appear to be practices of institutionalised racism (see Section II, chapter 1). It is this generation of black school leavers (mostly British born) which is feeling the greatest effects of being working class and black. This has inevitably led to conflict both within their families and within society as a whole. These problems have their roots in a tradition of British imperialism.

Given such a situation, what should be the role of Policy?

Bourne (1980, p.349) confronts the question. She maintains that "policy cannot change the situation of blacks as an underclass", but that it can

"heal the rifts and integrate blacks into the mainstream of British working class politics, affording them the same rights to collective bargaining and the same access to jobs".

She goes further, and states that the role of social scientists in race relations research is to prepare the way for political action, by describing and analysing the conditions of the black population.

The analysis and findings of this study seem to lead to many of the same conclusions. Policy must be used to improve conditions. This may produce the climate necessary to produce a change in the pattern of relationships at present in force in society. At present these relationships (based on income, power, status, etc.) ensure that the majority of blacks occupy an inferior and disadvantaged position in society. It is only a change in these relationships which will create equality of access and opportunity.

It must be remembered, however, that the black ethnic minorities (perhaps particularly the Asians) cannot be considered as a homogenous group with the same problems and the same interests. Some Asians in Britain (and in Glasgow) are middle class, with middle class aspirations. Such people do not see their interests as lying with those of the rest of the black population. For such reasons it is not sufficient to direct policy towards specific racial groups. Other factors such as social class position must be taken into account.

As indicated in Section III Chapter 2, recent events have had some influence on the ways in which the problems of the black ethnic minority communities in Britain are viewed, both by government and by the population as a whole. The riots which took place in St.Pauls in 1980, and in Brixton and Toxteth in 1981, led to demands

for the review of policies affecting the black ethnic minorities resident in inner city areas. However, the police handling of these situations, while deserving of criticism, drew attention away from the more basic causes of the riots. The police created only the last of four conditions which Donnison (14th March 1982) claims must all be present before a riot will occur. The conditions are --

- i) a depressed 'economic climate';
- ii) 'an urban setting' which allows the congregation of dissatisfied people;
- iii) 'a community', the majority of members of which suffer from the same injustices; and
- iv) 'an incident' (e.g. the police tactics of 'Swamp 81'*) which finally provokes violence.

The major document to emerge from the troubles of the summer of 1981 was the Scarman Report (November 1981). The emphasis here was also on the role of the police in inner city areas, but policy recommendations in the fields of housing, environment, employment, education, law reform, the media and the control of discrimination were included.

The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) welcomed the Report. D. Lane, then chairman of CRE, stated that it offered a "brilliant analysis of Britain's urban and racial problems, and an urgent prescription for action" (Lane, December 1981). In the same document CRE particularly supported Scarman's statement of the need

* 'Swamp 81' was a police operation in April 1981, which involved the flooding of an area of Brixton with uniformed men. They made extensive use of the rights to stop people on suspicion of their involvement in some crime. Twenty-two people were arrested during the operation.

for a better co-ordinated and directed attack on inner city decay. They also pointed to the fact that the fears of a backlash from the white community in response to positive action, might be unnecessary. The Opinion Research Centre had conducted a survey on behalf of CRE immediately after the publication of the Scarman Report (27th-28th November, 1981). Eleven inner city areas were surveyed. One finding was that 9 out of 10 members of ethnic minority groups, and 3 out of 4 whites, favoured positive action to ensure that ethnic minorities did not suffer unfairly in education, jobs and housing.

The CRE and Scarman himself both stressed the urgent need to deal with the problems. There have, however, been criticisms of the proposals which Scarman made, and of the fact that some issues appeared to have been neglected.

In the case of housing, Scarman notes acute stress. He goes on to say, however, that much has been done to alleviate this. The findings of the Home Office Research Study No.68 (February 1981) show that 'much' is still very inadequate. Although the housing conditions of Asians and West Indians have improved since 1961, the problems were found to be still substantial, particularly in terms of housing quality, location and lack of amenities. The Report stated that along with the policy of co-ordinated attack on inner city decay, there was a need to promote programmes of rehabilitation. In the present economic climate, new building is not often an alternative which

is available; therefore Scarman suggested that rehabilitation with the help of housing associations and other such organisations may be a solution. This would perhaps be acceptable, but even such modest plans require substantial government financing. Scarman, however, rather than demanding the necessary financial input, consistently talks in terms of constraints, and states that he

"does not consider it appropriate to make recommendations about the scale of resources which should be devoted to either inner city or ethnic minority needs"

(Scarman 1981, p 6.33)

It can be argued that there is not much point in making recommendations if he is not also prepared to argue for the resources necessary to implement them.

Scarman also notes a need for the monitoring of housing policies as they affect the ethnic minorities: this is with particular regard to the public housing sector, but he fails to connect this with the need for ethnic record keeping. The uses and dangers of this proposal will be examined presently.

Finally, Scarman stresses the need for community participation, whether in public, mixed, or private sector housing areas. Community participation is obviously an ideal aim, and there are certain statutory obligations, but this is still a case where theory and practice have difficulty in meeting. The difficulties of ensuring participation in any community are well known, but the difficulties of ensuring participation in communities with a high proportion of

blacks are likely to be greater, again because of the extra problems which blacks in Britain face, and perhaps particularly in the case of Asians where language may be an added barrier.

In England and Wales there is already some machinery to aid the implementation of this proposal. The Scottish Commission for Racial Equality (SCRE) point out, however, that the Tenants' Rights (Scotland) Act, 1980 - as amended, makes no provision for tenant participation in the management and control of housing schemes.

One popular policy aim which Scarman does not mention is that of dispersal, although his purpose was perhaps confined to recommending improvements to the situation as it exists. Nevertheless, it may be that this will encourage a more realistic and useful view on the part of those who advocate dispersal as an answer to the problems. Dispersal would not solve the problem, only dilute and spread them.

It is now a year since the riots in Brixton occurred, and many are beginning to examine the effect of the immediate responses to them. Ted Knight (Leader of the Lambeth Borough Council) is quoted as saying that

"any changes which have taken place
in Brixton are very much the icing
on the cake. The real problem is
the cake underneath"

(Guardian 10/4/82)

Brixton has received a coat of paint, more trees and better street

sweeping, — but unemployment, particularly among school leavers, has only got worse in the past year. The figures for teenage joblessness are up by 60% of last year's total. Housing also remains a problem with 17,000 people still on the council's waiting list (figures from Guardian, 10/4/82). This is despite a review of the government's rates support grant policy, which gave Lambeth enough to maintain existing services, reduce rates by 5p in the £, and increase housing investment by 9 million pounds. It would seem obvious that there is still a long way to go.

While recognising that the causes of inequality of opportunity and access do require a change in the relationships at present in force in society, how can policy be used to improve conditions such that a climate conducive to such change be created?

To be effective, housing policies and planning policies for housing must take a co-ordinated approach: first, there are recommendations which must be considered for each of the more specific types of tenure.

In the private rented sector, Asians and West Indians (on average) pay more than the white population (Smith 1977, p.242). Although this accommodation may be slightly larger, it is of inferior quality to that occupied by the white population. Privately rented accommodation is probably an unsatisfactory form of tenure for most members of ethnic minority groups, but particularly for families. Thus the improvement of this situation

is likely to depend on the improvement of policies affecting the financing of owner occupation and access to the local authority sector.

The viability of owner-occupation as an alternative for the ethnic minorities is largely dependant on methods of finance. At present, the security of owner-occupation in the inner city areas is often doubtful, for conventional mortgage facilities are often unavailable for such properties (Karn 1977/78, p.62). Karn claims that the presence of the immigrant and ethnic minority communities in inner city areas,"provides the government with an invaluable factor in its attempts to prevent these areas from deteriorating further" (p.63). She suggests that government should therefore support such buyers with more financial help, and by encouraging building societies to lend on such property. This would appear to be the logical outcome of the government's own expressed aims to encourage owner occupation and to re-vitalise the inner cities. At present, however, policy still favours the more wealthy, and those who seek to buy in suburban districts. This is therefore a major area in which policy change could substantially improve conditions and prospects. The findings of the survey of Asians in Govanhill support this. The financing of owner-occupation was, to a large extent, ad hoc — a situation which creates problems for any attempt to plan for the future.

At present it is mainly those of West Indian origin who make use of the local authority sector, although Robinson's studies of Blackburn (Urban Studies, 1980) do show an increase in use by Asians.

The survey of Govanhill seemed to indicate that local authority provision was particularly attractive to larger Asian families. Unfortunately, the composition of local authority stock does not allow for this need to be met. In general it is likely that many established local authority practices have a discriminatory effect.

It is in the area of local authority provision that most recommendations for the improvement of conditions are to be found. This is not surprising, as it is the area over which central and local government have greatest control: thus the apparent scope for change is greater.

Nottingham District CRC (Simpson 1981) maintain that to a large extent all council tenants are discriminated against by current housing policy, and that real solutions will only come through a re-appraisal of central government housing policies. By directing complaints at central government, it may be possible to ensure that local government is given the tools to redress the inequalities whether they are based on racial or any other grounds. Simpson (1981, chapter 8) recommends a detailed framework for the improvement of council house provision and allocation. Among the more important points is the need to adopt

"a unified allocation system, working on the basis of assessing all applications in terms of their degree of housing need; relative weighting being determined primarily by differences in current family and housing circumstances" (page 275)

This would involve the adoption of points systems of allocation.

Glasgow District Housing Department has already adopted such a system, but the only issue identified which covers a particular problem for Asian families, is overcrowding. The 'Special Cases Committee' has been successfully used to take account of such factors as the need for special services, but this only operates on the presentation of individual cases; no statutory provision exists.

A further important recommendation put forward by Simpson is that ethnic identity should be part of the information included in housing records. This would be used as a tool for planning housing policy and would also enable local authorities to comply with the 1976 Race Relations Act, i.e. Section 71 required local authorities to make appropriate arrangements to ensure that their operations paid due regard to the need to eliminate racial discrimination and to promote equality of opportunity and good relations between people of different racial groups. Such record keeping must be part of a commitment to regular monitoring, and ethnic identity should be self-defined and recorded at the point of application rather than allocation. In this way the existence of any discrimination in the selection process would become apparent. In Scotland, the need for such record keeping has been constantly advocated by bodies, including SCRE. So far, these proposals have been ignored by the local authorities, and the Scottish Office has refused to consider or issue any guidance in this area.

There is always a danger that ethnic record keeping could be

used as ammunition for racist propaganda; thus it would be important to safeguard access to such information. Nevertheless, the potential advantages; both for the ethnic minority communities themselves and for the furtherance of the idea of a multi-racial society; far outweigh such difficulties. Any approach made to government seeking changes in legislation to redress inequalities, must be backed by factual evidence. The keeping of ethnic records is one vital way of gathering such facts.

Once a commitment is made, record keeping in the public sector would not be a complicated procedure. In the private sector the situation is different. There is an urgent need for information, particularly about sources of finance for owner-occupation. Greater ease of access to the records of financial institutions would help, but this would raise questions about the rights to privacy of the individual. This will not be an easy question to resolve, but for the present, government encouragement of owner-occupation in inner city areas may aid the situation. This could be facilitated by recommending an increased availability of local authority finance for home ownership.

Herman Ouseley (1980, pp.6/7) — Race Relations Advisor for the Borough of Lambeth — examines the role which planners have to play in the improvement of the condition of the ethnic minorities in Britain. He rejects the idea that planning for general disadvantage in housing and other spheres will sufficiently benefit the disadvantaged ethnic minority communities:-

"Discrimination is partly a cause of disadvantage and it adds a dimension to disadvantage not experienced by whites. Special measures aimed at disadvantaged groups generally are quite likely to have a discriminatory impact, and discrimination justifies certain measures specifically to benefit black people"

(Ouseley, p.7)

To this end Ouseley maintains that there is a need for planners to consider these issues and to become familiar with their legal and statutory responsibilities (e.g. Race Relations Act, 1976).

This returns us to the question of positive action and whether equality of choice, opportunity and access will be ultimately possible without it. In general, it would seem that policies of positive action are factors essential to the creation of the appropriate climate for change. Despite any dangers of reaction, the same must be said for policies of positive discrimination. The achievement of these basic goals does, however, remain dependant on the development of an awareness of common interests along class lines, as well as along the lines of race. The role of policy must be to facilitate such an awareness.

CONCLUSION

It seems apparent from the evidence presented in this study that the ethnic minority communities in Britain experience particularly disadvantaged conditions. Due to the relatively small size of the black population in Glasgow, the problems may not be as pronounced as in some English cities, but nevertheless, many of the same issues emerge.

Clearly, the problems will not be solved by policies of dispersal, particularly if any degree of compulsion is involved. Neither is there much evidence at present of any move towards voluntary assimilation: such a move is in any case restricted by the continuing inequality of access to housing. A report just published by Leeds Community Relations Council supports this contention. Black people in racially mixed areas of housing are frequently discriminated against by building societies, estate agents and valuers (Guardian, 14/4/82).

The causes of segregation and disadvantage must be understood if any progress is to be made. It is in this respect that the analysis of the relationship between race and class is vital. The events of the summer of 1981 increased awareness of the problems of blacks in inner cities: there is, as yet, little evidence that understanding was similarly increased.

Michael Heseltine, Secretary of State for the Environment,

does state that:

"The government is fighting a historical tide of either neglect or lack of comprehension of the problems, which has lasted for decades"

(Guardian, 12/4/82)

The response to date has still been insufficient, and in many cases simply window dressing. Heseltine admits that the problems have no simple solutions, which is true, but unfortunately he does not seem able to indicate what the more complex solutions might be. His major achievement so far has been to encourage investment from the private sector in inner city areas. Investments must be repaid, however, and by its very nature, much of the provision necessary in such districts, will show little of that sort of return.

The most promising advances seem to depend on the use of policy as a tool to create conditions conducive to change. This will, however, be a slow process, and conditions in some areas are already critical. Any progress would be further aided by an increase in community participation: again, this is not easily achieved, but the effort must continue.

Equality of opportunity is an issue affecting a large section of the population, not just the black community. It is among this group, however, that disadvantage is often greatest.

Approximate number of words 34,500.

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APPENDIX 1.

SECTION A

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA - MOBILITY

1 How many people live in this house?

--	--

Code

1 person	1
2 people	2
3 "	3
4 "	4
5 "	5
6 "	6
7 "	7
8 "	8
9 "	9
more than 9 people	10

2 How many households/families live in this house?

--	--

Code

1 household/family	1
2 " / "	2
3 " / "	3
4 " / "	4
more than 4 households/families	5

3 What is the main occupation of the head of this household?

--	--

Please specify

Code

Supervisory/Manual	1
Supervisory/Non-manual	2
Non-supervisory/Manual	3
Non-supervisory/Non-manual	4

3a What is the nationality of the head of the household?

Please specify

SECTION A
QUESTION 4

PERSON NUMBER	RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	SEX M F	AGE LAST BIRTHDAY	c) Occupation / Role				e) MARITAL STATUS	f) ETHNIC ORIGIN	
				Works F.T.		Works P.T.				Unemployed or Retired Housewife Student/School Other
				SE	E	SE	E			
				1	2	3	4			
1	Head of Household	1 2		1 2	3 4	5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
2		1 2		1 2	3 4	5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5			
3		1 2		1 2	3 4	5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5			
4		1 2		1 2	3 4	5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5			
5		1 2		1 2	3 4	5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5			
6		1 2		1 2	3 4	5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5			
7		1 2		1 2	3 4	5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5			
8		1 2		1 2	3 4	5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5			
9		1 2		1 2	3 4	5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5			
10		1 2		1 2	3 4	5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5			
11		1 2		1 2	3 4	5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5			
12		1 2		1 2	3 4	5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5			

4	a	<u>Code</u>	
		Person 1 - Head of Household	1
		Spouse	2
		Son	3
		Daughter	4
		Mother	5
		Father	6
		Aunt	7
		Uncle	8
		Cousin	9
		Brother	10
		Sister	11
		Brother-in-law	12
		Sister-in-law	13
		Grandfather	14
		Grandmother	15
		Other	16 Please specify

4	b	<u>Code</u>	
		Male	1
		Female	2

4	d	<u>Code</u>	
		Self-employed/full-time	1
		Employed/full-time	2
		Self-employed/part-time	3
		Employed/part-time	4
		Unemployed or sick	5
		Housewife	6
		Retired	7
		Student/school	8
		Other	9 Please specify

4	e	<u>Code</u>	
		Single	1
		Married	2
		Widowed	3
		Divorced	4
		Separated	5

4	f	<u>Code</u>	
		1 UK	1
		2 Pakistan	2
		3 Bangladesh	3
		4 India	4
		5 Hong Kong	5
		6 Other	6
			7

5 If not born in the United Kingdom, when did you come to Britain?

--	--

Code

Within the last year	1
" " " 5 years	2
" " " 10 "	3
" " " 15 "	4
" " " 20 "	5
more than 20 years ago	6

6 Where did you live when you first arrived?

--	--

Code

London	1
Elsewhere in England	2
Glasgow	3
Elsewhere in Scotland	4
Other	5

Please specify

7 How long have you lived in Glasgow?

--	--

Code

Less than 6 months	1
6 months - 1 year	2
1 year - 5 years	3
5 years - 10 years	4
more than 10 years	5

8 How long have you lived in Govanhill?

--	--

Code

Less than 6 months	1
6 months - 1 year	2
1 year - 5 years	3
5 years - 10 years	4
more than 10 years	5

9 Where did you live before you came to Govanhill?

Please specify

10 How many times have you moved house since you came to Glasgow?

--	--

Code

None	1
1	2
2	3
3	4
4	5
more than 4	6

11 Do you want to move from this area?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	99

IF 'YES TO QUESTION 11, ASK QUESTIONS 12, 13, 14; OTHERWISE GO ON TO SECTION B

12 Why do you want to move?

Please specify

.....

.....

13 Where do you want to go?

Please specify

.....

14 What do you think are the chances of this?

--	--

Code

Very good	1
Quite good	2
Poor	3
No chance	4
Don't know	99

GO ON TO SECTION B

SECTION B

PRESENT ACCOMMODATION

- 1 Excluding the bathroom, toilet and hall; how many rooms do you have for the sole use of your household?

--	--

Code

1 room	1
2 rooms	2
3 "	3
4 "	4
5 "	5
6 "	6

- 2 How many rooms are used for sleeping?

--	--

Code

1 room	1
2 rooms	2
3 "	3
4 "	4
5 "	5
6 "	6

- 3 How many people sleep in each room?

Code

1 person
2 people
3 "
4 "
5 "
more than 5 people

1	Room 1	<table><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		
2				
3	Room 2	<table><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		
4				
5				
6	Room 3	<table><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		
	Room 4	<table><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		
	Room 5	<table><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		
	Room 6	<table><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		

4 What use does your household have of the following?

Code

Exclusive use 1
 Shared use 2
 No use 3

Hot water
 Inside toilet
 Bath or shower
 Kitchen

5 In general, do you think that this house has too many, to few, or about the right number of rooms for your household?

--	--

Code

Too many 1
 Too few 2
 About right 3

6 What kind of housing do you think would be the most suitable for your household?

--	--

Code

Owner occupation 1
 Private rent 2
 Council rent 3
 Not relevant 4
 No preference 5
 Other 6 Please specify
 Don't know 99

7 Why do you think that this would be most suitable?

Please specify

GO ON TO SECTION C

SECTION C

POSITION IN HOUSING MARKET

1 Do you own or rent this house?

--	--

Code

Own	1
Rent	2
Other	3 Please specify

IF 'OWN', ASK QUESTIONS 2 - 13

IF 'RENT', ASK QUESTIONS 14 - 23

IF 'OTHER' - PLEASE SPECIFY, ASK QUESTIONS 24 - 28

FOLLOWING 12 QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED ONLY OF OWNER-OCCUPIERS

2 When did you buy this house?

--	--

Code

1982	1
1981	2
1980	3
1979	4
1978	5
within the last 5-10 years	6
" " " 10-15 years	7
more than 15 years ago	8

3 Do you have a mortgage or loan, or is it owned outright?

--	--

Code

Mortgage	1
Loan	2
Owned outright	3

IF MORTGAGE OR LOAN, ASK QUESTIONS 4 - 11

IF OWNED OUTRIGHT, ASK QUESTIONS 12, 13

IF MORTGAGE OR LOAN

4 Who supplied the mortgage or loan?

--	--

Code

Building Society	1	Please specify
Bank	2	Please specify
Local Authority	3	
Loan Company	4	Please specify
Friend or relative	5	
Other	6	Please specify

IF 'BUILDING SOCIETY', 'BANK' OR 'LOCAL AUTHORITY', ASK QUESTIONS 5, 6, 7

IF 'LOAN COMPANY', 'FRIEND OR RELATIVE' OR 'OTHER', ASK QUESTIONS 8, 9,
10, 11

5 What is the repayment period of the loan?

Please specify

6 Did you find it difficult to get a mortgage or loan?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	99

IF 'YES', ASK QUESTION 7 - OTHERWISE GO TO QUESTION 24

7 Why did you find it difficult?

Please specify

.....

GO TO QUESTION 24

IF 'LOAN COMPANY', 'FRIEND OR RELATIVE' OR 'OTHER', ASK THE FOLLOWING
4 QUESTIONS

8 Did you ask a building society, bank, or local authority to lend you the money? □□

Code

Yes 1 Please specify
No 2

IF 'YES', ASK QUESTIONS 9, 10, 11

IF 'NO', GO ON TO QUESTION 24

9 Did they give you a reason for refusing? □□

Code

Yes 1
No 2

IF 'YES' TO 9

10 What was it?
Please specify
.....

11 Did you take any further action? □□

Code

Yes 1 Please specify
No 2

GO TO QUESTION 24

IF OWNED OUTRIGHT, ASK THE FOLLOWING TWO QUESTIONS

12 Did you buy the house outright or have you gradually paid it off? □□

Code

Bought outright 1
Paid off 2

IF 'BOUGHT OUTRIGHT', ASK QUESTION 13

IF 'PAID OFF', GO TO QUESTION 24

13 How did you pay? □□

Code

Own savings 1
Bank loan 2
Other 3 Please specify

GO ON TO QUESTION 24

FOLLOWING 10 QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED ONLY OF THOSE RENTING

14 Is this house let to you furnished or unfurnished?

--	--

Code

Furnished	1
Unfurnished	2

15 When did you start renting this house?

--	--

Code

1982	1
1981	2
1980	3
1979	4
1978	5
within the last 5-10 years	6
" " " 10-15 "	7
more than 15 years ago	8

16 From whom do you rent this house?

--	--

Code

Landlord	1
Relative	2
Employer	3
Other	4 Please specify

17 Does the person to whom you pay rent live at this address?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2

18 To the nearest £, how much is the rent per week or per month?

--	--

Please specify

.....

.....

19 Does the rent include any of the following?

Code

Rates	1
Electricity	2
Gas	3
Telephone	4
Furniture	5
Breakfast	6
Home cleaning service	7
Other	8
Don't know	99

Please specify

20 Do you have a rentbook?

Code

Yes	1
No	2

--	--

21 Do you plan to buy a home of your own some day?

Code

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	99

--	--

22 Have you experienced discrimination in seeking rented accommodation?

Code

Yes	1	Please specify
No	2	
Don't know	3	

--	--

IF 'YES' TO 22, ASK QUESTION 23

IF 'NO' OR 'DON'T KNOW', GO ON TO QUESTION 24

23 Did you take any action?

Code

Yes	1	Please specify
No	2	

--	--

GO ON TO QUESTION 24

REPAIRS

24 Have you any major repairs (communal or internal) waiting to be done?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2

IF 'YES', ASK QUESTION 25

IF 'NO', GO ON TO QUESTION 26

25 Which of the following categories include the repairs necessary to this house/building?

Code

Outside walls/roof/chimneys	1
Floors/ceilings/inside walls	2
Doors and windows	3
Heating and Water heating	4
Gas and Electricity supply	5
Water pipes/drains/gutters	6
Other furnishings/fittings/appliances	7
Stairways	8
External paths/walls/fences/gates/bin enclosures etc	9

26 Do you have a factor who co-ordinates communal repairs?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	99

IF 'YES', ASK QUESTIONS 27, 28

IF 'NO' OR 'DON'T KNOW', GO ON TO QUESTIONS 29, 30

27 What is his name?

Please specify

28 Do you think he does a competent job?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3

IF RENTING, ASK QUESTIONS 29, 30

IF OWNER-OCCUPIER, GO ON TO QUESTIONS 31 - 35

29 Does your landlord ensure that this property is adequately repaired and maintained?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	99

IF 'NO', ASK QUESTION 30

IF 'YES' OR 'DON'T KNOW', GO ON TO SECTION D

30 What specific complaints do you have?

.....
.....
.....

FOLLOWING 5 QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED ONLY OF OWNER-OCCUPIERS

31 Do you know that there may be grants available to help with the cost of repairs?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2

IF 'YES', ASK QUESTIONS 32, 33, 34, 35, 36

IF 'NO', GO ON TO SECTION D

32 How did you find out about repair grants?

Please specify
.....
.....

33 Have you ever applied for such a grant?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2

34 If yes, please specify when and to whom

.....
.....

35 If you have applied for a grant, have you ever been refused such a grant?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2

36 If you were refused a grant, was any reason given for the refusal?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2

Please specify
.....
.....

SECTION D

ACCESS TO COUNCIL HOUSING

- 1 Would you take a council house if one suitable for your family was offered?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3

- 2 Have you ever made an application for a council house in Glasgow?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2

IF 'NO', ASK QUESTION 3

IF 'YES', ASK QUESTIONS 4 - 9

- 3 Why have you not applied for a council house in Glasgow?

Please specify

.....

.....

GO ON TO SECTION E

- 4 Is your name still on the waiting list?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	99

IF 'NO', ASK QUESTION 5

IF 'YES' OR 'DON'T KNOW', ASK QUESTION 6

5 Why not?

Please specify
.....
.....

GO ON TO QUESTION 7

6 When did your name go on the waiting list?

--	--

Code

1982	1
1981	2
1980	3
1979	4
1978	5
within the last 5-10 years	6
" " " 10-15 "	7
more than 15 years ago	8

7 Have you ever had an offer of accommodation?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2

IF 'YES', ASK QUESTIONS 8 AND 9

IF 'NO', GO ON TO SECTION E

8 How many offers have you had?

--	--

Code

1 offer	1
2 offers	2
3 "	3
4 "	4
5 "	5
more than 5	6

9 Why did you not accept?

Which of the following were the main reasons?

Code

Condition

1

Size

2

Location

3

Neighbourhood

4

Other

5

Please specify

GO ON TO SECTION E

SECTION E

INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION

- 1 Have you ever been given information on any or all of the following issues?

Code

Applying for Council housing	1
Home Improvement or Repair Grants	2
Environmental Grants	3
Rent/Rate rebates	4
Rent Act	5
Factor system	6
None	7

IF 'YES' TO ANY, ASK QUESTIONS 2 AND 3

IF 'NONE', GO ON TO QUESTION 4

- 2 Who provided the information?

Code

Housing Department	1	
Housing Association	2	
Tenants' Association	3	
Community Council	4	
Community Relations Council	5	
Friend or relative	6	
Yourself	7	
Other	8	Please specify

- 3 Has any of the information been printed in any language other than English?

Code

Yes	1	Please specify
No	2	

--	--

- 4 Have you ever sought advice on any or all of the following issues?

Code

Applying for Council housing	1
Home Improvement or Repair Grants	2
Environmental Grants	3
Rent/Rate rebates	4
Rent Act	5
Factor system	6
None	7

IF 'YES' TO ANY, ASK QUESTIONS 5, 6 AND 7

IF 'NONE', GO ON TO QUESTION 8

5 From whom did you seek this advice?

Please specify
.....

6 When?

--	--

Code

1982	1
1981	2
1980	3
1979	4
1978	5
within the last 5-10 years	6
" " " 10-15 "	7
more than 15 years ago	8

7 Were you satisfied with the advice you received?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2

8 Do you think that sufficient information is readily available on these housing issues?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	99

GO ON TO SECTION F

SECTION F

HOUSING AND RELATED ORGANISATIONS OPERATING WITHIN GOVANHILL

1 Do you know what a Housing Action Area is?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2

2 Did you know that part of Govanhill has been declared a Housing Action Area?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2

3 Have you heard of Govanhill Housing Association?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2

4 Do you know what it does?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2

5 Do you know about your local Community Council?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2

IF 'YES', ASK QUESTION 6

IF 'NO', GO ON TO QUESTION 7

6 Have you ever attended meetings of the Community Council?

--	--

Code

Never	1
Once	2
More than once	3

7 Do you belong to a tenants' association?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2

IF 'YES', ASK QUESTION 8

IF 'NO', GO ON TO QUESTION 9

8 Have you ever attended meetings of the tenants' association?

--	--

Code

Never	1
Once	2
More than once	3

9 Do you know about Govanhill Local Plan?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2

IF 'YES', ASK QUESTION 10

IF 'NO', GO ON TO QUESTION 11

10 Did you ever attend meetings to discuss the local plan?

--	--

Code

Never	1
Once	2
More than once	3

11 Do you think that sufficient information is available about what is going on in Govanhill?

--	--

Code

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	99

FINISH INTERVIEW