WHITE RACISM AND BLACK SETTLEMENT IN LIVERPOOL:

A STUDY OF LOCAL INEQUALITIES AND POLICIES WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO COUNCIL HOUSING.

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirement of the University of

of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by

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ABSTRACT: I. G. Law, "White Racism and Black Settlement in Liverpool: A Study of Local Inequalities and Policies with Particular Reference to the Role of Council Housing.

The objective of this thesis is to investigate racism in Liverpool, with specific reference to the role of council housing in reproducing the structural oppression of black people, and the ways that have been found to challenge and dismantle this damaging and dehumanising process of inequality through the development of policy-oriented action and intervention in local politics. The first Part of this work is concerned with an historical investigation of the specific conditions of existence of white racism and black settlement in Liverpool in order to ground the analysis of racism and its various manifestations and effects and also to establish the context for the discussion of racism and local politics in housing that follows. The clear lack of any detailed study of the making of white racism and Liverpool's black community combined with the many examples of racist interpretation by local historians or racist bias through omission of references to the role of black people in the city's history justify and make necessary research in this sphere.

The most visible sign of the structurally distinct location of black people in British society is their residential concentration in inner city areas. Over the last hundred years the black community in Liverpool has remained concentrated in the south docks area of the city with remarkably little change in the degree of dispersal over that period. The operation of personal and institutional racism in the housing field is identified in the second part of this thesis, as a major factor in reproducing the concentration of black people in Liverpool. A detailed investigation of the role of the city council's housing department and its allocations system, particularly in the south city area is undertaken in Part Two. The extraordinary conclusion that council housing policy and procedures have not only reproduced the concentration of black people in the area of lowest quality stock but that this process has significantly increased this concentration over the period under study, 1977 to 1980/81 is reached.

Part Three of this thesis is concerned with the detailed evaluation of race-related interventions in council housing and also in two major housing associations in Liverpool. This research into the local politics of race in housing is concerned to specify the scope for effective policy-oriented action at the local level to tackle racial inequality. The specification of the limits and effects for such political struggle was carried out through involvement in that process of political action as opposed to a priori conceptualisation. The struggle for intermediate reforms such as equal opportunity policy development and monitoring, participative mechanisms for black representation in decision-making, specialist race staff and positive action training programmes are considered in detail. This analysis enables the exposure and clarification of the sites and strengths of racism in this arena which constitute the barriers to the removal of racial inequality. This process therefore facilitates the development of strategies of anti-racist action in housing and thus attempts to establish a perspective which allows for an organic and dialectical connection to be made between theory and practice in race relations.

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PREFACE

My personal thanks are due to many people who have contributed to the emotional, educational and political support that I have received in the course of undertaking this seven year project. It has taken much to ensure the adequate investment of time and energy necessary to achieve the completion of this study and without the assistance of my many friends and colleagues I would not have achieved the modest contribution to knowledge presented here.

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political perspective on the field of race relations. The particular perspective of action-research employed on this project was hammered out specifically through cooperative work with John, Kathy and of course Gideon.

I am grateful to the University of Liverpool whose postgraduate award initiated this project, the Commission for Racial Equality who financed the survey of council housing allocation and lastly but most importantly Merseyside Community Relations Council who have provided the context where, as Public Education Officer, I have been supported in the completion of this study.

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Finally, I dedicate this thesis to my son Sebastian who provides my source of hope for the future and my private motivation to continue to work against the awesome scale of racism in Britain and to provide my small contribution to the creation of an anti-racist society.

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this thesis is to investigate racism in Liverpool, with specific reference to the role of council housing in reproducing the structural oppression of black people, and the ways that have been found to challenge and dismantle this damaging and dehumanising process of inequality through the development of policy-oriented action and intervention in local politics. The first part of this work is concerned with an historical investigation of the specific conditions of existence of white racism and black settlement in Liverpool in order to ground the analysis of racism and its various manifestations and effects and also to establish the context for the discussion of racism and local politics in housing that follows. The clear lack of any detailed study of the making of white racism and Liverpool's black community combined with the many examples of racist interpretation by local historians or racist bias through omission of references to the role of black people in the city's history justify and make necessary research in this sphere prior to an accurate assessment of contemporary race relations issues in housing and local politics. This research involved the use of a range of primary sources: early local newspapers, ships records and particularly crew lists, early Census data and a variety of other records which provided the evidence for the establishment of a black community in Liverpool in the decade of the 1850's. This is in contradiction to the general assertion of the assimilationist argument that the black communities in Britain disappeared in this period and to the specific assertion that in Liverpool the black community did not assume any notable form until the early

twentieth century. The reinterpretation of a wide range of secondary sources with an awareness of the power of racism in popular culture and by a clear opposition to it combined with the primary source material has enabled some redress to be given to the biased interpretation of local history and through this to allow the piecing together of the scattered fragments that record the personal and political struggles involved in the making of the local black community and the surrounding entrenchment of racial oppression.

The most visible sign of the structurally distinct location of black people in British society is their residential concentration in inner city areas. Over the last hundred years the black community in Liverpool has remained concentrated in the south docks area of the city with remarkably little change in the degree of dispersal over that period. The operation of personal and institutional racism in the housing field is identified, in the second Part of this thesis, as a major factor in reproducing the concentration of black people in Liverpool, and this is a crucial factor in the determination of a whole range of economic and social inequalities which provide the terrain within which political struggle is constructed and focussed. A detailed investigation of the role of the city council's housing department and its allocations system, particularly in the south city area is undertaken in Part Two. This sector accounts for 37% of black households in Liverpool and is chosen particularly as it has been an area of considerable concern to black organisations and the black community for at least twenty years and also as it is the most directly amenable section of housing to anti-racist

policies secured through local political intervention. These were then specific contemporary political concerns that influenced the direction of this study and this accords with the action-research perspective that underlies the range of issues tackled in this investigation of racism in Liverpool and its effects in history, housing and politics. The survey of city council allocation involved 805 hour-long household interviews to achieve a representative sample of both black and white council tenants, and also 978 doorstep interviews were conducted with households which were identified as white and therefore rejected in the process of identifying black households. For each household who responded to the detailed interview information was collated from the appropriate tenancy file held in the Housing Department. The scale of this survey therefore enabled, through computer analysis, adequately justified conclusions to be drawn on the causes of racial inequality and on the specific forms that institutional racism takes in council housing in Liverpool. The extraordinary conclusion that council housing policy and procedures have not only reproduced the concentration of black people in the area of lowest quality stock but that this process has significantly increased this concentration over the period under study, 1977 to 1980/81, means that in simple terms the issue is not how to make things better but how to stop them becoming worse as far as racism is concerned. There is no inevitable, gradual progress towards racial harmony and racial equality in Liverpool and the conception of history that would attempt to substantiate this view is clearly misplaced. How history is made through the exercise of decision-making and power at the local level provides the object for the analysis presented in Part Three.

The inadequacy of academic research in the field of race relations in Britain to concern itself with the ways in which that research is used and to consider the practical political implications of such work is regrettable. The perspective of this thesis is that the goal of research should in general terms be to inform action in the real world in which we live and this has indeed provided the motivation for all the work contained in this thesis. The local production, distribution and use of the historical research in Part One in the form of a cheap, accessible book was carried out. This has been reprinted due to local and national demand, and 4000 copies have been issued and used in a wide variety of community and institutional contexts such as educational groups and race training courses. It must be said that this can only have assisted in challenging racist ideologies in popular culture and this should provide a significant criterion for the evaluation of this research. In a similar vein the study of council housing allocation was carried out with the full involvement of the city's housing department and black organisations in order to ensure that the research would achieve maximum support, credibility and impact in terms of arguing for the redress of racial inequality in this sphere. Part Three of this thesis is concerned with the detailed evaluation of race-related interventions in council housing and also in two major housing associations in Liverpool. This research into the local politics of race in housing is concerned to specify the scope for effective policy-oriented action at the local level to tackle racial inequality. The specification of the limits and effects for such political struggle was carried out through involvement in that process of political action as opposed to a priori conceptualisation. The struggle for

intermediate reforms such as equal opportunity policy development and monitoring, participative mechanisms for black representation in decision-making, specialist race staff and positive action training programmes are considered in detail. This analysis enables the exposure and clarification of the sites and strengths of racism in this arena which constitute the barriers to the removal of racial inequality. This process therefore facilitates the development of strategies for anti-racist action in housing and thus attempts to establish a perspective which allows for an organic and dialectical connection to be made between theory and practice in race relations.

PART ONE : THE MAKING OF WHITE RACISM AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN LIVERPOOL.

INTRODUCTION

Part One examines the genesis and expression of white racism in Liverpol, the immigration and settlement of the local black population and the ensuing development of social relations. The investigation of racism and its emergence in the heart of the Empire has been an object of investigation since the early studies of urban black communities in Britain by such as Little and Banton who saw an historical dimension to be essential to the analysis of contemporary race relations situations.[1]

Liverpool has one of the oldest black communities outside London and it is therefore potentially an extremely fruitful site for the specification of such historical analysis. This Part aims to establish that racist historical negative images and feelings of difference and superiority in relation to black people have been an integral part of local thought and culture since Liverpool itself emerged as a city in the seventeenth century and also that there has been a continuous black presence since that time.

As late as 1977 it has been commented that,

"The history of black settlement in Liverpool has yet to be written..."[2]

The expansion of research into the history of racism and the black experience in Britain has only recently taken place with the work of Walvin, Lorimer and Shyllon in the last decade, but even here false assertions are made.[3] Walvin suggests that black communities in Britain disappeared in the middle of the nineteenth century due primarily to assimilation.[4] It is established however, that in Liverpool a local black community was in fact established in the decade of the 1850's. This criticism of Walvin was accepted by him in personal communication as an assertion made without contrary evidence. The collation of such empirical evidence has been one object of this part of the research project.

The history of white racism, black settlement and the struggle against racism in Liverpool has for too long remained hidden beneath the myth of Liverpool's cosmopolitan harmony (at least until the emergence of renewed revolt in the anti-police riots of July 1981) and the white bias or complacency of historians. The overwhelming evidence of the presence of black slaves and runaways in Liverpool in the mid-eighteenth century has been dismissed as a "curious instance of popular superstition" by a well known contemporary local historian, Fritz Spiegel.[5] The powerful, but scurrilous, local myth that the black community in Liverpool is the product of associations between absent feckless African seamen and local white prostitutes and the subsequent derision of the 'half caste' and of mixed marriage require the challenge that historical study can offer.[6] Historical study which is informed by an awareness of the power of racism in popular culture and by an opposition to it is

essential to appraise sources which themselves have reinforced the complex of racist ideology that is part of day-to-day life in modern Britain. A failure to acknowledge this has led local history, as it is taught in schools and found in the works available in public libraries and other institutions, to become an active agent in perpetuating racist ideas and the denial of the role of black people in the making of the city. An example is found in the case of George Chandler, the city's public librarian, who in 1957 was sponsored by Liverpool City Council to write an 'official' history of Liverpool to celebrate the 750th anniversary of Liverpool's first Charter. His resulting book contains four chapters of the pre-1700 period, but can muster only two paragraphs on the slave trade, the second of which concludes that the enslavement of black Africans by Liverpool merchants was positively beneficial to the slaves as they received the benefits of "New World standards of education and civilisation".[7] The white bias of popular culture in Liverpool is thus transformed into 'expert' fact and presented to the local populace as the City's offical history.

For these reasons this section aims to explore the complex process of the making of the black community in Liverpool, through the reconstruction of hidden history, based on what are often diverse and patchy sources. But the evidence collected from auto-biographies, ships articles, historical records and oral sources all point to an uneven but coherent process of formulation of the black historical experience. This Part can however attempt only to draw a broad historical outline with an emphasis on particular processes and moments in that history.

It is argued that black and white labour in the Colonies and at home produced the capital through which Liverpool became established, and that the black community has been built on solid personal and social relations between black and white. Yet the potential of class and community alliances has been fragmented by the overriding power of racism, whether institutional, economic or social which has set the black community apart and in turn led to its consciousness and action. There is something for us all to face here in our collective histories. Undoubtedly members of the black community will rediscover and further document their own history, but it is up to the white majority to face the fact that racism is an intrinsic part of their history, culture and consciousness. Racism over the centuries has changed us all.

RACE AND THE ORIGINS OF LIVERPOOL : THE FIRST LINKS.

In the late seventeenth century Liverpool was transformed from "a small fishery of late", throwing off all vestiges of ancient feudal autonomy and reliance on agriculture, to become England's third port by 1700. During this period Liverpool became a focal point for the import and export of goods. Coal, iron, copper, Lancashire fabrics and Yorkshire woollens were exported to Ireland and European markets in exchange for Irish linen, leather and produce. Spices and other foreign luxuries shipped to Liverpool were re-exported to other British ports. Following the end of the English Civil War in 1660, Liverpool became a centre for colonial trade, partly as French naval power threatened the larger southern ports and as new sources of capital were transferred to Liverpool after the Plague and the Fire of London in the 1660's.[8]

The growing importance and awareness of trade, in particular the wealth to be taken from the West Indies, was reflected in the politics of the town. Liverpool's merchants fought to expand their activity abroad and their influence at home. The politics of the town, at this time, were dominated by the tension between the aristocratic landowners and the increasingly prosperous merchant class. Profit and who made it provided the theme of Liverpool's politics, as landlords argued over property whose value was rising as a result of mercantile effort with business men who strived to control new trading opportunities. The practices and initiatives of Liverpool's merchants in establishing the West Indies trade in slave produced goods, which provided the capital for the town's

emergence and set it on the road to prosperity, also incorporated the distinction of race into economic practice. From this point racist practices developed in different ways, permeating through the structure of local society. The effects of the Civil War, the dissolution of the Monasteries and the enclosure movement led to a large number of poor, unemployed and vagrant people being pushed toward the towns, and on 11th November 1648 Liverpool's City Council passed an order to deal with local effects of this problem,

> "forasmuch as dyvers young children and Beggars which are much p'judiciall to ye Towne are found wandring and begging contrarie to Lawe. It is therefore ordered by .... the Worpil Mr. Maior, the Aldermen and the major part of the Assembly that (nine named people) shall go through and about the Towne and take their names and examine them and cause such as are fit and able to work in the plantations, to be shipt for Barbados".[9]

By 1660 this trade was well established. Little distinction was made by contemporary observers between the trade in white indentured servants and that in black slaves, the distinction in economic status was, however, one of race. The attitude of such indentured servants is echoed in the following anecdote. In the early eighteenth century Captain Hugh Crow of Liverpool described how when some unfortunate Irish vagrants were being put up for sale in Charleston Carolina, the black slaves pretended that they were about to purchase them, at which the terrified Irish men

cried out,

> "Och Masters! Och jewels! don't let them blackamoors buy us at all at all..."[10]

One of the Liverpool merchants to benefit from this white trade was Bryan Blundell, a ship's captain and owner who used part of his new wealth to found the Bluecoat School in 1708. Such philanthropy did not change the direction of this merchant's ventures as he subsequently went on to become a leading slave trader. Such Puritan hypocrisy, characterised the attitudes of many Liverpool merchants.

The basis of Liverpool's new prosperity was mercantile expansion into colonial trade, primarily sugar and tobacco, both the product of slave labour. No area of the Empire was so totally identified with slavery as the British West Indian colonies. By the 1670's over 50,000 African slaves had been imported to work in the chief British sugar colonies of Jamaica, Barbados and the Leeward Islands. Voyages to the West Indies are first documented from Liverpool in 1641 when John Moore of Bank Hall went to law concerning the ship 'William & Thomas' "late of Barbados and now of Liverpool" in which he had an interest.[11] One or two ships each year from 1665 onwards were being sent to bring back sugar cargoes. In the letters of William Blundell there is a record of the 'Antelope' returning with sugar, a venture in which Blundell invested £40 and on the successful conclusion of which he more than doubled his outlay.[12]

This trade was greatly boosted by the establishment of the first sugar refinery in Liverpool by a "Mr. Smith, a great sugar baker of London."[13]

He rented from Sir Edward Moore, a piece of land in Cheapside on the north side of Dale Street, on which he erected a building 'forty feet square and four storeys high'. Moore estimated that Smith and his associate Danvers brought in £40,000 as their initial capital for the sugar refining industry and that the return value of trade in that commodity amounted annually to the capital sum expended.[14] This trade developed at a much greater rate during Liverpool's intricate association with the West Indies during the slaving period of the eighteenth century. But at the economic level Liverpool came to require racial exploitation, at this specific period in its history, to ensure its own growth. Indeed the town had become renowned at this early stage for its association with racial exploitation in the colonies. The traveller Richard Blome in 1673 states that in Liverpool,

> ".....diverse eminent merchants and tradesmen, whose trade and traffic, especially with the West Indies, makes it famous; its situation affording in greater plenty and at reasonable rates then than most parts of England such exported commodities proper for the West Indies; as likewise a quicker return for such imported commodities, by reason of the sugar bakers, and great manufacturers of cotton in the adjacent parts."[15]

The development of slave colonies in the West Indies and the Americas and the ensuing trade links called into being the city of Liverpool and set it on the road to massive commercial and urban growth. Indeed it was noted by Joshua Gee in 1729, for the country as a whole, that,

> "All this great increase in our treasure proceeds chiefly from the labour of Negroes in the plantations,"[16]

a remarkable frankness that few historians have emulated.

Before considering the direct involvement of Liverpool in slave trading, an assessment of the development of the prevailing elements of local ideology and culture concerning race that paralleled the incorporation of race into the structures of the local economy will be made. There is scant record of these elements in Liverpool prior to the politicisation of race in the debate concerning the abolition of slave trading and slavery that began in the 1780's. Indeed consideration of evidence from Liverpool alone would ignore important external influences and tend to reinforce the tendency of the history to remain hidden. The assertion is therefore made that an understanding of the local consciousness of race, prior to the period of intensive slave trading (1730 - 1808), can be constructed from a wider ideological/cultural analysis.

Before 1750 Liverpool had no theatre, permanent library or newspaper, and only one faltering grammer school, which had been established much earlier in 1515. But there did exist a circulating

library club collection which amounted to 450 volumes by 1758, to which 109 of the principal gentlemen of the town subscribed and a few private schools, like the one in Paradise Street at which William Roscoe was educated.[17] It is quite feasible therefore that classical, biblical and medieval accounts of African and black people would be known, and would have shaped in part, the racial consciousness of the upper levels of Liverpool's society.

With a few choice quotations from the classics such as Lucan, Virgil, Pliny and other authors, more often consulted for profit than for pleasure, the African could be shown to be,

> ".....proud, lazy, treacherous, thievish, addicted to all kinds of lusts, and most ready to promote them in others as pimps, incestuous, brutish and savage, cruel and revengeful, devourers of human flesh, and quaffers of human blood, inconstant, base, treacherous and cowardly; fond of and addicted to all sorts of superstition and witchcraft, and in word to every vice that came in their way, or within their reach...."[18]

The church in the person of St. Augustine contributed to this unflattering image, indeed he confirmed that one would rather take Africa for,

> ".....a volcano of the most impure flows, than for a habitation of human creatures....."[19]

The Saint continued,

> ".....It is as impossible to be an African and not be lascivious, as it is to be born in Africa and not be an African...."[20]

In contradiction to this Homer tells in a strange and moving passage of the Odyssey how the Gods like to visit Africa each year to enjoy the festivals of the black peoples,

> "....The Sire of Gods, and all the "Ethereal Train" on the warm Limites of the farthest main, Now mix with Mortals, nor disdain to grace the feast of Ethiopia's blameless race : Twelve days the powers indulge the genial Rite, returning with the Twelve revolving light...."[21]

but a poet's vision could hardly stand against the combined prejudices of many other sources.

For many British people, their first literary evidence of the mysteries of Africa came in a variety of Biblical references. The myth of blackness and the heat of Africa can be traced to the Old Testament,

> "...I am black but comely..... Look not upon me because I am

black, because the sun has looked upon me...."[22]

In different situations blackness was seen to be divinely inspired stemming from the curse of Noah upon his son, Ham, for the son's disobedience.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century however, contemporary cultural ideas concerning race are reflected most clearly in two areas - first, geographical descriptions and travel accounts and secondly in drama and literature of the period, which drew heavily on the former for new ideas and inspiration. The majority of accounts and descriptions of Africa and Africans were packed with derogatory images, which expressed distinct values of the English. Blackness came to mean "Deeply stained with dirt; soiled, dirty, foul. Having dark or deadly purposes etc." Such ideas have since become entrenched in the English language in words like black looks/leg/list/mail. In the travel accounts fact and fiction became fused into a bundle of mythology from which racism emerged. Ignorance of the true history of civilisation, culture and society in Africa provided a vacuum in which racism flourished. At this time Africa was on the whole no more backward - or advanced - than Europe. The African States were in some aspects inferior and superior in others; it is improbable on the evidence that they experienced such fierce religious conflict as Europe, with the torture and public burning of citizens for thin differences of doctrine. Yet a racial war followed conducted for commercial profit, without precedent in human cost. The doctrine of inherent African inferiority was developed to excuse conduct

which the teachings of Christianity and twinges of traditional conscience alike disparaged.

The African, or Moor, from Africa is depicted as a savage, lustful creature - the villain of the piece - and is contrasted with the noble hearted, white-skinned European in many dramatic works of the age.[23] The prevailing image of blacks as inferior primitives fuelled the egotistical idea that whites were culturally superior, as in Lusts Dominion, published in 1657, a play attributed to Christopher Marlowe where lust, treachery, intrigue and villainy are personified in Eleazer, the 'black' moor. Part of his wickedness is that he can incite the sensuality of European women which suggests that the racist myth of the black male has a long history. The image of the black savage was drawn out in some works, such as Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus and Othello, to present the image of the 'noble savage' who is to be both pitied and admired. Othello presents a black 'Moor' as a man of nobility and principle. Yet Shakespeare drew on the travel accounts of Richard Haklyut and others, and used the integrated imagery of Africa, blackness and whiteness, the sexuality of beasts and the bestiality of sex, to play upon Elizabethan cultural values and arouse interest. But a central element in Othello and in Shakepeare's England, was also that a person's colour did matter as it affected most of his social relationships. Black people were different, were treated and behaved differently, simply because of their blackness and the reaction of white society towards that blackness. Nevertheless in 1693 Sir Thomas Rymer thought it necessary to criticise Shakespeare for showing so little race prejudice in Othello.[24]

The theme of the 'noble savage' was repeated in the well-known book written by Mrs. Aphra Benn Oroonoko, the Royal Slave in 1688. The main character, Oroonoko derived his nobility more from his similarity to European standards than from his African traits,

> ".....his face was not that of brown, rusty black which most of the nation are, but a perfect Ebony, or polished Jett. His nose was rising and roman, instead of african and flat. His mouth the finest shaped that could be seen; far from those great turn'd lips, which are so natural to the rest of the Negroes....."[25]

English writers depicted the Negro hero, suitably Europeanised in physical appearance, as uncorrupted man, enjoying his natural freedoms and rights in his African home. Such ideas were the basis of the abolitionist movement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and they can be found in many writers' works including Blake, Burns, Coleridge, Cowper, Southey and Wordsworth. From such ideas William Roscoe and other comparatively enlightened gentlemen of Liverpool drew their ideas. Roscoe's poem The Wrongs of Africa, written in 1787 although denouncing slavery evokes the patronising image of the 'noble savage'.

These early conceptions of race were bound up with the construction of the image in England, Britain and National identity, through which white superiority was promoted. De Saussure wrote in 1727,

> ".....I do not think there is a people more prejudiced in its own favour than the British people and they allow this to appear in their talk and manners. They look on foreigners in general with contempt, and think nothing is as well done elsewhere as in their own Country...."[26]

David Hume, a prominent philosopher, writer and academic, wrote in 1734 an Essay on National Character,

> ".....I am apt to suspect the Negroes, and in general all other species of men, to be naturally inferior to the whites. There never was a civilised nation of any other complexion than white nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation. No manufacturers amongst them, no arts, no sciences. There are Negro slaves dispersed all over Europe, of which none ever discovered any symptoms of ingenuity...."[27]

Had the Liverpool merchants read this they would doubtless have found this opinion an acceptable one; to them, Negroes were naked, black and spoke an unintelligible tongue and were there to be used for commerce.

The British view of itself became enshrined in the song Rule Brittannia written by Thomas Arne in 1740. The sentiments of the song inspired Britons to make colonial conquests, or to commit acts of brutal savagery in the name of King and Country. The refrain goes:

"Rule Britannia, Britannia rules the waves,

Britons never never never shall be slaves"

But Thomas Arne was wrong. For he should have known only too well that certain black Britons were slaves, in both the British colonies and in Britain itself.

LIVERPOOL AND THE SLAVE TRADE

By the time Liverpool merchants came to engage in slave-trading they not only had a reservoir of popular racist ideas to draw on as justification for their commerce; they also had an established system of international slave trading and a developed plantation economy, backed up by political initiatives, military force and legal precedent which was open to exploitation by the Port.

Prior to the English Civil War the country's slave trade was of a very piece-meal nature where specific traders were granted Royal Patents to transport slaves, e.g. by James 1 in 1618 and by Charles 1 in 1631.[28] The passing of the Navigation Act in 1651 by the Republican Government laid down that English Colonies should be subordinated to Parliament and that trade to the colonies should be monopolised by English shipping.[29] As modified in 1660 the Act made a coherent Imperial policy possible, a major plank of which was the slave trade. This was backed by Oliver Cromwell's policy of commercial and colonial war, a result of which was the capture of Jamaica in 1655. Jamaica, Barbados and other West Indian colonies were of little use alone: labour was needed to work the land. The Royal African Company was founded in 1672 to oust the Dutch from their monopoly position in slave trading and to provide slaves for their labour hungry British colonies. The Company's Charter reflected the status of the African; the members were permitted to "import any redwood, elephants teeth, negroes, slaves, hides, wax, guinea grains and other commodities."[30]

Such descriptions mirrored the deeper substance of economic facts and racial attitudes. By this time the African had become the most valuable commodity imported into the West Indies; he was the fundamental item in a complex international trade, he was bought with English goods, exchanged for West Indian produce and used as a beast to work the fruitful land of the colonies. A clear legal definition of the African's status was necessary for the slave trade to conform to the Navigation Acts requirements; in practice he had been consigned to the level of a chattel but no status existed in terms of the law. Therefore in 1677 the Solicitor General's opinion was sought as to whether Negroes ought to be defined as goods so as to enable English shipping to claim a monopoly. The opinion was clear,

> "Negroes ought to be esteemed goods and commodities within the Acts of Trade and Navigation."[31]

Thus dehumanisation of the negro was given the stamp of legal approval, and racism became entrenched in another level of British Society.

With free trade and the increasing demands of the sugar plantation the value of the British slave trade grew enormously. The Royal African Company between 1680 and 1686 transported an annual average of 5,000 slaves. In 1713 England won the right to monopolise the transport of slaves to the Spanish West Indies colonies through the War of Spanish Succession. Thus the English Parliament, English legislation, bolstered by the subsequent common law judgements and the English armed forces

and English merchants, all fought to control the 'black gold' of Africa, and they all assisted in the process of dehumanisation of the African in the name of mercantile trade and commercial profit.

Liverpool's expanding trade with the West Indian colonies in slave-produced goods provided the context for the town's entry into the triangular slave trade. The demand for labour in the Carribean provided the impetus for Liverpool merchants to send their ships on the route to Africa; their ships loaded with such as cheap cotton goods, bad muskets, glass beads, inferior spirits, and assorted handcuffs, neck rings, shackles, chains and branding irons. The first recorded slaving voyage by Liverpool ships took place in 1700. The 'Liverpool Merchant' was recorded as being at Barbados in September 1700 with a cargo of 220 African slaves which were sold for £4,329. The following month the 'Blessing' set sail from Liverpool bound for Guinea on 16th October 1700.[32] Probably voyages took place before this date, but it was not until the 1740's that a great expansion took place. The clampdown on smuggling Lancashire cloth into the Spanish West Indian colonies in 1747 led Liverpool merchants into transferring their resources into slave trading.[33] The exploitation of African labour by local merchants was celebrated in an architectural fashion in Liverpool as early as 1740. African heads adorned the front of Liverpool's Custom House, built in 1740, and they were also incorporated into the frieze in the Town Hall which was constructed between 1748 and 1754.

In 1749 the slave merchants of Liverpool along with those of

Bristol petitioned for 'free and open' trade to Africa, which was then accepted in Parliament.[34] Although these two ports joined together to promote their domination of the slave trade, it was Liverpool that came to win overall control up to its abolition by Britain in 1807. This was due to a number of factors: Liverpool ships were more cheaply manned, lower wages were paid to Captains and officers and a cheap apprentice system was used. They were of improved small design, which increased their efficiency and speed; also the small ships enabled small capitalists to take part in slaving finance. The commercial spirit and practical racism of Liverpool merchants and captains enabled them to undercut competitors at every stage of the trade; at the slave ports in West Africa, by selling slaves cheaper in the West Indies and by cutting transport costs of imports and exports in the new port and dock facilities of Liverpool. The opening of the Bridgewater canal which linked the town to Manchester in 1767 and the opening of the Grand Trunk canal with Birmingham in 1777 gave geographical advantages to the town over Bristol, in engaging with the growing industrial areas of Britain. Furthermore, the relative safety of Liverpool ships compared to those of Bristol and London, given the wars and privateering between Britain and other European countries in the eighteenth century which made the Channel trade and the Atlantic approaches vulnerable, provided an additional impetus to Liverpool's expanding trade. In 1760 an observer described the economic and social life of the town in these terms,

> "Though few of the merchants have more education than befits a counting-house, they are genteel in their address.

Their tables are plenteously furnished and their meats well served up, their rum is excellent, of which they consume large quantities in punch made when the West Indian fleet comes in, mostly with lime, which are very cooling, and offered a delicious flavour. I need not inform your Lordship that the principal exports of Liverpool are all kinds of woollen and worsted goods with other manufactures of Manchester and Sheffield, and Birmingham wares etc. These they barter on the coast of Guinea, for slaves, gold dust and elephants teeth. the slaves they dispose of at Jamaica, Barbados and the other West Indian Islands, for rum and sugar, for which they are sure of a quick sale at home. This port is obviously well suited for trade, being almost central in the Channel so that in war-time, by coming north-about their ships have a good chance of escaping the many privateers belonging to the enemy which cruise to the southward..... since I have been here, I have seen enter the port, in one morning, seven West India ships."[35]

A snapshot of Liverpool in 1752 provided by Baines shows that there were about 100 merchants engaged in the African trade and some 45 of the general merchant body were also listed as shipowners. A breakdown of the ships owned by these principal capital holders is given in table 1.

Table 1 - Trade engaged in by principal Liverpool Merchants

Trade	No. of Ships
West India & North America (Plantation slavery products)	106
African Trade (slave-trading)	88
European Trade	28
Coasting & Irish Trade	125
TOTAL	347

(Source : T. Baines, The History of Commerce and the Town of Liverpool, Liverpool 1852, p.418).

The growing volume of West Indies trade led to the widespread use of bills which were used to pass on the proceeds of slave sales to Liverpool merchants who discounted them in the town to expand trading in a wide variety of goods. In this way some of the more important Liverpool merchants began to take on the functions of banking. Among the fourteen banks listed after 1750, ten were founded by merchants with slaving interests. The Heywoods and Caldwells were West Indian merchants, Moss of Moss and Dale & Rogers owned sugar plantations in Demerera and Richard and Christopher Bullin in a more famous banking venture were African traders.[36] Liverpool's trade in slavery was a complex commercial process which revolved around the dehumanisation and exploitation of African labour. This gave Liverpool important

sources of capital; merchant and finance capital outlined above and industrial capital which was produced as finance was ploughed into indigenous industries such as sugar refining and shipbuilding. William Fischer of Liverpool was a chief supplier of hulls to slave traders.[37] But the mercantile interests of Liverpool were opening wide the new markets overseas and the demands for cargo could not be satisfied from the resources of the town's own industrial capital. Cotton, again the product of slave labour, came to be the most important commodity for Liverpool's internal commerce; imports rose from about 2,000 tons in 1785 to 40,000 tons in 1810 and expanded into the nineteenth century. This provided the raw material for developing industry, particularly in Manchester.

The Liverpool merchants registered as freemen in the African Company dominated the political and social life of the town. These men were the agents of colonial and capitalist expansion. The Heywoods were a prime example, owning a sugar planation in the West Indies, a banking business in Wakefield. Thomas Cox, a leading member of the African Company, owner of a Jamaican plantation and one of the most prominent owners of slave ships used the capital he accrued from the slave trade to buy Sarah Clayton Parr's colliery at St. Helens for £17,800. By 1771, the rich coal-bearing field around St. Helens was producing 90,000 tons of coal per year, 45,000 tons of which was transported to Liverpool, and by 1791 Liverpool was exporting about 79,000 tons of coal to the colonies, Ireland and other parts of Britain.[38] Such cross-fertilisation of capital spurred on Britain's industrial revolution with which C.L.R. James concurs,

> "It is impossible to think of anything more important in regard to world history as a whole than the fact that the slave trade was the centre of economic development which finally exploded in the industrial revolution."[39]

In the making of British economic dominance, the key role of African and colonial labour therefore must be placed alongside that of the growing working class that sweated in the mills and mines at home. The relations of capitalist employer and wage-labourer in the 1750's was commented on by Dean Tucker,

> "They approach much nearer that of a Planter and slave in our American colonies than might be expected of such a country as England."[40]

Yet objective solidarity was fragmented by the abundance of racist myths and the predominance of cultural ethnocentrism which was represented in the more intense forms of political and social oppression to which black labour was subject, in the colonies and in Liverpool itself. The dominant role in slave trading which Liverpool maintained between 1760 and 1807 brutalised local opinion and attitudes, reinforcing racist myths which were expressed by most sections of the town's inhabitants as the abolition debate came to show.

RACISM AND ABOLITION IN LIVERPOOL

Up to 1750 little was known of Africa and black people by most of Liverpool's inhabitants. Captains and seamen of slaving voyages must have related stories of their experiences, and merchants and gentlemen may have had access to the burgeoning literature on Africa and Africans, but for the majority of people in the town racism would have only been present in the form of a loose collection of ideas. Yet involvement in slavery must have been the most potent factor in encouraging the growth of derogatory racist attitudes. The developing working class did not yet express an independent point of view, appearing only to echo the aims of the mercantile class who also came to dominate local politics. It was at this political level that racism came to be expressed most fully; economic aims tended to override the restrictions of religion, which attempted to limit overt racism. This crude racism can be observed in a statement made in 1767. A Captain of a slave ship when asked if it was cruel to pack so many 'poor people' in so little room replied,

> "No! They rather like it. You see, they are badly treated in their own country - I mean the people, as you call them; we don't call them that: to us they are only slaves".[41]

Such slave traders may have felt it wrong to buy and sell slaves, but then it was profitable and that soothed the conscience. The image of Africa as backward and primitive enabled slavery to be rationalised and racism to be propounded further. In 1788 John Matthews, a slave ship Captain

from Liverpool, produced a geographical account of Africa emphasising the barbarism of the continent.

Slavery existed in Africa but it was not an essential element of economic production in African states, as it became in the West Indies and America. The commerce of European slave-traders in Africa produced widespread warfare and cultural decay, yet this was not understood by those traders who presented this as evidence of an inherent African inferiority, which excused further exploitation in the cause of cultural redemption and inperialist expansion in the nineteenth century.

The support for slavery and its racist ideology was represented most clearly in Liverpool's politics of the period. In 1750 when the African Company was founded well over half the members of Liverpool's Common Council were freemen of the Company. In 1787 at the start of the abolitionist campaign to end slave-trading 37 (over 80%) of the 41 Councillors were slave ship owners or major investors and suppliers to the trade.[42] All of the 20 Mayors of the Borough between 1787 and 1807 financed or owned slave ships. Richard Tennent was Liverpool's M.P. between 1767 and 1780 and 1784 - 90 and he owned 8,000 acres of sugar plantations and over 600 slaves in Jamaica.[43] Liverpool's politicians fought to promote the town's involvement in slave-trading as far as they were able. In 1749 they petitioned Parliament for free trading in slaves. They pressurised the Privy Council of Virginia in 1772 to repeal a tax of 25% on the importation of slaves. During the debate over abolition (1787 - 1807) Liverpool spearheaded Parliamentary resistance to Abolition Bills

sending at least 64 petitions to the Commons and the Lords. Typical of contemporary attitudes was the comment in 1788 of a London correspondent that, on the abolition question, one was either a 'Humanity man' or a 'Liverpool man'.[44] Liverpool's populace was constantly bombarded by pamphlets from local politicians, articles and reports in the press, and by street songs and poems which expressed the necessity for supporting the 'practical' racism of the slave trade. The material profits from slavery, supported by legal decisions, religious statements and the protection of the armed forces, showed to the citizens of Liverpool that such a view was 'right and true'. Such a view is shown in a verse of poetry printed in a Parliamentary election pamphlet in 1790,

> "Be true to the man who stood to his trust
> remember our sad situation we must;
> When our African business was threatened
> 'twas Gascoyne was our friend,
> If our slave trade be gone, there's an end
> to our lives,
> Beggars all we must be, our children and wives,
> No ships from our ports their proud sail
> e'er would spread,
> And our streets grown with grass, where the
> cows might be fed"[45]

The intervention of Liverpool's developing working class in supporting an alternative candidate beat Gascoyne into second place, but Tarleton, who

was elected at the head of the poll, nevertheless wholeheartedly supported the slave trade.

Yet the 'Humanity Man' was represented in Liverpool by a very small band of abolitionists such as William Roscoe, James Currie and others. Unlike the blatant racism of Liverpool's merchants, this group were motivated by the religious revival of the 1780's and the impact of the French Revolution with its emphasis of 'new' ideas of equality and liberty; as such they expressed liberal humanism on the issue of race. This is portrayed in Roscoe's poem the 'Wrongs of Africa' (1787). It depicts the African before European arrival as living a simple idyllic existence having no use for material wealth. Then comes the 'foul pestilence' of the white trader who dangles baubles before these 'sons of innocence', tempting them until they are irrevocably corrupted, and commenced to plunder their neighbours for human wealth. It goes on to describe a hero 'Cymbello' - an African Prince of Zaire, who is abducted for the slave trade. When on board he has a vision of his princely duties to vindicate the wrongs of Africa and lead the slaves to rebellion. The prince and his beloved, also taken as a slave, are then killed during the ensuing battle. The poem ends with a long discourse in praise of liberty and suggests divine retribution if the wicked greed of Europe is not suppressed. The idealistic motives and the 'noble savage' stereotype characterise the predominant attitude amongst abolitionists as one of paternalistic racism. This view went on to justify the sending of Christian missionaries to Africa and the imposition of colonial rule to carry out the 'White Man's burden', which in practice involved military

oppression and commercial profit for white Europe.

The local solidarity of opposition to abolition forced Roscoe and his friends to use pseudonyms, to operate in secret, and to never raise a petition against slave trading before 1807. When working class opinions were expressed they were predominantly concerned with security of employment and the maintenance of wages. Intermittent struggles took place throughout the eighteenth century the largest being the seamen's strike in 1775 which was a result of large scale unemployment. The African and West Indies trades were major sources of employment for the port, therefore protection of these trades against abolition was seen as vital for working class interests. In 1792, the Mayor of Liverpool wrote to the Prime Minister stating that,

> "....the journeymen carpenters of this town (and who are a very powerful body of men) had a meeting on Saturday evening last, and were heard to say that if the abolition of the slave trade took place, some houses in the town (which they had marked) should be pulled down."[46]

Such trade clubs and craft organisations represented only a small section of the working class. The masses of unskilled workers that came to the port attracted by prospects of work, came poor and remained poor. Unrepresented in Parliament or Common Council, and excluded from the right to belong to any organisation with a corporate voice, their typical form of political action was the demonstrating crowd, or riot. The

seamen's action in 1775 was one such instance. During this riot a number of merchants' houses were wrecked, one in particular was owned by a Mr. Jones who anticipated trouble and fled to the country with his family and valuables. With the less treasured household chattels he left behind his African pageboy. He was found by the rioters, who ransacked the house but left the boy untouched.[47] This incident may indicate the relative tolerance of black people among the working class, as does the treatment of runaway slaves in Liverpool. The reaction of different sections of Liverpool's population to black people who came to the port will be more fully discussed in the next section, suffice to say that by the 1770's black slaves, servants, runaways and others were an everyday part of Liverpool life, as was the ideology of racism and racist practices of various descriptions.

Legal abolition of slavery in Britain has been said to have occurred in 1772 with Lord Mansfield's judgement. But it is clear that Liverpool was prepared to carry on regardless. In a Liverpool newspaper in 1779 a black boy about fourteen years old was put up for auction as a slave.[48] The legal abolition of slave-trading by British ships was passed by an Act of Parliament in 1807. Liverpool's answer was threefold. First resoruces were transferred to other markets and trades. Secondly, Liverpool's M.P. William Roscoe, who supported abolition, was attacked by a gang of unemployed seamen armed with cudgels on his return to Liverpool after voting for abolition in 1806. In 1807 Tarleton was elected Liverpool's M.P. after promising to restore the slave trade and campaigning under the banner 'The church and slave trade for ever' with the help of two

black boys who marched through the streets with a placard announcing 'The African Trade restored'. His opposing candidate Roscoe countered this by parading two former slaves with the notice 'We thank God for our freedom' but with little hope of success.[49] Thirdly Liverpool continued in illegal slave-trading, the supply of ships for slave-trading, and trading in slave produced goods. Slavery in British colonies was abolished in 1833 but by this time it was of little economic importance to Liverpool. The cultural reservoir of racism was not to be abolished so easily. Indeed, after slavery was abolished the ideology of racism gained theoretical depth and cultural shape as it intertwined with the image of Empire and British domination during the Victorian period and the hardening ideologies of class. These developments will be explored further through the investigation of the black presence in Liverpool.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LIVERPOOL'S BLACK POPULATION

From the mid-eighteenth century onwards Liverpool's economy, culture and population underwent a significant process of transformation as the distinction of race becomes incorporated throughout its whole social structure. Between 1756 (or possibly earlier) and 1870, the largest black community in Britain, outside London, came to be established in Liverpool.[50] This insertion of black people of varying economic categories into the urban core of the port which dominated European slave-trading is the object of study here.

Advertisements in the local papers, Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser and the Liverpool Chronicle, are the most abundant source of evidence of slave auctions from 1756 to 1780. No local papers were printed regularly before this period, but considering Liverpool's preceding century of contact with Africa and the West Indies black people would most probably have been brought to the port before even 1756, though few records documents this. Two examples of the advertised slave auctions are given below.

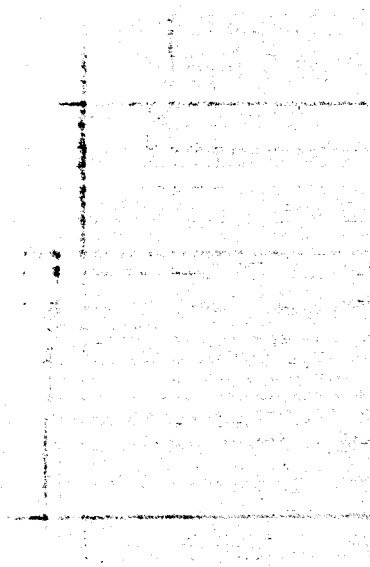
(i) Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser (12.9.1766).

"at the Exchange Coffe House in Water Street, this day the 12th instant, September at 10 O'Clock precisely, eleven negroes imported by the 'Angola'."

(ii) Liverpool Chronicle (15.12.1768).

"for sale a fine negro boy of about 4 feet 5 inches high. Of a sober, tractable, humane disposition. Eleven or twelve years of age, talks English very well, and can dress hair in a tolerable way."

A specimen of an auctioneer's bill for an action on the steps of Liverpool Custom House shows that no distinction was made between merchandise and slave; they were both commodities to be traded.



"Twelve pipes of Raisin Wine,
Two boxes of Bottled Cider,
Six sacks of Flour,
Three Negro Men,
Two Negro Women,
Two Negro Boys,
...One Negro Girl".[51]

One contemporary observer also noted the practice of auctioning slaves in Liverpool in the mid eighteenth century,

"One Street in the town (Liverpool) was nicknamed Negro Row, and negro slaves were occassionally sold by auction in the shops, warehouses and coffee houses, and also on the steps of the Custom House."[52]

One report of such an auction, printed in the Liverpool Advertiser reflects the patronising attitude of the writer,

> "A young negress is pushed forward. she has the quality of a statue uncouthly dressed ..... a cluster of seamen start bawdy joking amongst themselves, and a shopkeeper with his young wife on his arm draws away in disfavour. The woman watches the negress. She has passed through the streets where slave collars, branding irons, thumb-screws and mouthpieces are displayed for sale. She knows their use but they are so remote from her experience, that their significance has hitherto remained unreal .... but the slave girl raises fleeting doubts, compassion. She would like to have her as a maidservant and treat her well - teach her Christian values and good housewifery."[53]

Such records show the dismissal of the presence of black slaves by local historians to be unjustified. These slaves were brought into Liverpool for a variety of reasons but those records available do show that it was as household servants that they were most frequently used. They occupied an intermediary position prior to emancipation, between chattel slavery as practised in the colonies and the household service of English domestics. The importation of colonial forms of servitude into Britain by slave traders who brought both their racist assumptions and practices took place. However, slavery in England lacked the legal sanction of a fully developed slave code and the ideological support of a well articulated racism.[54] This created ambiguity in treatment and

definition of the slaves' status which was to provoke a variety of reactions on the part of white society and those enslaved.

There is little evidence to show the differential treatment of black enslaved and white free servants in local households. But their use in particular household roles was underlain by the social significance of race. As one contemporary observer commented,

> "There is always a market for little black boys who dressed up in oriental trousers and turban, and girls with a scimitar were frequent attendants on ladies of fashion, carrying a cup of chocolate or carrying a prayer book to Church."[55]

To be patronised and pampered like a household pet was not the only role for black slaves/servants. They were often deprived of their names given no rights and branded on the forehead so the owner could identify them if they escaped.

An article unsympathetic to blacks in the Gentleman's Magazine stated that once in England they,

> "cease to consider themselves as slaves in this free country, nor will they put up with inequality of treatment, nor more unwillingly perform the laborious offices of servitude than our own people, and if put to do it are sullen, spiteful, treacherous and revengeful."[56]

Another observer of this reaction was a London Magistrate who complained that,

> "They no sooner arrive here than they put themselves on a footing with other servants, become intoxicated with liberty... and begin to expect wages according to their own opinion of their merits."[57]

This claim for wages had certain implications. By this demand they challenged their masters' rights of ownership and attempted to establish through some agreement that their labour was their own and thus their freedom. Through such service blacks could also establish their rights of residence and their right to relief in the event of unemployment after quitting their masters' service. A Will and Testament made by Mary Bridge of Liverpool, a widow, in 1766 bequeathed £10 a year 'to my black negro man Thomas' for life.[58] This settlement would therefore have enabled this man to reside freely in Liverpool and become, possibly, one of the earliest members of the local black community. This event began some years before the abolition debate began and Lord Mansfield's judgement was passed.

The evidence presented by Lorimer in a recent paper suggests that rather than abolition of slavery in Britain being the result of a wave of humanitarian feeling, it was the result of black self-emancipation facilitated by legal ambiguity.[59] This process of struggle involved two forms of action, first the demand for wages, secondly attempted escape.

A common response to enslavement in white households was escape to find refuge elsewhere. Runaway slaves are documented in Liverpool and it is these fugitives from white control who formed an additional element of the local black community, along with refugees from other parts of the country who came in search of escape from Britain, and the support of free black communities.

One such slave arrived in Liverpool and prompted this advertisement, printed in the Liverpool Advertiser,

> "Run away from Dent in Yorkshire, on Monday, the 28th August last, Thomas Anson, a Negro man about 5 feet 6 inches high, aged twenty years and upwards, and broad set. Whoever will bring the said man back to Dent, or give any information that he might be had again, shall receive a handsome reward from Mr. Edward Gill of Dent or Mr. David Kenyon merchant of Liverpool."[60]

The frequent appearance of these advertisements showed that it was slaves themselves who first established their independence and the legal issue arose out of re-enslavement, but recapture does appear to have been rare. But even recapture and subsequent transportation of the person to the colonies was not irrevocable. For example, Lord Mansfield awarded £500 damages to a free African sailor whom a Liverpool slave trader sold into Jamaican slavery in 1779.[61]

The expanding population of Liverpool in the late eighteenth century due to high immigration, combined with limited employment produced a high rate of pauperism in the town. The resultant demand for cheap housing adjacent to the place of work, primarily the docks produced the first Liverpool slums in the 1780's. This was particularly evident in the new development of Toxteth Park, which by the nineteenth century contained over 30% of the town paupers.[62] The rapid and uncontrolled development of this part of the town produced some of the most squalid housing conditions. It was to such areas that both Irish and Welsh and black migrants and runaways were drawn. An observer described the area in this way,

> "The interior of the blocks .... laid out judiciously enough at right angles ..... was left to be arranged as chance or cupidity might direct. Hence arose sub-division of mean narrow streets, filled with close, gloomy courts into which as many dwellings as possible were packed, irrespective of light and air. The result has been the impression of an inferior character on this part of the town, from which it has never been able to recover."[63]

In such conditions black runaways would have been able to find a fair degree of tolerance born out of the essential equality of poverty. The cellars and courts of Liverpool which provided the first home of the developing local black population contained the worst living conditions of the town, but they nevertheless provided a refuge from re-enslavement

and racism.

Before exploring various elements of the black community such as labourers and seamen who appeared in the early nineteenth century in Liverpool, it is necessary to document another section of the black presence in Liverpool. Black people that came to the port were not only slaves and servants. African princes, students and scholars came to the Port for education; the motives of the white merchants who financed such visits were an extension of the commercialism that supported slave trading. Thus the desire to consolidate their infant colony led the Sierra Leone Company[64] to provide an English education for the son of King Naimbana in Liverpool in the 1780's the King of Mesurado was brought to Liverpool for education by slave traders so as to further their grasp of the African trade.[65] John Matthews, a Liverpool slaver observed in his A Voyage to Sierra Leone that,

> "Africans in most parts where the English trade were desirous of sending their children to England to learn what they call white-man's books; a knowledge which they find necessary for carrying on their trade. There are always several of these children of Liverpool, who are boarded and educated by the merchants and masters of ships trading to Africa."[66]

The reasons for this were plainly stated by Hugh Crow who commanded the last slave ship to leave Liverpool,

> "It has always been the practice of merchants and commanders of ships to Africa, to encourage the natives to send their children to England; as it not only consolidates their friendship and softens their manners but adds greatly to the security of the traders."[67]

The hope of turning African people into black Englishmen was only realised in those areas that mattered little.

> "The only apparent influence (European education) has upon (Africans) is in the exterior decoration of their persons, and the interior arrangements of their houses ... those black and mulatto children (and there are not a few of them) who are sent to Europe for their education, on their return to their native country immediately resume the manner of living; and embrace the superstitions and customs and ceremonies of their countrymen."[68]

But as Shyllon has commented, a thousand years of infiltration by white western 'civilisation' and Christianity into Africa could never boil down the one thousand and one African Gods into one God. This is borne out by the first recorded case of a black Muslim coming to Liverpool in 1811. An African named Mohammed was sold into slavery and transported to Antigua in the West Indies, where he was bought by a Mr. Hill in 1798. It did not take Mr. Hill long to discover that Mohammed had "a considerable share of Arabic literature" and he treated him with

particular indulgence. Mohammed expressed strong devotion to the Islamic religion (a culture which had flourished in various parts of Africa, while England was still in the Dark Ages). He was given his liberty and came to Liverpool in 1811. He did not stay long as he was able with the help of certain patrons to return to his home in Senegal, where eventually he,

> "reached his native village in safety, to the great joy of himself and his friends."[69]

The second group of black people that received education, in Liverpool were Anglo-African youths, the children of the union of members of the white West Indian Planter class and black women. They were given the education that befitted the children of the English aristocracy. One such youth went on to become a Barrister in Saint Lucia in the 1830's; he was,

> "a young gentleman ..... who had received a good plain education at Liverpool."[70]

Such people were in an unenviable situation for on their return to the West Indies they were subjected to 'all kinds of discrimination and mortification' according to one observer.[71]

Between the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and the rise of racism and colonial expansion in the 1860's, black people entered into the day to day life of the port, though their roles and occupations were

limited. Such social limits appear from the available evidence to have become more relaxed due to the triumph of the humanitarian movement in abolition. The dominant attitude seems to have been one of paternalism or romantic racism, resulting in the development of derogatory racial stereotypes which were to provide the cultural material for the construction of a coherent racist ideology later in the 1850's and 1860's.

These ideas are borne out by a number of incidents. In 1809 William Roscoe was informed that nine black men of Liverpool were confined in the Borough Gaol for debt, a feasible charge due to the difficulty of obtaining work in Liverpool and the fact that many black and white people were forced to become beggars. However, Roscoe found out that they had been arrested by the master of a Portuguese vessel, then in the port, to keep them in safe custody before sailing for Brazil and selling them as slaves. Roscoe engaged two friends to put up bail for the defendants, but before they could be released the Portuguese Captain, a great number of Portuguese seamen and others surrounded the prison. The attorney for the master of the vessel sent an order to the prison to discharge the blacks. The black men however had been warned of their danger and in a moment of solidarity between black and white, their fellow inmates stood up and declared the black men would not be taken by force. As a result the Portuguese seamen retired with no hope of success. At the Magistrates' proceedings the next day, Roscoe's solicitors, who advocated the prisoners' case and declined any payment, won the day. The Portuguese captain was forced to drop all charges and

pay all costs, and so the nine black men were released. This incident represents one of the first co-ordinated examples of legal-political action between black and white to fight racist practice in Liverpool.

The released blacks proved to be of value because of their sea-faring experience, one being a boatswain, and so,

> "Eight of these men immediately afterwards entered, most cheerfully into his Majesty's service; and the ninth being more infirm, was taken by a friend of Mr. Roscoe's on board one of his own vessels."[72]

Such employment produced the term 'black-jacks' - seafarers - and it was as such that black people were most widely known during the nineteenth century in Liverpool. This form of labour also brought Asian seamen to the port. The ending of the East India Company's monopoly on trade to India in 1814 opened this line of commerce to Liverpool merchants, and in 1814 the 'Kingsmill' sailed for Calcutta, the first Liverpool ship to engage in this trade. In the 1830's one commentator observed an Indian ship in the port, the 'Irrawaddy', that had sailed from Bombay with a cargo of cotton manned by 40 or 50 Lascar seamen. These seamen were of many different nationalities, Malays, Mahrattas, Burmese, Siamese and Singalese, yet the response they invoked from many of the towns' inhabitants was blatantly racist. The commentator noted that,

> ".....it was amusing at times to watch the old woman with

> umbrellas who stood on the quay, staring at the lascars, even when they desired to be private. These inquisitive old ladies seemed to regard the strange sailors as a species of wild animal whom they might gaze at with as much impunity, as at leopards in the Zoological gardens."[73]

On talking himself with one of the Lascar seamen the observer expressed surprise to hear,

> "....that the Irrawaddy was wholly built by the native shipwrights of India, who surpassed the European artisans...."[74]

The same writer, an American seaman, has this to say regarding the comparison between racism in Liverpool and America, where slavery still existed,

> "Speaking of Negroes, recalls the looks of interest with which Negro sailors are regarded when they walk the Liverpool streets. In Liverpool indeed the Negro steps with a prouder pace, and lifts his head like a man; for here, no such exaggerated feeling exists in respect to him as in America. Three or four times I encountered our black steward, dressed very handsomely, and walking arm in arm with a good looking woman. In New York such a couple would have been mobbed in three minutes; and the steward would have been lucky to

> escape with whole limbs. Owing to the friendly reception extended to them, and the unwanted immunities they enjoyed in Liverpool, the black cooks and stewards of American ships are very much attached to the place and like to make voyages to it."[75]

Such attitudes may well have accounted for the settling of black sailors in Liverpool, particularly in the dock areas, where they were relatively well received. Another example of this was in connection with the establishment of a mutual association called the Negro Oddfellows. Negroes in America were only able to obtain entry to this exclusively white association after a black steward obtained an Oddfellows membership card in Liverpool. He returned to New York and opened the first Negro Oddfellows lodge in America, the Philomathean Lodge, in New York during 1843.[76]

The popular image amongst black Americans of Liverpool's tolerance resulted in a number of black slaves stowing away on ships to Liverpool. Some indication of the falseness of this image, given the entrenchment of racist ideas, is shown by James Watkins, a former slave, in his own words. In the 1840's he stowed away on board ship bound from New York to Liverpool,

> "When we entered the Mersey and came into the docks I could not help shouting and leaping for joy."[77]

Yet after he had stayed in the port for a while he found that,

> ".....the leprosy of racial hatred had affected some on British soil, especially those who come into contact with American merchants and captains."[78]

Apart from seamen and servants, black people living in Liverpool undertook a wide variety of jobs. Some were beggars, mendicants or entertainers. Yet another group were apprenticed to tradesmen and artificers. Others were self-employed and able to lead independent lives. An African, John Hanson, served his time as a joiner and worked at that business in Liverpool. On appeal to the African Institution in 1815 for help the Directors,

> ".....thought themselves justified in ordering a sum of £20 to be laid out to procure him a chest of tools, and other articles for his present subsistence."[79]

Others were not so lucky. There is a record of one African in Liverpool who in his own words,

> ".....gained a livliehood selling pin-cushions, which were made by the woman of the house where I lodged. I remained there for about four months and from thence to Newmarket, where I was apprehended begging and committed to jail for a month."[80]

Black people were also drawn to the world of popular entertainment where they could play on white values and their colour to make a living. Numerous instances of black entertainers coming to Liverpool in the nineteenth century have been documented, therefore special attention will be given to this group.

BLACK PEOPLE ON THE LIVERPOOL STAGE

The English love of the 'Noble Savage', born out of the stereotypes of the Abolition debate, produced a situation where some black men of talent and accomplishment were able to rise above the social and institutional barriers of British society. Such barriers prevented black people both from entering Britain and escaping from slum conditions and poverty, yet at the same time black writers, poets, singers, musicians, athletes and boxers were praised and feted. One particular black actor who came to Liverpool experienced both worlds, Frederick Aldridge, Born in 1807 in America, Aldridge came to Britain to further his career as an actor. He shipped as a steward on a boat bound for Liverpool; during the voyage he was engaged by an English actor, James Wallock, as his personal attendant. He arrived in Liverpool in 1825, but went to London to find an entrance into the theatre. He achieved some success in the West End, in such plays as The Revolt of the Survivors or A Slave's Revenge and The Ethiopian or The Quadroon of the Mango Grove despite adverse criticism from such as the Times because of Aldridge's colour. But after marrying an English woman in 1826 the reaction of pro-slavery forces ensured that he was shunned as an actor in London and forced to tour small theatres in the provinces. Many pro-slavery newspapers and journals which were the mouthpieces for the powerful merchant princes of the sugar, tobacco and cotton trades organised smear campaigns against him. However when he came to the Theatre Royal in Liverpool during 1827 he received great success which he would not have done thirty years before. As in 1791 one London editor had commented on the

reprint of Aphra Benn's Oroonoko or the Royal Slave,

> "....it may be imagined that this play cannot easily be popular in Liverpool, the centre of the slave trade."[81]

Yet by 1814 Liverpool had registered its opposition to slave trading in a petition to Parliament, and the Liberal group in the town generated an atmosphere of inquisitive paternalism towards black people. In such a context, Aldridge's success in playing such parts as Othello, Oroonoko and other black roles can be understood. Nevertheless his talent showed through and he went on to include roles specifically written for white actors Macbeth, King Lear and Richard III. On his return to London his achievements were acclaimed, and he starred at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. But this engagement was terminated after four nights due to the same prejudice he had received from the pro-slavery bigots. He was forced to accept bookings at minor theatres in London and the provinces. He noted in his diary,

> "Bigotry and fanaticism have excited themselves in all possible shapes to array the profession of dramatic art, but I have been very successful indeed thank God."[82]

He spent nineteen years playing the minor theatres due to the pressure of prejudice. One newspaper admitted,

> ".....not unconscious of his own natural disadvantages - that

> of his colour - Mr. Aldridge awaited, with characteristic modesty, the invitation to appear again. Managers lacked to say the best of it, the moral courage to engage him when opportunity occurred."[83]

As a result he left for Europe and played in the top theatres of Belgium, Germany and Switzerland. His talents were at last fully rewarded and he received honours from many crowned heads of Europe. But Aldridge's greatest success was in Russia where he was made an honorary member of the Imperial Academy of Beaux Arts St. Petersburg and holder of the Imperial Jubilee de Tolstoy medal. Such success opened the doors of London theatres to him but he continued to tour the Continent until his death in 1867.

Aldridge dedicated his life to a vision of the world where everyone lived in equality and freedom. He played out his beliefs in many roles on the stage. One of the most powerful was the death scene in the melodrama Dred written by Harriet Stowe (who also wrote Uncle Tom's Cabin) in which he played the lead.

> "I can see far into the future ... can behold the time when black and white are of equal worth. Grieve not for me; I go where all are free; I go where my colour is no crime, there to the abode of bliss and liberty - liberty."[84]

But to escape the development of the racial stereotype was hard. The

same author who wrote Dred defended her portrayal of Negroes in Uncle Tom's Cabin in this way,

> "The Negro race is confessedly more simple, docile, childlike and affectionate than other races; and hence the graces of love and faith, when breathed by the holy spirit find in their natural temperament a more congenial atmosphere."[85]

The immense popularity of Uncle Tom's Cabin aroused English sympathies for Negro slaves in the United States but it also heightened the Victorian awareness of the differences between themselves and the novel's black characters, these differences being attributed to both slavery and race.

Such ideas gained influence in Liverpool. In the 1840's Liverpool's Owenite Socialists held popular temperance soirees. The playbill for one occasion (27th November 1841) stated of this entertainment that,

> "(its) design is to furnish the industrious classes of Liverpool with a combination of sober and national amusements....."[86]

and headlined on the bill as the star of the evening was Mr. C. Ashort,

> ".....the celebrated nigger singer."[87]

The popularity of stage versions of such as Uncle Tom's Cabin gave birth to a long lasting form of black impersonation, the minstrel show. Negro

minstrels and white entertainers using burnt cork enjoyed great success in the second half of the nineteenth century. In origin they appealed to anti-slavery sentiment but they did much to reinforce the racist stereotype of the black man. In Liverpool Negro ministrels ranged from top class entertainers to poor street singers. In 1866 Samuel Hague, an English entertainer and promoter, attempted to cash in on sympathy for black slaves and the popularity of the minstrel shows. He brought 26 ex-slaves to Liverpool from Georgia and staged a genuine Negro entertainment. Hague's audience did not take to his attempt at realism and soon the promoter had the ex-slaves, like the white entertainers in the Company, put on the burnt cork. The Liverpool audience was only then satisfied that it had seen the genuine article, the real black minstrel.[88] Sam Hague's minstrels sang at St. James Hall in Lime Street until the 1880's and at the same time the caricature of white domination in the colonies was played out in one of the most spectacular sketches of Hengler's Circus, "Joseph Hamilton's Route to our Indian Empire" which delighted audiences at the Grand Cirque in West Derby Road.[89]

In the early 1880's a local commentator noted the example of "J. Alexander, a living curiosity, the Negro tenor singer" and extolled the benefits for this black West Indian of living in a free land, but overlooked the existence of racism which by this time had become embedded in popular culture. Alexander came to Liverpool on a ship whose Captain

was Welsh. The Captain taught Alexander some of the Welsh language. In Liverpool he was described and interviewed by the writer,

> "This extraordinary youth may now be seen promenading the principal streets of the City. As a rule he carries a small black bag with one hand and with the other a music book; he is as black as a piece of coal with teeth like ivory."[90]

Both in the professional theatre, on the amateur stage and in the street the minstrel's positive reactions depended on connecting with the ideological threads of popular culture, and as a result they tended to reinforce the racist stereotypes and images.

Another group of black people entertained Liverpool audiences on the stage but their intention was clearly to restore the image of the black man to that of an equal. The group consisted of West Indian and American black intellectuals who were fighting for the end of slavery in their own countries. Men such as William Wells Brown and Frederick Douglass who toured the 'Exeter Halls' of England preaching their cause.[91] These halls were opened by anti-slavery philanthropists in the 1840's. Liverpool's was erected in Lord Nelson Street at a cost of £5,000 and was the largest. In this hall these black lecturers who were often ex-slaves themselves put on shows frequently equipped with panorama illustrating the conditions of slave life, and supplied with a stock of the narratives of slave escapes. They were effective agents of their cause. They also provided popular entertainment which had the parallel effect

of crystallising the black image into a grotesque object to be set apart and treated differently, and they frequently gained a comfortable income, from doing so. Such a dual effect, support and funds for the anti-slavery cause and support for racist ideologies, was not the only product of the abolitionist campaign. On his last visit to England in 1887 Frederick Douglass blamed the minstrel shows for the increased racial intolerance that he encountered in Britain.[92] The expansion of racism in the nineteenth century will be discussed later, but a number of other factors were also important: the experience of Empire, and the experience of the Industrial Revolution. These ideological effects underlay the hardening of racist attitudes, whereas the minstrel caricature and the abolition campaign reinforced rather than determined this growth of white racism.

THE BLACK COMMUNITY

In the midst of this transient black presence a number of factors led to the emergence of a distinct black community in Liverpool. The City's total population rose from 80,000 in 1801 to 482,000 in 1861, both through immigration and natural increase. During the mid-nineteenth century the different elements of the black community came together in the original area of black settlement, in the neighbourhood of the South Docks. This fact has not often been noticed because it occurred at a time when the city was expanding very rapidly anyway and this larger process has obscured the other.

The largest group within the black community consisted of seamen, transient at first, but later settling here. Attempts were made to prevent the settlement of too many black Africans by an Act of Parliament in 1823 which stated that,

> "The Master of every vessel coming from the Coast of Africa and having taken on board at any place in Africa, any person or persons appearing to be natives of Africa shall ..... state in the report of his vessel how many such persons have been taken on board by him in Africa; and any such Master failing herein shall forfeit the sum of One Hundred Pounds."[93]

The same Act further limited the settlement of black Africans by paying ships Captains to take them back to their place of origin. Black seamen

arriving from the West Indies, America and elsewhere were not affected by this Act, but throughout the early nineteenth century, black seamen in Liverpool ran the risk of capture and enslavement especially by ships Captains'.

Some black seamen were employed in the Royal Navy. One such was Henry Steward, a black sailor born in Liverpool, who was imprisoned in the Southern States of America in 1830.[94] This case was investigated by the Foreign Office but his release was not secured. Some enslaved Liverpool blacks were luckier. William Houston moved to Liverpool with his two brothers, three sisters and his mother, a woman of African descent. His mother ran a lodging house for black sailors during the 1840's and 50's. Houston was taken on an American ship, jailed in the Southern States and then sold into slavery in 1850. In 1851, the Foreign Office investigated his case and the British Government paid £500 to buy his freedom.[95] In 1857, a group of Liverpool blacks were taken on as seamen on an American vessel, moored in the Mersey, on the understanding that it was heading for Antigua in the Caribbean. It was bound in fact for Mobile, Alabama, where the ship's white officers intended to make a quick profit by selling them as slaves. A fight broke out on deck between the black seamen and the white officers. At the Magistrate's hearing on shore the next day the Courtroom and the local press were openly sympathetic to the black seamen who were freed as a result.[96]

Such occasional 'happy endings' show that the fight against slavery

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had gained support in Liverpool. Yet types of racism remained present in many areas of local society. The relations between black and white seamen were described in this way by a contemporary author,

> "Black jack very woolly headed and ivory grindered cooking, fiddling and singing, as it seems the nature of black jack, to cook, fiddle and sing. Where the Union Jack flies nigger jack is well treated. English sailors do not disdain to drink with him, work with him and sing with him."[97]

The intrinsic racism of such comments shows the patronising, socially oppressive nature of British culture which became clearly articulated in the sphere of inter-racial, personal and sexual relations.

Black settlers in Liverpool were primarily male and therefore there was and continued to be a large degree of intermarriage with white women. These social relationships have been surrounded by a number of racist myths that have become part of popular culture.

By the eighteenth century the myth of the sexual prowess of blacks had become an ingrained belief, and was used to explain or deride mixed marriages. The strength of this myth was one of the most powerful factors in determining attitudes on both sides. Travellers in West Africa, including slave traders, displayed a curiosity bordering on the obsessional about the sexual habits of Africans. White West Indian planters were also salaciously interested in the sexual behaviour of their

black slaves and both groups had reported their observations extensively to the reading public of England. English sexual morals were often hedged about with such prudery and hypocrisy, and the differences between these values and the African ones were seen in terms of an incurable tendency to lust, and immorality on the part of Africans. English cartoonists and caricaturists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries took great deight in titillating their public on the subject of sexual relations between black and white.

West Indian planters, fresh from the sexual exploitation of black women in the colonies, were indignant when they saw the degree of racial mixing in England. The sight of "Tawny children playing in the squares" and of a growing locally born black group, drove white masters into tirades of abuse.[98] By the mid-nineteenth century these myths of black sexuality and "half-castes" had become very much part of the emerging theory of scientific racism. James Hunt, president of the Anthropological Society of London, the leading exponent of such theories in the 1860's produced arguments which concluded, that "half caste" children were inferior in length of life, fertility etc.[99] Such arguments were supported by popular jokes, articles in the press, children's comics and by the day to day banter of ordinary people. In this atmosphere, racially mixed couples in Liverpool faced abuse and insult from most sections of the local population as did their children.

In the 1860's Liverpool's black community had no formal social or political organisation, to represent it. These were not to appear until

much later. Black individuals faced barriers of discrimination which made them economically and socially insecure. Henry Mayhew had this to say about the employment situation of black people in 1862,

> "It is only common fairness to say that Negroes seldom if ever shirked work. Their only trouble is to obtain it. Those who have seen the many negroes employed in Liverpool will know that they are hard working, patient and too often underpaid. A Negro will sweep the crossing, run errands, clean knives and forks, or dig, for a crust and a few pence. The few imposters to be found among them are to be found amongst those who go about giving lectures on the horrors of slavery and singing variations on that favoured book 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'. Negro servants are seldom read of in police reports, and are generally found to give satisfaction to their employers..... whenever they are out of work they have no scruples, but go into the streets, take off their hats and beg directly."[100]

It was on his tour of the dockland slums of Liverpool that Charles Dickens, in 1861, accompanied by a police superintendant came across a public house whose clientele were primarily black. The reason for coming together was to relax to the music of a "fiddle and tambourine band" away from the pressures of economic hardship and racial abuse. The superintendant notes this, and stated that,

"they generally kept together, these poor fellows, because they were at a disadvantage singly and liable to slights in the neighbouring streets."[101]

In view of such pressures, it is not surprising that blacks tended to live close to each other. An analysis of the 1851 census has shown that foreign-born immigrants from the Colonies lived mainly in a sector running East from the South Docks, some areas in the Pitt Street Ward having up to 15% of their population from this group.[102] The area had a vibrant life of its own. Even Dickens noted, somewhat patronisingly, that in the public house where he found "Dark Jack" black seamen and shore workers, "the jovial black landlord presided over a scene of merriment and dancing kept up with childish good humoured enjoyment."[103] He further noted with some surprise that the white women there looked the least depraved he had seen anywhere that night.

In order to support the assertion that a local black population became established in Liverpool in the 1850's, census data has been studied. Between 1861 and 1911 the Census County Reports for Lancashire enumerate those persons born in the British Colonies, Dominions and Protectorates.

Table 2. Number of persons born in the British Colonies etc. resident in Liverpool from 1861 to 1911,

Year	No. of Persons
1861	1,927
1871	2,007
1881	2,165
1891	1,947
1901	2,740
1911	3,015

(Sources, Census Reports for the County Palatine of Lancashire, 1861 - 1911).

In 1911 the category of British Colonies etc, was enumerated by individual country, as was the category of 'other foreign countries'. This enabled the derivation of a classification of birthplace groups of which the majority, probably over three-quarters, would have been black. In 1911 the total number of people classified in these birth-place groups was 2,555 as table 3 shows,

Table 3. Overseas Born Population of Liverpool 1911.

Birthplace Group	No. of Persons
Indian	880
African	495
Chinese	425
Far East	394
Caribbean	198
Others	163
TOTAL	2,555

(Source, Census Report for the County Palatine of Lancashire, 1911)

Thus using the proportional relationship between the total figure in Table 3 and the figure for born in the British Colonies etc., in Table 2 for 1911 it can be seen that Liverpool's black population became established by 1861 numbering between 1,500 and 2,000 persons. From this period a significant British-born black population would have begun to develop in Liverpool.

The emergence of the largest concentration of Afro-Asian people outside London by 1871 did produce its celebrities. One member of this community, John Archer, was born in Liverpool in 1863 and became Lord Mayor of Battersea in 1913, having been a local councillor there from

1906.[104] The majority were not so lucky. The barriers of racial discrimination, verbal abuse and physical attack which helped to create unity and solidarity amongst local blacks also ensured that they remained predominantly working class. Irish and Jewish immigrants to Liverpool experienced moments of entrenched opposition by some sections of the local working-class, but the distinction of race could not ensure their continued oppression.

From the establishment of the nucleus of the local black community in mid-victorian Liverpool, the increased significance of racism in British society ensured that the experience of this black community was to be one of capitalist domination expressed in the distinct cultural form of racial oppression. It was in the 1850's and 1860's that as class ideologies came to assume a specific unity in popular culture, racism itself emerged as a fully articulated structure of subordination within the centre of the British Empire.[105]

RACISM AND IMMIGRATION IN LIVERPOOL

At the same time that a black community was being established in Liverpool, racism itself shifted into a new phase. The experience of the slave trade had hardened racial stereotypes and created a general feeling of superiority towards the African. Black people were seen as members of a naturally inferior class. The abolition debate generated vast quantities of propaganda in the philanthropic and patronising vein - which did nothing to erase stereotypes. Rather it reinforced them by presenting black people in certain rigid categories e.g. African savage, suffering slave, plantation labourer, minstrels. The abolition battle over the pro-black philanthropist movement itself declined and black people had fewer defenders in Britain. By the middle of the nineteenth century a rigid paternalism had developed, so that the dominant view on race issues was that the black person's humanity could be accepted so long as he or she remained the perpetual ward of a white guardian. Blacks, like women, never grew up. Such views concerning race have been seen in the context of an equally rigid sense of social class.[106] It was easy enough, in a social scheme in which each group had its place, and knew it, to identify blacks with servitude and savagery and to relegate them to the very base of the social pyramid.

The Victorians were very interested in race.[107] It provoked in them curiosity, amusement and intellectual debate. By the end of the nineteenth century, racist ideas and practices had entered into virtually every area in British society. Racism was to be found in the scientific

theories of biologists, historians and anthropologists; in the doctrines of the Christian missions in Africa; in popular literature including children's comics; in advertisements; in popular entertainment, through jokes and caricature; in politics as the moral justificatiion for imperialist expansion; in the position of black workers both in the Colonies and in Britain; in everyday tastes, values and habits. From being implicit in the cultural reservoir of values and assumptions, racism now assumed an explicit fully articulated structure. From this the British people drew their particular responses to anyone "foreign" who arrived on their shores.

During the nineteenth century a wider variety of immigrant groups came to Liverpool: Irish, Eastern European Jews, Chinese, Africans and Asians. Their arrival never failed to produce some hostile reaction on the part of Liverpool people. It is worth looking at the experience of each group briefly.

(i) The Irish

Periodic famines, evictions of the Irish peasantry, long established shipping links - all these factors combined to bring many Irish people to Liverpool in the 1840's and 1850's. They were looking for work and relief from the conditions they left behind. Ireland had long been seen from British as a backward, almost primitive country. Once here,

"The Irishman's clothes, his brogue and general appearance

> even when he was not speaking in Gaelic, singled him out from the rest of the community as an outsider, a stranger in the midst. But more potent than the fact that the immigrant lived in a strange and simple way was the fact that he belonged to a foreign church."[108]

These differences, especially the religious one, set the Irish of the city apart in their own distinctive areas of settlement in the slums of Liverpool. There they came to be defined as the cause of bad social and housing conditions in the City.

> "The Irish" and Doctor Duncan, Honorary Physician of the North Dispensary in Liverpool (1845) "seem to be contented amidst dirt and filth ..... they merely seem to care for that which will support animal existence...."[109]

They were concentrated in manual work and it was their labour which built the infrastructure for the 'imperialist zenith' of late Victorian Liverpool.

English attitudes toward them were often explicitly racist - as in this satire in 1862,

> "A creature manifestly between the gorilla and the negro is to be met with in some of the lowest districts of London and Liverpool by adventurous explorers. It comes from Ireland

whence it has continued to migrate. It belongs in fact to a tribe of Irish savages : The lowest species of Irish Yahoo, when conversing with its kind talks a sort of gibberish."[110]

The Irish stereotype lives on in popular culture, but the religious divide between Protestant and Catholic has produced recurrent violence and was reflected in occupational barriers which tended to die away by the 1930's. Also, the Irish were not permanently set apart by visible characteristics such as skin colour. Rev. Vincent Glover of Liverpool is quoted by C. Jones (1977) as noting that,

"There is a more decided amelioration in the English-born Irish: the longer they stay the more they improve."[111]

(ii) The Jews.

The bulk of Jewish immigrants to Liverpool did not arrive in Liverpool until the 1880's when the pogroms in Russia created a flood of Jewish refugees. On arrival the newcomers found, already settled, a small, but well organised and influential Jewish community well able to engage in charitable and philanthropic activity on behalf of their less fortunate brethern. There were problems though, for most of the refugees were penniless, unskilled, and did not speak English. They settled in the Brownlow Hill area in the inner city and engaged in activities such as tailoring, cabinet making and the running of small shops. There is some evidence of overt anti-semitism in response to

Jewish immigration. The main area of contention was that of employment. An executive member of the Liverpool Operative Tailors Society, a journeyman tailor, told the House of Lords Committee in 1890, that foreign labour should be checked by an Aliens Bill; if not, skilled labour would be driven from the town and replaced by the unskilled.[112] Trade Union reaction was varied. There were attempts by some activists to organise, but there was also a great deal of hostility and it was this latter sentiment that found most support. In 1892, the Liverpool Trades Council expressed total opposition to Polish and Russian Jews entering the tailoring and cabinet making trades,

> "Some of the foreign Jews (having) most offensive characteristics."[113]

In 1893 the Trades Council passed a resolution against the landing of pauper aliens i.e. Jews. By 1894 the Jews had become scapegoats for the deteriorating economic conditions and rising unemployment. The Liverpool Commission on unemployment stated that,

> "One of the causes of the glut of the labour market and consequent lowness of wages was the immigration of Jews from Russia and Poland."[114]

Some of the politicians were quick to exploit anti-semitic feelings. The Conservative M.P. for West Derby in his election address of 1895 warned his constituents to prepare themselves against the 'alien

flood'.[115] Apparently little has changed in English attitudes to immigrant groups.

Jewish immigrants, however, were better placed than most. They had the charitable support of the settled Jewish community and the strong sense of unity deriving from religious devotion and the fostering, through education and upbringing, of distinctive cultural traits.

(iii) The Chinese

Unlike the Jews who were political refugees, or the Irish who were refugees from poverty, the Chinese first reached Liverpool as seamen. A number of Liverpool shipping lines, particularly the Ocean Steamship Company's Blue Funnel Line, had begun to trade with China from 1865 onwards. From an early date Chinese seamen had been employed. Early settlers in Liverpool were predominantly Cantonese, coming from the Sze Yap area of Kwanatung. They found employment in the laundry business, thereby prompting the Trades Council (in 1891) to express total opposition to the "bob-tailed people" who were competing against laundrywomen.[116] Yet according to the 1891 census, there were only 27 Chinese people in Liverpool at the time. Under-enumeration was a problem in census enumeration nevertheless the reaction to this group was clearly not related to numbers.

In the national newspapers and journals of the 1880's and 1890's sympathetic to the cause of labour (e.g. The Clarion and Justice)

references to the Chinese were often couched in terms of the 'yellow peril'; and their entry in western labour markets was opposed. By the turn of the century, the white working class among whom the Chinese lived and worked fully supported the idea that Chinese immigration was a threat to the Western World. In the General Election of 1906, one of the important issues concerned the importation of Chinese labour into South Africa. One authority on Lancashire during this eletion concluded that,

> "Especially in the industrial constituencies where it was a leading topic, doing right by the Chinese was strictly subordinate to keeping them in their place."[117]

In Liverpool the Chinese community had grown to 500 by the early 1900's. This was considered sufficiently serious for the Unions, the City Council, the Police and the media all to express their concern.

On 2nd December 1906, a banner headline in a local newspaper proclaimed,

> "Chinese Vice in Liverpool."[118]

The article focused on the subjects of gambling, drug-taking and sexual relations between Chinese men and white women. The preceeding election had greatly helped in the creation of a negative Chinese stereotype which could now be further hardened by the media and

presented for public consumption. Writing in 1908 Graham Wallas commented,

> "Anyone who saw much of politics in the winter of 1905/6 must have noticed that the pictures of Chinamen on the hoardings aroused among many of the voters an immediate hatred of the mongolian racial type."[119]

The Liverpool Council's concern was expressed in the ordering of a Report of Inquiry into the morals and habits of the Chinese as well as into the economic effects of their presence.[120] No difference was found between English and Chinese household standards and the general accusation of immorality was left unsubstantiated. Neverthless, the Report concludes that immigration legislation should be strengthened. The call was echoed in the national press. The Daily Telegraph noted that in one case the immigration board had allowed,

> "The admission of a certain party of penurious Chinese en route for Liverpool."[121]

and suggested that,

> "presumably this unguarded dumping aroused public concern"

The Chief Constable of Liverpool, however, gave other reasons for hostility to the Chinese. In a letter to the Home Office in 1906 he

wrote,

> "There is no doubt a strong feeling of objection to the idea of the half-caste population which is resulting from the marriage of Englishwomen to the Chinese."[122]

It would be easy however, and misleading, to overestimate the degree of hostility. Liverpool seamen for example, expressed little opposition to the Chinese. In its report the Council stressed that the Chinese were the embodiment of pubic order. It is clear that a certain pattern of accommodation to the Chinese presence was emerging in Liverpool.[123] The Chinese were accepted in their place i.e. as seamen on the shipping routes to China and later on, in the restaurant business which took over from laundries as the main area of shore work in which they became involved.

(iv) Asians

The presence of Asians in Liverpool arose due to the employment of Lascars on ships coming to Liverpool. The wife of one such seaman who settled in Liverpool gave some reasons for this,

> "Some would jump ship because of poor conditions on board and poor wages. They were called Lascars, and were treated very badly by shipowners. Some would run away to other places, they would go to Bradford, Birmingham and other

towns until their ships left dock. They returned to Liverpool under assumed names and tried desperately to get Nationality papers, passports and work. It was not easy."[124]

Indeed those Muslims who came to Liverpool from overseas and joined English Muslims to form the Liverpool Muslim Institute in the 1880's experienced great hostility. The Muslim Temple (Mosque) in Liverpool was attacked in 1891 while a meeting was in progress with fireworks and bucketsful of missiles being thrown by the crowd. The comment in the Liverpool Review was that,

"if prevailing customs are not sensibly respected, hard-knocks are the inevitable consequence and should not arouse much sympathy."[125]

Every one of the immigrant groups which came into Liverpool experienced a degree of hostility. There has grown up in modern Liverpool a generally accepted idea of racial harmony. Yet the history of white reaction to these communities is one of initial hostility gradually becoming overlaid with a veneer, not of harmony, but of accommodation to their inevitable presence, that the veneer was thinnest in the case of people of African descent was to be shown in the race riots of 1919.

BLACK SEAMEN AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY

The expansion of Liverpool's black population from the 1860's up to the First World War occurred for two reasons. First, intermarriage and the development of a locally born black community, and secondly the settlement of West African seamen which arose out of the practice of employing these men on ships travelling from Liverpool to West Africa. Elder Dempster, a Liverpool shipping firm founded in 1868, became the agent for the British and African Steamship Company and thus obtained control of the main shipping trade to West Africa. The imperialist penetration of West African economies and monopolistic control over the resulting trade by Liverpool shipping firms revitalised the port.

This involved the exploitation of black labour in West Africa itself and this was extended by the employment of black seamen on Liverpool ships. In 1892, Havelock Wilson, the leader of the National Seamen's Union, complained of the displacement of English by foreign seamen who could more easily be worked long hours.[126] In evidence given to the Select Committee on the Mercantile Marine in Liverpool in 1902, by the Liverpool Steamship Owners' Association, the reasons for the use of foreign seamen on Liverpool ships were given,

> (They were) "more amenable to discipline and in all hot climates, they (Liverpool shipping firms) consider them indispensable, especially as firemen."[127]

Examination of a number of ships' articles for crews signed on in 1904 shows that white and African firemen and trimmers were paid the same wages - £3.10s per month.[128] African seamen therefore, could not as yet be identified as cheap labour causing the displacement of white seamen.

The seamen's national strike of 1911, organised by Havelock Wilson, was to have the effect of changing all this. The strike arose out of the seamen's growing awareness of low wages and deplorable working conditions. Wilson also complained that British hands were being replaced by lower paid foreign labour. The strike resulted in higher wages for British seamen but this was partly financed by reducing the wages of African seamen. Ships' Articles from after 1911 show white firemen's wages increased from £3.10s to £5 per month, while those of African firemen reduced from £3.10s to £2.10s per month.[129]

This practice was legally sanctioned by the National Maritime Board in 1914. The Board accepted the Union's suggestion that in principle foreign seamen employed on British ships should be paid British rates. It admitted certain exceptions to this rule however, and ruled that black seamen on the West African trade from Liverpool could be engaged on lower rates than whites. This may be the reason why some African seamen, once in Liverpool, decided to find work on shore, and thus expanded black settlement in the port. In any event, the number of blacks settled in Liverpool expanded steadily between 1860 and the outbreak of the First World War. Some African seamen were paid off in

Liverpool to suit the needs of the shipping companies who were interested in maintaining a reserve of cheap labour in the port. As late as 1925, Elder Dempster still maintained a hostel in Liverpool where its seamen were retained at a fee of 12 s per week while unemployed.[130] Most of the other Companies had a series of semi-official arrangements with boarding-house keepers, whereby jobs were reserved for the clients of the house.

The settlement of black seamen in the South Docks area of Liverpool is described by an Irish Liverpudlian of the time thus,

> "The negroes, many of whom are firemen and trimmers on the Elder Dempster 'monkey boats', had their headquarters on Gore Street and Stanhope Street at the foot of which, into the Coburg Dock, the monkey boats used to come from the sea."[131]

A racist view of intermarriage locally was presented by the same writer in this way,

> "Not only were these ugly tribal-scarred fellows from the West Coast of Africa accepted by white women as equals; many times they were considered the white man's superior. The main reason of course, was economic - they made better pater familiae. Some families like my mother's abhorred the practice of intermarriage, but it was so prevalent that they

had to keep their beliefs to themselves ..... The fact that most of the black fellows followed the sea had much to do with the local girls marrying them - much better, reasoned the girls to put up with a negro three months of the year (while drawing his steady salary) than to marry a young dock walloper and be continually starved and beaten."[132]

Black Liverpool families were not all concentrated in the immediate Stanhope Street area, although an analysis of addresses of black seamen, using a sample of Elder Dempster's ships' articles,[133] shows that this was indeed the main area of settlement. Over half of the black population of over 3,000 living in the port in 1911[134] were widely spread throughout the central and southern slum areas of the city. They were confined to the poorest areas by limited job opportunities and the equation of blackness with poverty and fecklessness. The slum housing was, in many cases, over 100 years old and in squalid condition.

The squalor was shared by the white population of the same area. A description of the courts of Stanhope Street is given by the Irish "slummy" who spent his youth in the neighbourhood. The court was,

"A narrow alley receding off the street to a larger area, like an unseen tooth cavity, and ending in a conglomeration of filthy shacks. About 25 large families, dock labourers, hawkers, sooty artisans and their children lived in the average court. Two revoltingly dirty toilets stood in the yard

and were always in demand."[135]

The fellow feeling which conditions of equal poverty should have generated between black and white was undermined by racist attitudes. Media exposure of "vices" and half-caste problems, trade unions' struggles against "foreign" i.e. black labour, and political demands for immigration control, all contributed to the perpetuation of racism. Popular devotion to the idea of empire served to intensify racial feeling, since the imperial ideal carried with it explicit notions of white superiority. The ideology of empire was drummed into children in local schools, like St. Peter's in Seel Street where,

> "The Empire and the sacredness of its preservation ran through every text book like a leit motif. Our Navy and the necessity of keeping Brittannia ruling the waves is the rather indelible mark left on my memory - though the reason for this was never satisfactorily explained. Pride in our vast and far flung colonies and the need for their protection and preservation were emphasised, as was the confidence that in any crisis the colonies and the motherland stand as one."[136]

Although Liverpool's black population was predominantly poor and working class, a number of black intellectuals carried on the tradition of maintaining educational links with the city. "At Liverpool" wrote the Anti Slavery Reporter of 1913 "the earliest entries of students from the British West Indies, or from West Africa (into Liverpool University) dates

from the year 1909."[137] Most at that time studied medicine and law. However when these students returned to Africa, they found that the administration did not treat them on an equal footing with Europeans, especially in the case of Doctors. European patients, it was argued had no time for them.

Of some interest is the association of Edward Blyden, the father of African Nationalism, with Liverpool. Blyden (1832 - 1912) was a brilliant man, born in the West Indies, then moving to Liberia where he attained prominence as a political leader. Blyden published pro-Africanist literature here and held meetings with representatives of Liverpool-West African shipping firms, particularly Sir Alfred Jones.[138]

Some aspects of Blyden's thinking were controversial. For example he saw the extension of European influence in Africa as a necessary stimulant for bringing Africa as an active participant onto the world stage. He saw this as a temporary measure, and it did not detract, in his own mind, from his central committment to African cultural nationalism. He was an inspiration for successive generations of West African nationalists, including Herbert Macaulay and Dr. Nnandi Azikiwe of Nigeria and Caseley Hayford and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

Blyden also developed the concept of negritude partly as a reaction to European charges of black inferiority. He maintained that all races were equal but emphasised the need for "race purity" - probably as a mental buttress against European penetration and domination of Africa

at the time. Blyden's views were later taken up and developed further by Nationalist leaders.

The links between such black intellectuals and the emerging local black population are, however, difficult to establish. The expansion of black political activity in Liverpool was not to occur until the 1930's after the First World War had made a significant impact on black settlement and white racism.

BLACK LABOUR AND WHITE RACISM.

During the 1914-18 War, Britain went to great lengths to use black labour in her hour of need. Several thousands of black labourers were brought to Britain to work, so that Englishmen could be freed for military service. They worked in munitions factories, in labour battalions and in the Merchant and the Royal Navies. Black Liverpudlian families also played their part. One local writer noted that,

> "There were few Saturday night celebrations among Flukey Alley's "Flukes", Sparling Street's Negroes and the Chinamen of Pitt Street. Even in these un-British sections tragedy and gloom had deepened for many half-caste boys had lost their lives in the war."[139]

Britain welcomed the help of black servicemen, but when hostilities ended, attitudes to the black man changed. A number of government actions during this period also led to an increase in the size of the black population in Liverpool. During the war, a number of ships on the Liverpool/West Africa route were requisitioned for transport service and their crews left in the port. Black troops were de-mobbed in Britain and with the closing down of war industries, many black workers became redundant. Many of these came to centres like Liverpool and Cardiff which offered some prospect of employment in seafaring as well as the support of established black communities.

One of the very few black autobiographies of this period, Ernie Marke's Old Man Trouble, illustrates this process. He was born in Freetown Sierra Leone, and while still in his teens, the spirit of adventure led him to stow away on the S.S. Adansi, an Elder Dempster ship bound for England. This was in 1917. During the voyage, the ship was torpedoed in the Atlantic by a German Submarine. Marke and the Chief Steward survived, were picked up by a British ship and taken to Ireland. Thence they made their way to the Chief Steward's home in Wavertree, Liverpool.

Marke subsequently took jobs aboard the S.S. Gabon and the S.S. Pransu. The latter was berthed in Liverpool when it was commandeered to carry American troops, and he was paid off in Liverpool. There was however, no shortage of jobs at this time,

> "and since getting a job in any of these ships was now child's play, regardless of colour, because of the great demand for seamen, especially stokers; I signed on as a coal trimmer on the Empress of Britain."[140]

On his return to Liverpool he became caught up in the propaganda of war and hearing Lord Kitchener's appeal "Your Country Needs You", he decided to join up,

> "We were taken to Seaforth Barracks that evening and a couple of days later to the Praeseth camp, Whitchurch,

> Shropshire, to join the 159th R.D.B. (Recruit Distribution Battalion) for training ..... I encountered no colour prejudice of any kind and the feeling that we were all in the same uniform was a strong one."[141]

But the war was soon over,

> "Thousands were demobbed and finding themselves jobless. I tramped the streets and the docks day by day, hopelessly looking for a job."[142]

The demands of a war economy led directly to an increase in the local black population which, by 1919, had reached about 5,000. Many of these people were in direct competition with white workers returning to the city after demobilisation, often bitter and disillusioned. These feelings were fed with deep undercurrents of popular racism which had been reinforced by the late Victorian period of imperialism and colonial rule. The net result was that, in several large factories where blacks had worked for years, white workers refused to work alongside them and blacks were dismissed. The Liverpool Courier estimated that 120 black workers had been dismissed for this reason by June, 1919.

The race riots of 1919 exploded against this background. Competition for employment and sexual jealousy over relations between black men and white women provided the trigger for a wave of racial attacks and abuse. White rioters, numbering up to 10,000 at times,

attacked black people in the streets, in their homes and in lodging houses. This resulted in the death of one local black seaman, Charles Wootton. By June 1919, the police were holding 700 blacks for their safety, and had made several baton charges on the crowds. Yet at the final count, more blacks than white were arrested and the police initiatives taken in response to what had happened were distinctly racialist involving as they did arbitrary and induced repatriation.[143] By 1921 Marke observed,

> "I found that even some members of the Liverpool Police had become so prejudiced against coloured men that their behaviour towards them had become nothing less than hooliganism."[144]

He had been attacked and beaten by the police at 11.00 pm one night on Hope Street and subsequently charged with seven offences. When his case came to Court, his own defence was able to show the lies and contradictions in the police case and he was acquitted.

Such racism was not confined to the police. One of the first sociological studies of white racial attitudes was made in the 1920's by R.T. Lapiere.[145] He sampled a number of districts in England, one of which was Liverpool with the following results,

Table 4. Racial attitudes in Liverpool, 1924.

	Persons	
Racial Prejudice	No.	%
With Prejudice	71	77
Doubtful	8	9.5
Without prejudice	3	3.5
TOTAL	82	100.0

(Source, R.T. Lapiere, 'Race Prejudice : France & England', Social Forces, Vol. III, p. 102-1).

The prejudice was reflected in the white working class response to black seamen.

The question of competition for jobs was taken up by the unions and discussed in Parliament in the early 1920's. Taking the view that black seamen were in fact a threat to white labour, the Government introduced tough legislation which crippled the employment chances of black seamen. The legislation consisted of the Aliens Order of 1920 and the Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order of 1925. This latter Act gave the police powers to impose the restrictions on aliens, arrest them without warrant, and shut certain clubs and restaurants. Black people in other ports had to carry documentary proof of their identity even though many had British Nationality. If proof was not available, and sometimes even in cases where it was, blacks were

registered as aliens. Blacks were subject to threats and victimisation, including the threat of imprisonment if a passport was not produced on demand.[146] This situation effectively kept black seamen almost permanently out of work. This situation may well have accounted for the move of unemployed Indian seamen into the trade of hawking cloths and textiles. According to Desai this began in Liverpool and Glasgow in the early 1930's through the operation of a few dozen Sikhs.[147]

An additional hardship resulting from this order was that local women married to black seamen were also treated as aliens and some were even deprived of the opportunity to vote. The legal position was not clarified until the election of 1945, when many of these women had the vote for the first time in their lives.[148]

The social survey of Liverpool carried out by Liverpool University in the early 1930's reflected this institutional racism. The "settlement of Negro sailors" was dismissed as a,

> "blot in the bright picture of immigrants on account of the serious results attendant on their inter-marriage with white women."[149]

It also records that there was strong prejudice against Arabs, and as a result few ships sailing from Liverpool were manned by them. It supports the resentment of the N.U.S. against black seamen stating that,

> "Negroes not infrequently desert or die young and leave their wives and children dependent upon public assistance."[150]

The repetition of such myths as objective fact served to reinforce local racial ideology. Even more interesting is the observation that,

> "the majority of unemployed single negroes are normally repatriated if destitute."[151]

It seems local practice in Liverpool was to foreshadow the racist invective of Powell in the post war years, and also to echo the actions of the local council in 1648.

So, over a short space of time, black people had been drawn to Britain to "serve the mother country" and then to become the scapegoats for post-war economic difficulties, harrassed and deported by Act of Parliament. The wheel of racial oppression began to develop its own momentum crushing black communities in its path - from Liverpool to Tyneside and from Cardiff to London.[152] The specific form of racism that developed in this inter-war period was paralleled by the rise of fascist activity in Liverpool. The meetings of the British Union of Fascists (B.U.F.) in Liverpool Stadium and Picton Hall through the 1930's are frequently reported in the local press[153] as are the attacks by Mosley's black shirts on any who opposed them and directly racist

attacks on black Liverpudlians.[154] The experience of the Jewish community in Liverpool in these times is one area that cannot be discussed adequately here, requiring as it does further research. Opposition to the public meetings and activities of the B.U.F. was organised primarily by members of the Communist and Labour parties in Liverpool.[155]

BLACK RESPONSE AND REACTION

In the late 1920's in Liverpool the local black community came to be seen as problematic in a different way. People began to focus on the difficulties of children of mixed racial origin - the social problems of the so called 'half-caste's'. A liberal and paternalistic white organisation known as the Association for the Welfare of Half-Caste Children was set up in 1929. It sponsored a report, The Fletcher Report, which was published in 1930.[156] It contains a number of demeaning racist myths concerning sexual relationships between black and white, the intelligence of black children and family relationships in the black community.. It concluded that the best way to solve the problem of unemployment and destitute youth was not to tackle the problem of white racism in employment clearly substantiated in the report, but to increase it by replacing all black firemen on British ships coming to Liverpool. This suggestion was resented and resisted by black seamen and the leaders of local organisations. As a result, the Welfare Officer appointed to deal with these problems in the late 1930's became actively involved in supporting the struggles of the emerging Colonial Seamen's Union.[157]

Black resistance nationally was spurred on by the formation of the League of Coloured People (L.C.P., a London based organisation) under the leadership of Dr. Harold Moody.[158] Through its work blacks in Britain began to gain recognition and respect for their rights. The L.C.P. held conferences and conventions, gave lectures, organised outings for poor black children, made representations to Parliament, city

councils and other official bodies, on behalf of black people. It campaigned zealously against all kinds of racial prejudice wherever it occurred. Dr. Moody wrote in the League's Journal Keys in 1934,

> "The colour bar as it operates in Great Britain, especially in Cardiff, Liverpool, Hull and London is getting worse daily."[159]

Two examples of racism in this period bear out this statement. In a Commons debate on shipping in 1934, one Liverpool M.P., a Mr. Lagan, had this to say,

> "Is it a nice sight as I walk through the South end of the City of Liverpool, to find a black settlement - a black body of men - I am not saying a word about their colour - all doing well and a white body of men who faced the horrors of war, walking the streets unemployed."[160]

A headmaster of a Liverpool School had this to say about his black British pupils,

> "Their mentality is very low, they have all the vices and none of the virtues of the white, so long as these people are kept in their place we are safe."[161]

Such views were propounded and reinforced by the outpourings of magistrates, the media and other powerful institutions. Against this wall of racism, the black community and its allies faced a long hard struggle.

Following the lead of the L.C.P. in 1937, The Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Half-Caste children changed its name to the Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Coloured People.[162] At the same time it changed its structure and programme and following the League of Coloured People, it too began to campaign on the issue of racism. The new organisation sponsored a new piece of research published in 1940: The Economic Status of Coloured Families in the Port of Liverpool.[163] This showed that 73% of black families were unemployed or in poverty and black people had to pay higher rents for worse accommodation than whites, and also repudiated the idea that seamen could or should be deported. It noted that unemployment of white firemen and greasers in 1931 was 34% whereas unemployment of black firemen and greasers by 1939 was 74%.[164] But the struggle for change was slow and it was soon overshadowed by the Second World War. The Association foundered in 1946 after a period of low activity. The black community's economic conditions took a turn for the better as competition for jobs declined and black labour was once again called upon to serve the needs of Britain.

Up to 1939 most of Liverpool's black population lived in the slum areas of the city where there were only dole queues for adults and little opportunity for young people. The war led to a number of changes in this situation. The war was fought as a crusade against racism in its Nazi

form. Black organisations in Britain insisted that this ideal should be extended to racial discrimination at home and in the Colonies. This argument gained some support, at least verbally. In 1942 Brendan Brachen, the Minister of Information had this to say,

> "I should like to say at once that the British Government is in favour of putting an end to this prejudice as quickly as possible. It should die a natural death as many other prejudices have done in the past, and it should be helped to die quickly."[165]

It needed something more than bland pronouncements to erase the racism that had become ingrained in many facets of social life in Britain. A widespread programme of political action by black organisations, as well as policy changes by the Government were necessary. These were slow to take shape, yet the war provided a unique opportunity for planned action. Unfortunately, this opportunity was lost.

In Liverpool new jobs were created by the development of war industries. Black workers were employed in munitions factories chemical factories and many other trades. Racism on the shop-floor however, often meant that black workers were often allocated some of the dirtiest jobs. A group of about 300 technicians were especially brought over from the West Indies to live and work in Liverpool. They met discrimination in finding houses and in their places of work. They formed a branch of the League of Coloured People and Dr. Moody set up

a British Committee to advise them.[166]

In 1942, a group of black American soliders arrived in Liverpool and a conflict arose because of the segregationist policies of the American Army as against a more fluid state of affairs in Britain. These problems led to a number of conferences between Dr. Moody and the Bishop of Liverpool. The latter made a strong statement against the colour bar in support of a move to establish a community centre and to assist the League of Coloured People to hold its Annual General Meeting there in 1943. The meeting was one of the most successful ever called by the League. Stanley House was established to cater for blacks and whites in the area and this provided a setting for increased local solidarity and communication.

In 1944 the Pan-African Federation was formed and became the British section of the Pan-African Congress movement. Important figures in the movement were George Padmore, W.E.B. Du Bois, C.L.R. James and Kwame Nkrumah. The first meeting held in Manchester included a number of representatives from Liverpool, including Eddie Du Plan, the Community Officer based at Stanley House.[167] The Federation holds a lasting place in black history. The links between this group and black Liverpudlians created an awareness of the international and worldwide aspects of black liberation struggles. This awareness was essential for the Liverpool black community as a way of breaking down isolation and providing solidarity in times of crisis.

At the end of the Second World War, black workers were once

again identified as scapegoats for British unemployment. Many big firms made large redundancies at the end of the war and those taking on labour felt obliged to take on "local" people. After generations of residence in Liverpool, black people were still being seen as "foreigners", "strangers" or "aliens". Widespread unemployment particularly in shipping provided the spur to anti-black hostilities. In August 1948, white people in the South end took to the streets. They attacked Stanley House, the Colonial Office hostel, various black clubs and cafes and black individuals. The black community at this time numbered about 8,000 and such harrassment was not taken lying down. Fights and rioting broke out between black and white.[168] When the police intervened those arrested were mostly black. Such events were widely reported in the national and local press.[169] "Police enter a negro club, 30 Arrests" (Manchester Guardian 3.8.1948). "150 Arrests in City Docks, more White/Black disturbances" (Liverpool Daily Post 3.8.1948). A comment by Walter Huntley in the course of a review of A History of Race and Racism in Liverpool[170] shows an admission of racial bias in the media,

> "I covered these particular riots (1948) as a Liverpool Echo Reporter and I do remember that the treatment of these two warring factions was rather less than even-handed."[171]

The overwhelming public impression created at the time was that black people caused the riot. This misrepresentation was reinforced by the pronouncements of magistrates, judges and politicians as the trials of those arrested progressed. At the final count 50 black people were

arrested and charged. The black response is documented in the report of the Liverpool Colonial People's Defence Association,

> "It then became necessary that the men held should be defended. Coloured people all over the country became alarmed at that development and wondered how it would end. Support came from London and Manchester. This group and some others formed a working committee which eventually became known as the Colonial Defence Committee which did all that it was able to do in the defence of the men."[172]

A white group, the Liverpool Advisory Committee, was set up to monitor the position of black people on Merseyside. The response of this group was to present a report to the Colonial Office recommending that, where possible, black seamen should be discharged from the Merchant Navy, and that black people left on the dole should be repatriated.

Indeed this dominant view amongst local politicians was repeated by a Labour candidate to a local black audience in an election address in 1949. He suggested that the solution to their troubles perhaps lay in returning home. An indignant black man rose to his feet at the front of the audience and in a broad Liverpool accent asked where the speaker thought he ought to go.[173] This threat of repatriation led to the establishment of the Colonial Peoples Defence Association which broadened the struggle for black rights by tackling the Trades Council, trade unions and local political parties and organising the support of

black men and women.

This organisation was the purest form of protest organisation to emerge from the black community up to the 1950's although there were a wide variety of other organisations that by the mid-1950's had come to represent the various sections of the community. There were nine ethnic associations in Liverpool: the Yoruba, the Ibo, the Fanti, the Kru, the Calabari, the Nigerian, the Sierra Leonean, the West Indian and the Somali. The activities of these organisations were primarily social, although they did perform such functions as mutual assistance and insurance for members in different ways.[174] The African Churches Mission, which had been set up by Pastor Ekarte in 1931, and its Negro Church maintained its activities steadily up to this period, giving spiritual and welfare advice and providing the only black-run church in Liverpool. It also had its own African Scouts and African Girl Guide troops organised by Pastor Ekarte, who set up and maintained the mission for twenty years.[175]

This wide range of organisations did not represent the most local section of the black community, however, the black Liverpudlians, although they did play their part in Stanley House and in the Colonial Peoples Defence Association (C.P.D.A.). The demise of the Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Coloured People which had previously played this role was not to be overcome until the late 1970's with the founding of the Liverpool Black Organisation. Nevertheless numerous attempts were made in the 1950's to form a committee to represent the

black community as a whole. But different sections of the community formed different types of racial consciousness, and combined with the tradition of casualism which characterised work at sea or on the docks and the persistently high rates of unemployment, the common experience of racial barriers to personal, social and economic life was not enough to produce continuous and stable black political organisation.[176]

Such events as Ghanaian Independence Day in 1956 however, and other moments in the struggle for liberation in the colonies, did preoccupy some sections of the local community. The formation of the African Social and Technical Society in Liverpool in 1952 is an example of the strong internationalist perspective amongst the local community.[177] It was formed to aid the development of black activity in the Gold Coast and if possible to secure jobs for black Africans in that country. Overall, the decade of the 1950's was one of uneven but often concerned activity.[178]

The race riots of Notting Hill and Nottingham in 1958 had an effect on the politics of race in Liverpool that reflected the instability of black and community organisations in the City. As a result of concern (about the recurrence of race riots in Liverpool) on the part of the Labour-led City Council a voluntary curfew was imposed on the black community in an attempt to pre-empt violence. This was accepted with little comment by local black organisations, although this may have been the result of internal disputes in the C.P.D.A. which led to its break up in the early part of 1959.[179] Such political initiatives would not have

gone unopposed by black community groups a decade later due to the politicisation of race that occurred both locally and nationally through the 1960's.[180] Another political issue that arose in the late 1950's was that of discrimination in the employment of black bus drivers in Liverpool. This struggle requires further research to elucidate the sources of discrimination, events and opposition by local black organisations. Nevertheless the issue was won and it is remembered by members of the black community as a political success and also as a clear example of institutional racism.

The organisational problems faced by anti-racist groups were to hamper the development of effective pressure group activity in Liverpool through the 1960's. A small and relatively ineffective C.A.R.D. (Campaign Against Racial Discriminationn) group was formed in the mid-1960's and some key individuals went on to become involved in the development of the local Community Relations Council which was established in 1970.[181] This transition was effected through the formation of a wide ranging group of white professionals, church representatives and some black activists which was known as the Liverpool Youth Organisations Committee. This group achieved publicity locally through the production of a report Special but not Separate in 1968.[182] This report although mildly worded and fairly short, did achieve the collective support of a wide range of different ideological and cultural groups around an anti-racist platform.

The splits and factions amongst the black population on cultural, ideological and generational lines that hampered cohesive political action through the 1950's and 1960's reflected the historical conditions of black settlement e.g. African seamen, West African skilled labour, black British unemployed and Asian shopkeepers/tradesmen. The cohesion of the black population that has taken place is reflected in social rather than political relations and has occurred through inter-marriage and the development of a large locally-born black community. It was from this social base that direct opposition was drawn to white racism during the riots of 1948, 1972 and 1981.[183] It was not until the late 1970's that this community was represented amongst the elected officers of the local Community Relations Council. The development of the politics of race in Liverpool will be explored further through an analysis of the struggle for equal opportunity in housing. It is clear however, that despite the many divisions and contradictions facing the development of effective opposition to personal and institutional racism by Liverpool's black population, the struggle itself became an integral part of personal and popular experience. This is expressed in the following poem by a local black person in 1976,

The Changing Face of A Community - Liverpool 8

We do not apologise for being black,
We do not care whether you accept us,
Because we are here to stay.

Let all who will
Eat quietly of the bread of shame,
I cannot
Without complaining loud and long
Tasting its bitterness in my throat,
and feeling to my very soul
Its wrong.

For honest work
You give me poor pay
For honest dreams
You spit in my face
And so my fist is clenched today -
To strike your face.[184]

CONCLUSION

The social location of Liverpool's black population after two centuries of residence in the port was summed up by Manley in 1959 as,

> "A separateness in the housing and social life of black people through the informal colour-bar of white society."[185]

It has been the object of this part of the Thesis to investigate the origins, structure and effects of this "colour-bar" in Liverpool, with particular reference to immigration, settlement and reaction of the local black population. The social construction of racial categories has been shown to be related to specific historical and national conditions. Racism has therefore not shown itself to be a unilinear uniform entity over the historical period under study here. Rather it has been seen to have been contingent upon the interlocking ideological threads of individual consciousness and wider economic, political and class relations. It has taken many forms through the disconnected imagery of Elizabethan England, the pragmatic racism of the slave trade, the humanitarianist's paternalism and the image of the 'noble savage', the Victorian notions of scientific racism and the peculiarly local myths of the 'half caste community'. The impact of mercantile capitalism, the industrial revolution, colonial expansion and the demands of the war economy have all changed the social terrain in which race has been constructed. The historical case study carried out here does not however provide evidence for any grand theory of race, or support the cultural

contagion theory of race which proposes that British society always has been and always will be racist.

The focus on the specificity of historical moments shows that above all race is a complex social force, consideration of which is theoretically easy but substantively difficult. Racism is a structural relationship by which one group subordinates another but it also assumes specific and dynamic forms. Racism has been seen to be manifested in the spheres of personal experience, economic, political, ideological, legal, cultural, aesthetic and scientific practice, in fact in most areas of the social totality.

Racism is therefore conceptualised here not as a static structure with determinate pre-given effects, but as protean, continually changing in form and in articulation. It can be defined in particular contexts but it is continuously undergoing historical re-definition and is conceived therefore as a process, open-ended and indeterminate. Furthermore, racism cannot be seen to be confined to one level of the social structure, namely ideology, in which it is constituted and from which it emanates to have determinate effects on other levels at certain indeterminate points in its historical development, but always from a relatively autonomous position.[186] Race does not politely confine itself to one level of the social totality. It was found to be constructed in many independent sites from which it came to operate as a structure of oppression with significant effects on ensuing local social relations between black and white.[187] Racism as a social force has found a

simultaneous expression in many instances, levels, institutions and practices, and it has therefore operated as a set of structural parameters in the making of the local black community.

Race is also the mode through which the local black population,

> "....live, experience, make sense of and thus come to a consciousness of their structural subordination,"[188]

and also it is the lens through which political action is focussed.

The object here has not been to draw theoretical conclusions from the empirical investigations of the historical and material conditions of race and racism in Liverpool, but to provide an historical grounding of the concepts themselves so as to inform the discussion of contemporary aspects of race, housing and politics which follows in subsequent chapters.

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reported racist remarks made by Liverpool Police over so-called half-castes with disreputable backgrounds and with 'No recognisable home life'. This incident suggests that Merseyside Police may be carriers of deeply-held prejudices concerning the local black community, including a hostility to black/white intermarriage. The local reaction to this article indicates the experience and depth of feeling, concerning such social insults, of the black community. After a packed public meeting called by Merseyside Anti-Racialist Alliance the decision was taken to organise a community petition demanding a public apoligy and a police investigation, together with a protest march. A police investigation was carried out, though no specific complaints were found and no apology has yet come from the B.C.C. despite City Council appeals. Several thousand signatures were collected, and a successful march was held, supported by at least 30 different local organisations. The full text of the offending section is as follows,

> "Policemen in general and detectives in particular are not racialist despite what many black groups believe. Like any individual who deals with a vast cross-section of society they tend to recognise that good and evil exist, irrespective of colour and creed. Yet they are the first to define the problem of half-castes. Many are the product of liaisons between black seamen and white prostitutes in Liverpool 8, the red-light district. Naturally they do not grow up with any kind of recognisable home life. Worse still, after they

have done the round of homes and institutions they gradually realise they are nothing. The Negroes will not accept them as blacks and whites just assume they are coloureds. As a result the half-caste community of Merseyside - or more particularly Liverpool - is well outside recognised society."

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PART TWO : RACE AND HOUSING IN LIVERPOOL.

INTRODUCTION

Part One of this thesis has identified and specified the causes for the location of Liverpool's black community in the South docks area of the City and explained the scale and form that popular racism has taken in shaping the experience of both white and black people in Liverpool. Part Two of this study is concerned to investigate in detail the role of housing controlled by the local state in reproducing and reinforcing the concentration of black people in that particular area and also to analyse and expose the mechanisms of institutional racism that operate in that process. Before the detailed survey and study of council housing allocations is presented three sources of information are reviewed in order to establish the context for the study. Firstly, a review of the forms that racial inequality and racial disadvantage in housing and their prime cause i.e. racism may take, are identified from the literature for Britain. Secondly, using the information generated from historical research the context of black settlement in Liverpool is reviewed. The use of special tabulations from the National Dwelling and Household Survey for Liverpool enabled an initial assessment to be made of the contemporary pattern of black settlement in the City. Thirdly, this data combined with all the accurate available date on the black population of Liverpool is reviewed to make sensible empirical estimates of demographic aspects of the black population. There has been no analysis of the available data sources in this respect carried out previously, a role

it could be argued that should have been taken on board by the City Council or County Council Town Planning Department but the failure of any local planning documents to mention the fact that black people exist and/or have special needs is an example of professional and political racist ideology. Similarly, the housing department of Liverpool City Council has been under suspicion for decades by the black community and local black organisations in respect of the systematic unequal treatment of black applicants and black tenants through ideologies which state : racism does not exist in Liverpool; all black people want to live in Liverpool 8; or similar expressions of white hostility, stereotyping and superiority.

The main bulk of this Part of the thesis is concerned to objectively identify the extent of racial inequality in council housing allocation, to investigate all possible explanations and to specify in detail the ways in which racism operates in this institutional sphere. The analysis presented here then, is vital to the construction of effective programmes of action to tackle racial inequality in housing, and it is with this objective in mind that this contribution to knowledge was undertaken. Consideration of the scope for political and policy-oriented action at the local level and evaluation of a range of race-related interventions in housing in Liverpool follows in the last Part of this thesis.

RACE AND HOUSING IN BRITAIN

Race, conceptualised as a structure of oppression, has served to maintain and protect white interests in all sectors of housing in Britain and by operating in this way it has necessarily provided the mechanisms through which black households have suffered systematic harassment, discrimination and disadvantage. Racial inequalities in power and decision-making have led to racial inequalities in the provision of employment and in service delivery and this has allowed the development of popular racist attitudes among white households to remain unchallenged by housing agencies and institutions.

The iceberg of popular racist attitudes and myths has frequently surfaced in the form of racial attack and racial harassment of black households. This has been a perpetual and extremely serious problem which such households have had to face, although it has only recently been officially recognized and reported on at the national level.[1] Such harassment may involve neighbour disputes that draw on the cultural reservoir of white racism[2] or it may involve organised fascist activity that leads to systematic racist attack[3] which may or may not receive support from neighbours and the local community. Prior to personal physical attack, racial harassment may involve such elements as racist grafitti, broken windows, abusive letters, verbal racist abuse, defacement of personal property and sustained vandalism. The form and scale of racial harassment may vary from area to area but, as one report noted, incidents can occur daily.[4] In Liverpool the race riots of 1919 and

1948, where white males attacked lodging houses, homes, cafes and community centres occupied by black people, were two acute examples where escalation of such day-to-day incidents affecting black people had occurred.[5]

The response of relevant agencies such as local authority housing and social service departments, housing associations, and the police to individual cases of racial harassment has been to ignore the element of racism and thereby fail to confront the issue directly.[6] This institutional response is symptomatic of a wider issue, that is the failure of black households to achieve equality of outcome in the provision of both private and public sector housing. There is a mass of both national and local evidence which has with monotonous regularity showed that black households achieve lower quality housing in poorer residential locations compared to white households.[7] Data from the National Dwelling and Household Survey carried out in 1977 show that a significantly larger proportion of black households share or lack one of the three basic amenities, i.e. a bath or shower, plumbed hot water and an inside w.c., compared to white households. This data shows that black households are in greater housing need than whites, this is also because black households are more likely to be overcrowded.[8] This evidence is supported by a range of local studies which substantiate the extent of racial inequality in housing. Studies of council house allocations have been carried out in Greater London,[9] Nottingham,[10] Bristol,[11] Bedford,[12] Lewisham,[13] Islington[14] and Hackney[15] which support the general proposition that systematic racial differences exist in

allocations, with black tenants being rehoused in lower quality accommodation. This has been found to be due to both direct and indirect discrimination, in other words racial stereotyping of black applicants and their housing needs has determined personal attitudes and racial actions by housing officers and also the normal operation of policies, practices and procedures implemented in a colour-blind way has reproduced and reinforced racial disadvantage in housing. Price discrimination by private landlords,[16] exclusion by white estate agents,[17] red-lining by building societies,[18] and racial discrimination by housing associations[19] have all been identified as mechanisms which reproduce the racial inequality identified above.

Although towns and cities in Britain vary significantly in the structure of their housing and employment conditions, overall changes in the pattern of racial inequality over the last thirty years have been remarkably consistent. The tension between white racist ideologies, which have constructed black people to be 'the social problem', and black anti-racist ideologies of resistance has been the context within which the locational choice of black settlement has taken place. Racist institutional barriers in the access to different types of housing such as the use of residential qualifications for council housing which excluded recent immigrants, the lack of capital or an income to qualify for house purchase due to racial inequality in employment, and lack of knowledge of the informal, word of mouth networks which determined access to private rented accommodation were persistent problems in the post-war periods of black settlement. By the late 1970's the private rented

The literature concerning race and public housing in Britain has uniformly been concerned with the investigation of aspects of racial discrimination and disadvantage facing black households in obtaining housing in the public sector. Evidence of racial discrimination has proved to be thin in most studies carried out, whereas evidence of racial disadvantage and inequality has come from most of those studies noted overleaf. This racial disadvantage has been evident at every stage of rehousing; black households were in poorer housing prior to entering the council sector, black households received lower priority, information and support in the process of allocation and were subsequently rehoused in lower quality accommodation. Despite this general pattern J. G. Stunnel's study of racial equity in the points scheme of Lewisham Borough and the recent (1984) report on monitoring allocations policy in Bradford have both concluded that there is no racial discrimination or inequality in the allocation outcomes for black households.[20] It must be said that evaluation and interpretation of monitoring results depends on the perspective, experience and local knowledge of the analyst. These studies were both internal housing department reports and this may suggest that there was implicit pressure to avoid necessary criticism of immediate colleagues, given lack of local knowledge of the experiences of black council households and black applicants on the part of the analyst. Therefore, the available literature still overwhelmingly supports the conclusion that black households receive lower quality housing. This proposition will be investigated closely in this study by analysing in detail the routes of access to council housing i.e. clearance, however, waiting list etc as other studies have done. This study goes

further, in reviewing in detail the experiences of black tenants with respect to racial discrimination and racial harassment, as it has been argued that this is vital to flesh out the bone of monitoring statistics and thereby evaluate sensitively trends and patterns that are indicated.

There are three explanations of racial inequality in public sector housing that have emerged from the literature. Firstly, the dominant position discussed above that sees racial disadvantage arising unintentionally from "colour-blind" policies and procedures which are therefore the result of decision-making by white members and senior officers with no regard to the impact of their policies on black people. Secondly, the position discussed above for which there is only limited evidence i.e. racial discrimination by middle management or junior staff who are directly dealing with the public and those who have direct responsibility for allocations decision, this group would therefore cover, housing managers, housing visitors, counter staff etc. Both these explanations are considered in this part of the thesis in detail. The third form of explanation which may include elements of the other two positions is that which identifies the values and morals of staff working in a bureaucratic organisation to be crucial in influencing service-delivery. Therefore the overall ideological context marked by notions of Englishness determines differences in the interpretation and application of established rules regarding eligibility and access.[21] The attempt to

assess ideological positions is not analysed in this Thesis by observation and interviews with housing staff. Indeed this more traditional sociological approach has been replaced here by an action-research focus, whereby ideological positions are assessed in terms of decisions and actions when equal opportunity issues and initiatives have been taken-up as a result of campaigning pressure based on research into racial inequality.

The failure of practically all studies in the race and public housing literature to firstly, investigate cases of racial discrimination and secondly to consider the implementation and political context for achieving actual changes in racial inequality in housing is clear. This study attempts to fill both these gaps in the literature.

sector had significantly declined, the majority of white households had moved into owner occupation and there has been a dramatic increase in the proportion of black households in council housing. These tenure changes, assisted by central government support for owner occupation and local government clearance and improvement programmes, have had the net effect of reducing the scale of inequality facing Britain's black population, although a considerable "structural discontinuity"[22] remains in relation to the white population.

The most visible sign of this structural relationship is the residential concentration of black people. The insertion of black workers into the British economy as a replacement labour force[23] has been the primary context for black settlement. The black population tends to be concentrated in many of the larger cities in the major industrial areas, particularly those which have not been able to attract net population from other areas of the country, and within these cities concentrations are particularly evident at the district or ward level.[24] This spatial segregation has been shown to be due to a variety of factors which Lee has marked in descending order of importance: occupation, racism as outlined above, and positive cultural and community influences.[25] Spatial segregation has also been shown to have a number of effects on the black population. The concentration of black households has occurred in those inner-city areas which are most deprived in physical, social and economic terms; this process has reinforced racist stereotypes in the white population.[26] Concentration of black households has also reinforced the community solidarity of black people[27] and helped to spur

the development of community facilities for black groups.[28] Therefore spatial segregation has directly reinforced the social and cultural segregation of black and white households. But it is proposed here that the operation of personal and institutional racism in housing has been shown to be the one crucial element in the structural oppression of black people, and also that this has set the terrain for the construction of black solidarity and resistance to many aspects of racism; this is to be investigated in the Liverpool context to identify and specify how these processes operate in practice.

RACE AND HOUSING IN LIVERPOOL

Despite an overwhelming local awareness of the abysmal quality of Liverpool's housing, no public acknowledgement had been made by the city council or other agencies or the existence of racial discrimination and disadvantage faced by black people in obtaining decent housing within the housing market prior to the late 1970's. Indeed, the classic racist view of black settlement being the cause of urban deprivation had been an official view of Liverpool's Medical Officer of Health in the 1960's who stated that black people,

> "tend to bring deteriorating urban districts to the level of the worst slums."[29]

Yet it was the influence of such urban managers as this that helped to reinforce the concentration of black people in the worst areas of the city, particularly in relation to council house allocations as the Inner Area Study was to show.[30]

The residential concentration of black people in Liverpool is one of the most visible features of their structurally distinct position. Liverpool's first slums were built in the 1780's and 1790's; they were the cellars, courts and back to back houses that were 'discovered' by the Victorian reformers in the 1850's and which spurred on the building of the first council housing in Britain in the city.[31] It was in these conditions of poverty and disease that the black community came to be

established in the city in the 1850's and 1860's as racism itself shifted into a new phase of development.[32] The south docks area, St. James Ward and its courts and back to back houses had over 15% of its total population drawn from different racial minority groups in 1851.[33] It is still the symbolic home of the local Chinese community, but the two great blitz's of the war and the council bulldozer succeeded in moving the centre of the black population to the adjacent Granby ward where it remains today. Yet despite over a century of residence in some of the most deprived housing in Britain, one of the oldest black communities in the country has been "kept in its place" both geographically and socially. Little dispersal has taken place as the map (Fig. 1) shows. The flight of the middle classes to the suburbs and the movement of the working class into council housing on outer estates produced a filtering down process through the housing market. Immigrants drawn to Liverpool and the growing local black population were pushed into the gaps at the bottom end of the housing market consisting largely of Victorian slums in the most deprived areas of the city. The 1971 Census showed that 15% of the New Commonwealth born population in Liverpool lived in one small part of the rooming-house area in Granby ward.[34] The surrounding wards of Abercromby, Smithdown, Arundel and Princes Park contained a more equal balance of African, West Indian, Asian, Chinese and the larger locally black-born population in both the rooming-house areas and the inner-deprived council estates. These conditions have been called:

> "the antithesis of community, areas of despair, a trap for the rejected and a refuge for those seeking isolation."[35]

In comparison to other cities general housing conditions in Liverpool are worst. Of the seven Inner City Partnership areas declared in 1977, Liverpool topped the list with 18% of households lacking basic amenities, and in comparison to cities outside London, Liverpool's housing stock is older, of poorer quality and more badly maintained.[36] In this context the comment that the Granby and Abercromby wards,

> "contain 45% of the New Commonwealth born population and the worst social economic and housing conditions in Liverpool."[37]

made by the Department of the Environment's Inner Area Study should have aroused local political concern. But it did not. Liverpool's Inner City Partnership Programme for 1979-1982 although pressing the case of the dire condition of its housing stock (with 43,600 "sub-standard" dwellings in the city representing 21.5% of the total stock, and 17,800 hard-to-let council dwellings this could hardly be ignored) yet there is not one word to acknowledge the long-standing issue of racial discrimination and disadvantage.[38]

The barriers of price discrimination and direct discrimination in the private rented sector are well-documented in the Caradog Jones Report[39] of 1940 and in the work of Richmond[40] in the late 1940's and early 1950's. The operation of accommodation agencies and estate agents used to find rented accommodation by immigrants and local blacks, was also an area of continual discrimination, and an established

part of the black community's housing experience, as a report of the local West Indian Welfare Officer showed in 1965.[41] These problems led to the move by some black households into owner-occupation; again the action of estate agents in restricting markets and racial harassment by neighbours served to confine their choice to the areas of urban decline near the original centre of the black community in Granby ward. Redevelopment and slum clearance schemes came late to this area in the early 1970's and here two contradictory reactions by adjacent communities showed the fragility of inter-racial solidarity in the area. Firstly, the Shelter Neighbourhood Action Project moved into Granby in 1969 to oppose slum clearance plans and to develop community pressure for a General Improvement Area (GIA) to be declared.[42] Here "race didn't divide" as Ward found in housing action movements in Moss Side, Manchester, and after three years a GIA had been declared and a Housing Aid Centre set up, although this Centre failed to identify racism as an issue affecting black residents.[43] Whereas across Upper Parliament Street on a newly built council estate black families with top priority in the slum clearance category were being rehoused from adjacent areas. This led to street fighting with white groups from badly-maintained council tenements, and the erection of barricades around the estate in 1972.[44] In both instances no community campaign developed over the issue of racial harassment or racial inequalities in housing. It was left to the Liverpool (now Merseyside) Community Relations Council (CRC) which was set up in 1970 to begin to attempt to place these issues on the local political agenda.

The cases that came to the attention of the CRC led to the first attempts at intervention in the housing field. Three issues arose from the casework,[45] firstly, the provision of special needs accommodation, secondly, the problem of racial harassment of black households throughout the city, and thirdly the impact of council housing policy and practice on the black community. The local political struggle for special needs provision and for action against racial harassment is considered in the next part, but an investigation of exactly how institutional racism has operated in Liverpool in the allocation of council housing is considered in detail here.

RACE AND COUNCIL HOUSING ALLOCATIONS IN LIVERPOOL

(i) The Survey Origins

On the 1st April, 1979, Liverpool City Council approved the proposal from the Housing Liaison Committee (Ethnic Minorities) of 18th January 1979 to,

> "investigate the General Policy area of allocation within the City so far as it effects ethnic minorities."

This concern about the impact of housing policy on Liverpool's black population has been echoed in a number of reports. The Department of the Environment's Inner Area Study consultants commented on an analysis of 1971 Census data for Liverpool in this way,

> "it must be acknowledged that certain ethnic groups are concentrated in the poorer quality property in the inner deprived council estates."[46]

The reports of Merseyside Community Relations Council's Housing Officer on differential allocation[47] and the Area Profile of Racial Disadvantage in Liverpool produced by the Merseyside Area Profile Group[48] also expressed concern that the local black community was under-achieving within council housing. No records of race are kept by the Housing Department and therefore such allegations could not easily

be substantiated or denied. For these reasons a study of allocations was deemed necessary.

(ii) The Survey Objectives

The literature on council house allocations and black people, which now includes in-depth local studies in Greater London, Nottingham, Birmingham, Bristol, Bedford, Lewisham, Islington, and a number of other local authorities, supports the general proposition that systematic racial differences exist in the allocation of council housing: thus, black people usually have to wait longer for council housing and when rehoused tend to be given lower quality accommodation. In council housing, allocations are made on the basis of a complex interaction between the Housing Department and the applicant. This interaction takes into account family size, the applicant's preferences, and decisions made by the council and its officers over the relative priorities to be accorded to various types of applicants. The result of this process is a situation termed differential allocation, "a discernible pattern whereby some social groups gain disproportionate access to more attractive dwellings and locations while others are disproportionately allocated to unattractive dwellings or locations."[50]

The objectives of this section are to measure the extent of differential allocation in relation to lettings in Liverpool to black and white tenants, and if it is established, to determine the likely causes with particular regard to Housing Management practices.

(iii) Demographic and Residential Characteristics of Liverpool's Black Population

Before detailed analysis of the study method and findings are presented, background information relating to the size and location of the local black population is considered in this section.

Population

The 1971 Census identified 5,775 persons in Liverpool who were born in the New Commonwealth and Pakistan, and 4,878 persons whose parents were both born in these countries.[51] In 1976 the National Dwelling and Household Survey (N.D.H.S.)[52] used a self-assessment question on ethnic origin and from this survey a minimum estimate of 18,000 black persons, and a maximum estimate of 25,000 black persons in Liverpool can be made (see Table 1). In 1981 the Labour Force Survey (L.F.S.) estimated the black population of Merseyside to be 25,000,[53] and the Census identified 8,670 persons in Liverpool as living in households where the head of the household was born in the New Commonwealth or Pakistan.[54]

All these surveys under-estimate the size of the local black population for various reasons. Firstly, some important ethnic minority groups in Liverpool do not originate from the New Commonwealth or Pakistan and are not therefore identified by the Census, such as Chinese, Somalis, Arabs and Vietnamese. Secondly, the small sample sizes taken

by the N.D.H.S. and the L.F.S. are subject to a large degree of sampling error and also problems of under-enumeration. Thirdly, the long history of immigration to Liverpool combined with no great rise in immigration in the post-war period has reduced drastically the proportion of black households that can be identified using birthplace data. The survey which has produced the nearest accurate estimate is the N.D.H.S. due to its use of an ethnic origin question, which was carried out successfully for all households and therefore shows the lack of opposition to ethnic record-keeping where confidentiality is assured.

Between 1971 and 1981 immigration into Liverpool has consisted mainly of East African Asians, Vietnamese and other groups but there has been only a slight increase in the number of New Commonwealth or Pakistan born persons in Liverpool, from 5,435 in 1971 to 5,593 in 1981. There will have been a substantial increase in the locally-born black population due to the younger age-structure and natural increase of this population.

Table 1. Estimate of Liverpool's Black Population, 1977.

Group	Estimate Min.	Max.
Black British	6.600	9,250
Chinese	2,700	3,750
West Indian	2.300	3.250
Arab	2.300	3,250
African	2,100	3,000
Asian	2,000	2.500
TOTAL	18,000	25,000

(Source: N.D.H.S., 1977 ward data and Liverpool City Planning Department ward population projections, 1977).

If problems of under-estimation, under-enumeration of some ethnic groups, immigration since 1977 and natural increase since 1977 are taken into account, a sensible empirical estimate of Liverpool's black population in 1981 may be taken to be 20,000 minimum and 30,000 maximum. Using a similar proportional breakdown to that identified by the N.D.H.S. in 1976 the following estimates can be made.

Table 2. Estimate of Liverpool's Black Population 1981

	Estimate		
Group	Min.	Max.	%
Black British	7,400	11,100	37
Chinese	3,000	4,500	15
West Indian	2,600	3,900	13
Arab	2,600	3,900	13
African	2,400	3,600	12
Asian	2,000	3,000	10
Total	20,000	30,000	100

(Sources: N.D.H.S., L.F.S. and Census 1981 data).

Age Structure

The only available data for age structure of the black population for Merseyside is from the L.F.S. in 1981, although Census Small Area Statistics do give data for age of all persons in households where the head of the household was born in the New Commonwealth.

In 1981 34% of black people in Merseyside were under 15 (as defined by the L.F.S.) compared to 21% of the white population. The "economically active" groups (i.e. those from 15 to 64) were more closely balanced with 57% of black persons and 59% of white persons in that category, while 9% of blacks and 20% of white were over 60.

Table 3. Distribution by age and race of Merseyside's population.

Age Group	POPULATION			
	White		Black	
	No.	%	No.	%
0-4	87,320	6	2,500	10
5-14	218,550	15	6,000	24
15-29	337,060	23	7,250	29
30-44	280,680	19	3,750	15
45-59	251,240	17	3,250	13
60+	297,150	20	2,250	9
Total	1,472,000	100	25,000	100

(Source: Labour Force Survey, 1981).

Reservations concerning the failure of this data source to identify some ethnic groups, e.g. Somalis and Arabs, should be borne in mind.

Distribution

The most accurate source of data concerning the residential distribution of black households is from the National Dwelling and Household Survey 1976 (see Figure 1. The Residential Distribution of Black Households by Ward, 1976).[55] The 1981 Census provides information on the residential distribution of those households whose head was born in the New Commonwealth or Pakistan.

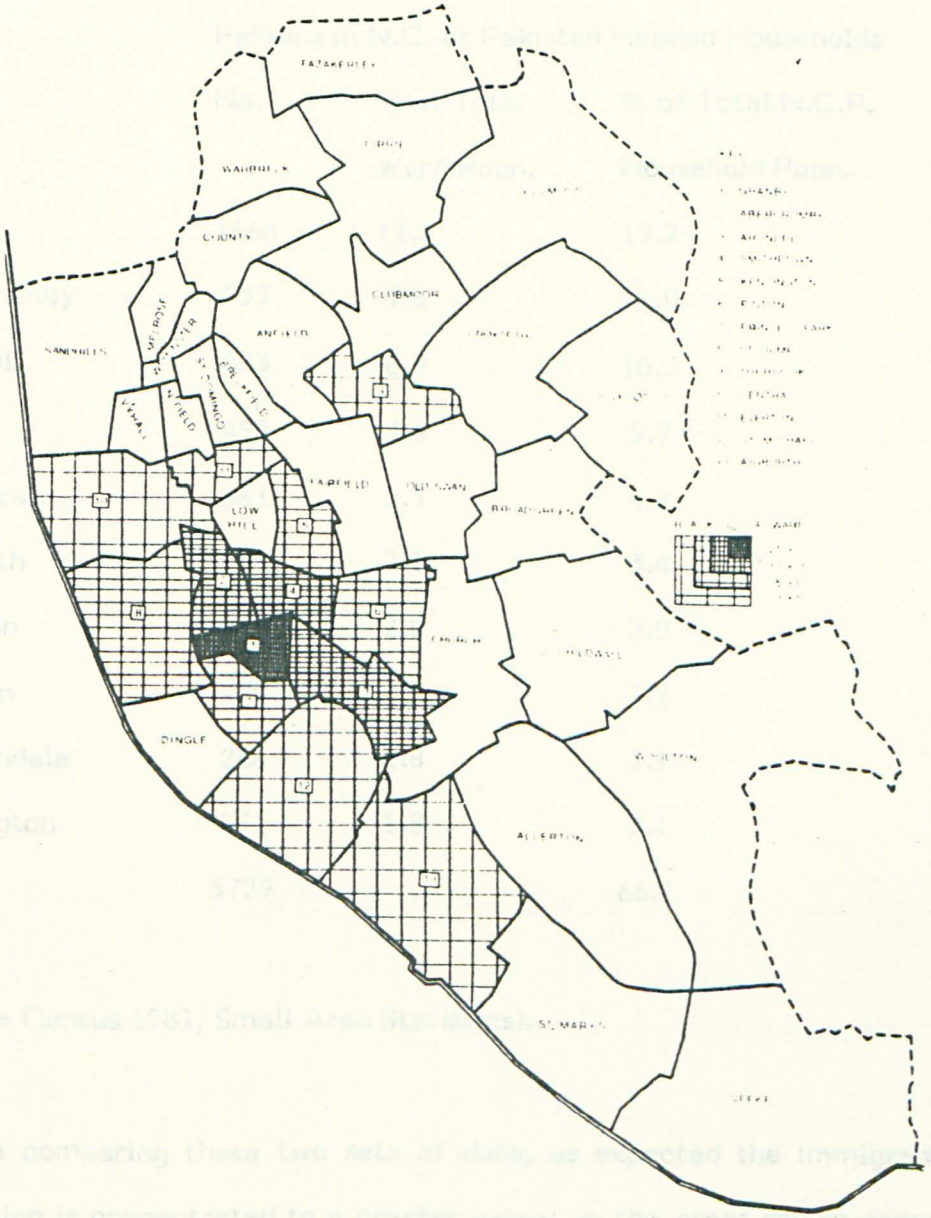


Figure 1.
The residential distribution of black households in Liverpool by ward, 1979.
(Data from National Dwelling and Housing Survey, Special Tabulations 1979.)

Table 4. Liverpool, New Commonwealth Households by Ward (Top Ten Only) 1981, Census.

Ward	Persons in N.C. or Pakistan Headed Households		
	No.	% of Total Ward Popn.	% of Total N.C.P. Household Popn.
Granby	1668	11.2	19.2
Abercromby	957	7.6	11.0
Arundel	893	6.9	10.3
Picton	494	3.3	5.7
Smithdown	361	2.5	4.2
Aigburth	291	2.1	3.4
Allerton	249	2.0	2.9
Woolton	279	1.8	3.2
Grassendale	266	1.8	3.1
Kensington	271	1.8	3.1
Total	5729		66.1

(Source: Census 1981, Small Area Statistics).

In comparing these two sets of data, as expected the immigrant population is concentrated to a greater extent in the areas shown above as opposed to the black British population. Nevertheless the residential concentration of black people in the area covered by South City Housing District is clear. This concentration has changed little since the black community was established in Liverpool over a century ago. As Table 5

shows, over 35% of black households in Liverpool are in council housing. Therefore access to and allocation of council housing may be of particular significance in understanding the ways in which racial concentration is reproduced.

Table 5. Percentage Distribution by Tenure and Ethnic Origin of Persons in Liverpool.

Tenure	White Total	Black Total	Chinese	Black	Asian
Owner Occ.	41	41	44	41	63
Council	42	37	28	39	5
Private Rented	14.5	18	28	15	30
H. Association	2.5	4	-	5	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

(Source: N.D.H.S. 1976 Special Tabulations)

The distribution of black households in Liverpool also has implications in terms of housing quality, as black people are concentrated in a Housing District which has 83% flats and under 17% houses, although in a city wide context Liverpool City's council stock comprises of 50% flats and 50% houses. The historical location of the centre of black settlement and previous council policies concerning clearance and improvement have therefore established a situation of in-built racial disadvantage. The general objective of this survey, however,

is not to assess the pros and cons of concentration and dispersal with regard to black households, but to assess the extent to which equal opportunity exists in the delivery of council housing.

SURVEY METHOD

In order to determine the extent of differential allocation and its causes, it was decided that a random sample of two groups of black and white tenants must be identified and data collected through a household survey and from tenancy files to enable an effective comparison.

(i) Sample Design

The sample for the main survey was designed to enable comparison of allocations to black and white tenants. This sample was selected randomly through a multi-stage procedure from the weekly lists of lettings made by the South Central City District Office. This Housing District with just over 10,000 council dwellings is one of seven which cover the Liverpol area. It contains a mix of most varieties of council stock in terms of quality, age and demand, and it also contains all those wards with a significant concentration of ethnic minorities, according to the National Dwelling and Household Survey, 1979. This latter factor was vital in identifying this District for study as it facilitated the enumeration of a significantly large black sample. This decision having been taken, the questions of to what extent and by what routes do black people gain access to council housing of high quality in attractive locations outside the South City District remained unanswered. For this reason the Walton/Clubmoor Housing District was chosen for a small sample survey as it is the area of highest demand in Liverpool, containing as it does the largest number of houses of any Housing District in

suburban locations. This would also enable inter-district mobility to be studied, a crucial factor in a situation where control over allocations is decentralised to District Office level. It would also give a comparative basis to the evaluation of housing management which was to take place after the survey had been completed. A different sampling procedure was adopted in each Housing District to meet the requirements of the study, and these will now be discussed separately.

(ii) South Central City Multi-Stage Sampling

For this District Office a sample frame of lettings was available from January 1977 onwards, a new allocations policy for Liverpool having been introduced in 1976. Therefore, in order to provide a thoroughly representative sample, addresses were selected from the allocations made between January 1977 and December 1980 which amounted to a total of 4,916 lettings. All allocation categories, including transfers, were accepted for study to ensure that the survey was able to examine all points of access into and between council dwellings. The aim of the sampling procedure was to select two random samples, one of white and one of black households that had been allocated council accommodation. The classification of a household's racial origin was based on identification by the respondent of all members of that household. A 'black household' for the purposes of this report is defined as any household with a member who was classified as black or as a member of an ethnic minority. This was to ensure that such groups as white single parent families containing black children

were identified within that group which may suffer racial disadvantage in the process of re-housing. The sampling in South City was conducted in three stages to produce two random samples of approximately 400 black and white households.

Stage 1. Of the total of 4,916 lettings a 13.5% random sample was drawn to achieve a 10% sample of actual addresses, given the duplication in the sample frame due to re-letting of the same property during the sample period and due to the demolition or vacation of other properties, which were identified by the fieldwork team. Table 7 shows the reason for rejection of these addresses.

Table 7. Stage 1 : Rejection of Addresses

	No.	%
Duplicated	50	7.5
Vacant/Demolished	74	11.2
Total Rejected	124	18.7
Total Accepted	540	81.3
Total	664	100

Of the 540 addresses available for surveying 424 were successfully completed which gives a response rate of 78.5%. Non-response at this low level is unlikely to affect the results, and the rate achieved is very satisfactory for this type of survey. A detailed breakdown of responses is given in Table 8.

Table 8. Stage 1 : Response at Accepted Addresses

	No.	%
Refused	32	5.9
No contact after 3 calls	69	12.7
Ill/Senile	15	2.7
Completed	424	78.5
Total	540	100

In order to determine the size of sample taken in Stages 2 and 3 it was necessary to carry out a manual analysis of racial origin for the Stage 1 successfully completed interviews. This is given in Table 9.

Table 9. Stage 1 : Racial Origin

	No.	%
White Households	333	78.5
Black Households		
(Black Tenant)	76	18.0
(White Tenant)	15	3.5
Total	424	100

Therefore, 21.5% of allocations made in the South City Housing District are to black tenants or white tenants with black children.

Stage 2. A 2.5% random sample was taken from the 4,252 remaining addresses to bring the white sample group up to the target of 400 households. Tables 10 and 11 show that of the 78 addresses accepted for interview 58 were successfully completed, a slightly higher response rate of 74.4%. This brought the white sample up to a total of 391 households.

Table 10. Stage 2 : Rejection of Addresses

	No.	%
Duplicated	9	9.6
Vacant/Demolished	17	17.8
Total Rejected	26	27.4
Total Accepted	78	72.6
Total	104	100

Table 11. Stage 2 : Response at Accepted Addresses

	No.	%
Refused	5	6.4
No contact after 3 calls	9	11.5
Ill/Senile/Other	6	7.7
Completed	58	74.4
Total	78	100

Stage 3. The purpose of this stage was to identify the required number of black households to produce an equivalent sample to the white group. Stage 1 identified that 21.5% of allocations made by South City were, broadly, lettings to black households. Therefore, an enumeration of about 1,400 households should have produced the required number of black households. A 45% sample of the remaining 4,168 addresses was taken. Table 12 shows that 1,453 addresses were accepted for interview.

Table 12. Stage 3 : Rejection of Addresses

	No.	%
Duplicated	139	7.4
Vacant/Demolished	283	15.1
Total Rejected	422	22.5
Total Accepted	1453	77.5
Total	1875	100

Table 13. Stage 3 : Response at Accepted Addresses

	No.	%
Refused	31	2.1
No contact after 3 calls	207	14.2
Ill/Senile/Other	17	1.2
Completed		
(Black Household)	220	15.1
(White Household)	978	67.4
Total	1453	100

Although the proportion of black households is lower than expected at 18.4% the overall response rate for this section is very good at 82.4%. The procedures used to identify black households and other fieldwork procedures will be discussed at a later stage.

(iii) Walton/Clubmoor Sampling

The aim of the sampling procedures adopted in this district was to obtain a representative sample of allocations in this area and to identify a sample group of households moving from the area covered by the South City District Office. For Walton/Clubmoor a sample frame of lettings was only available from January 1979 onwards, and so, due also to resource constraints on the survey, allocations were sampled from January 1979 to December 1980. All allocations categories were sampled, and two samples were selected. Firstly, a 10% random sample of the 1,428 households rehoused during the survey period was selected. Secondly, a sample of all these households whose previous addresses were given as the postal district of Liverpool 8, which contains the majority of the South City population, was identified apart from those who fell within the 10% sample. The 10% sample and the Liverpool 8 movers sample were then checked and issued. Tables 14 and 15 show the results of these two groups.

Table 14. Walton/Clubmoor : Rejection of Addresses

	10% Sample		L. 8 Movers	
	No.	%	No.	%
Duplicated	11	7.7	3	7.2
Vacant/Demolished	27	18.8	9	21.4
Total Rejected	38	26.8	12	28.6
Total Accepted	105	73.4	30	71.4
Total	143	100	42	100

Table 15. Walton/Clubmoor : Response at Accepted Addresses

	10% Sample		L. 8 Movers	
	No.	%	No.	%
Refused	5	4.8	1	3.3
No contact after 3 calls	14	13.3	6	20.0
Ill/Senile	3	2.8	1	3.3
Completed: Black	3	2.1	0	0
Completed: White	80	76.2	22	73.4
Total	105	100	30	100

The response rates for these two samples are of a consistent standard compared to those achieved in South City. The proportion of black households is very low at 2.9% overall.

(iv) Questionnaire Design and Fieldwork

The questionnaire was designed to obtain information on the housing experience of council households. The first task was to draw up a preliminary draft of the questionnaire for discussion and consultation. The scope of the survey questions was constrained by the practical requirement of restricting the interview to about one hour, to keep the survey within its budget and to minimise the chance of bias due to respondent fatigue. Extensive research was involved in the preparation of the next draft of the questionnaire on such issues as the 'housing career' perspective of the design, clear and easy to follow layout, adequate skip instructions, avoiding unnecessary duplication, producing correct coding frames for pre-coded questions, sensitivity to some questions, using unfamiliar words or including too long questions or tongue twisters. The design had three independent aims: to promote fluent questioning by interviewers, to facilitate accurate and comprehensive recording of answers, and to assist economical transfer of data directly from the questionnaire onto computer via Direct Data Entry. The pilot questionnaire was a 19 page schedule of 216 items. This consisted of six parts. Firstly, questions regarding tenant's previous accommodation, secondly, questions on the move into present council accommodation, thirdly, questions on present accommodation, fourthly, questions on attitudes about the neighbourhood and future housing aspirations, fifthly, a section for the collection of household data

as a basis for subsequent disaggregation of results, and sixthly, a section on racial issues. A few additional items were included for completion by the interviewer from observation.

Pilot Survey

The main fieldwork stage was preceded by a pilot of 56 interviews, of which 15 were black households. This was preceded by the recruitment, training and briefing of interviewers in September 1981. The pilot was completed in the week ending 18th September, followed by full de-briefing sessions. The most important function of the pilot was to test the questionnarie. The pilot generated a number of minor problems with the questionnaire, particularly the wording and coding of certain questions. The main concusions were these:-

a. A number of details needed to be added to enable fuller analysis, such as length of interview and the inclusion of a 1981 Census enumeration district number to enable the merging of comparative data.

b. Racial origin question was restructured in the table of age and sex of household members to enable children's racial origin to be identified.

c. The section on move into council housing required expanding and re-thinking to enable respondent's housing history to be recorded

easily without losing the details of the variety of cases. This meant including clear identification of contact with Housing Department staff and more space in open-ended questions for the ensuing dialogue to be noted.

d. The emphasis on past housing experience raises the problem of recall but the design of the pilot questionnaire with its attempt to trace the housing history in only the most recent move did facilitate this recall process.

As a result of the pilot the questionnaire was amended and the main fieldwork commenced immediately afterwards.

Main Fieldwork Stage

The interviews were carried out between October 1981 and January 1982 by a total of 13 interviewers. They were recruited by the researcher from graduate students with some knowledge of survey work and through South Liverpool Personnel, a local employment agency catering mainly for black people. Of the 13 interviewers 5 were black and 8 white, 7 had previous experience but all were trained thoroughly.

All interviewers had at least a week's training and briefing covering housing allocations and the points system, the object and background of the study, use of administrative forms, location of

addresses, the interview approach and introduction, gaining respondent co-operation and a high response rate, interviewing techniques such as avoiding bias, probing for data, and recording accurate answers. This was followed up by dummy interviews, training in the field and discussion of responses. This intensive training appears to have succeeded as response rates for all stages of the fieldwork were over 75%. The training and briefing was carried out by the researcher both at the Department of Sociology, and in the field.

The respondent for the survey was defined as either the male or the female adult tenant at the specified address, preference if possible being given to the tenant who had the most contact with the Housing Department during the lettings process. Interviewers were issued with University identity cards, questionnaires, issue sheets of addresses which had been organised on a street or block basis, a showcard for the racial origin question and an official letter from the organisers of the survey thanking resondents for their co-operation in the study.

The progress and timing of the main fieldwork stage was affected by a number of factors which have made progress somewhat slower than the researchers anticipated.

a. The initial timing of the survey was delayed by the riots which took place throughout the main survey area in July. The decision was then made to delay fieldwork until September.

b. In September the City Council announced that they were to attempt a 100% household survey of a large part of the South City area as an exercise in public participation, in response to the events in July. This survey was boycotted by the Liverpool 8 Defence Committee, and the popular local response to survey research, particularly amongst the black community, was expressed by partial support for this action. In order to avoid a correlation of reactions between the City Council survey and this survey which might well have incurred a much lower response rate, the survey in this area was again delayed until October. This did enable further modification to be made to the questionnaire design and additional interviewer training, which can only have improved the quality of the fieldwork.

c. These factors meant that the survey was initiated in the winter period. The particularly bad weather in December and early January limited the amount of time interviewers could spend in the field, as did the dark evenings. Female interviewers in particular were not happy about walking around some areas at night and householders tended to be more reluctant to participate in interviewing in the dark.

d. The particularly bad placing of street signs on some estates increased time spent in the location of addresses, particularly in areas of new-build property.

Despite these factors, the main fieldwork stage was completed by March 1982. The successful completion of this stage of the study in terms of a consistently high response rate is due itself to a number of factors.

a. The commitment and tenacity of our interviewing team in following up non-contacts often making 5 or more recalls on some addresses, showing motivation towards recording accurate answers and towards the objects of the survey.

b. The intensive training and briefing given to all interviewers prior to the commencement of fieldwork and the involvement of interviewers in the questionnaire design through the de-briefing sessions held after the pilot survey had been completed.

c. The discussions held with local tenants and community groups in the area to explain the objects of the survey, which in all cases resulted in interest and support.

d. Constant field supervision of the interviewing team to maintain interviewer motivation and interest, and to ensure that as many measures as possible were taken to gain a high response e.g. following up non-contacts, and reissue of non-contacts and some refusals to a different interviewer.

Furthermore, quality control was carried out through personal supervision in the field and by random editing and discussion of each interviewer's weekly returns.

(v) Data Preparation and Analysis

The questionnaire was designed to enable the survey data to be typed directly from this into the computer via a Direct Data Entry (D.D.E.) system, a facility available at Liverpool University Computer Centre. Before this could proceed, all the questionnaires were manually edited to ensure clarity for the D.D.E. typists and to carry out checks for omissions and filter checks, and by the coding of the 44 open ended questions on a questionnaire of 282 separate coding items.

For each tenant, data was assembled from the household questionnaire and also from the tenancy file held at the relevant District Office. The data extracted from the tenancy file included information from the application form such as area of choice, household size, points awarded, assessment of domestic standards, information from tenancy cards such as size of accommodation, type of accommodation, estate, and other information such as supporting letters, e.g. from councillors, social workers etc. Also the District Managers provided an assessment of each property as to whether it was excellent, good, average or poor quality in terms of lettings potential, i.e. demand.

This data from all these sources was merged on a computer file to

facilitate analysis by the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (S.P.S.S.), a computer package designed for survey analysis. Interviews were also carried out with staff concerned with the administration of housing allocation procedures, to identify and clarify the way in which allocation policies were implemented.

THE EXTENT OF DIFFERENTIAL ALLOCATION

(i) Introduction

This section aims to establish the extent of differential allocation on the basis of colour by providing the results of the allocation outcomes in our South City sample.

From the 1st January, 1977 and the 1st January 1981, 4,916 allocations were made in the South City Centre Housing Management District. This district manages 10,166 properties out of a total council stock of about 78,000 dwellings. A 20% random sample was taken of these allocations and an 80.4% response rate was achieved by the survey, which was conducted between October 1981 and March 1982. The purpose of the sampling procedure was to produce two roughly equal groups of white and black households to enable patterns of racial disadvantage in allocations to be discerned. Table 16 gives a breakdown of the total sample by ethnic group.

Table 16. South City Sample by Ethnic Origin

Ethnic Origin	No.	%
White	391	55.7
Black British	100	14.2
African	53	7.5
West Indian	42	6.0
Chinese	36	5.1
Other Black	14	2.0
Asian	9	1.3
White Parent/Black children	57	8.1
Total	702	100

This table shows that all ethnic groups have been sampled, this provides an adequate range of ethnic variations. It can be established therefore, that the survey has identified a sample which can be taken to be representative of the pattern of racial difference in South City allocations over the specified period. For the purposes of the preceding analysis all non-white categories will be classified as black as they may all be subject to racial discrimination or disadvantage. Pilot analysis of differences between ethnic groups did not indicate that this classification would hinder the identification of racial discrimination.

It is necessary to establish the context in which racial differences in South City allocations must be viewed. Demographic estimates of Liverpool's black population require further clarification, but from analyses of available survey and census data it can be estimated that approximately 40% to 50% of blacks live in the South City District as

opposed to about 15% of whites. This district has the lowest number of houses in its stock compared to other Housing Management Districts, and some of the poorest quality properties. Therefore, in assessing the achievement of households in council housing in South City it must be remembered that the black sample is much more representative of black council households than whites. In other words variations observed in this sample will underestimate the extent of differential allocation in the city as a whole and tend to bias the results in favour of whites. Nevertheless this sample must first be evaluated only in relation to South City's allocations.

In looking at the housing allocated it is first necessary to specify the criteria on which it can be assessed to indicate housing quality. In South City what constitutes the best housing is a function of property type, physical condition, location, size etc. but it is also related to a household's needs, preferences and perceptions.

(ii) Allocations in South City: Quality and Location

To assess the extent of racial inequality in council housing allocations it is necessary to measure the quality of the accommodation offered to white and black households. Seven measures of housing quality will be used to determine the quality of allocations. Firstly, whether the accommodation was new-built or a re-let; secondly, the assessment of lettings potential of each property made by the District Housing Manager; thirdly, a measure of average quality ranging from 1.0

for excellent to 4.0 for poor, based on the lettings potential. Assessments of the physical condition of each dwelling made by the tenant and by the fieldwork team provide more subjective measures of housing quality. The property type reflects housing quality, as does the location of the property which will be described in detail.

On the first four indicators of housing quality set out in Tables 17, 18 and 19, there is evidence of differential allocation, or racial disadvantage, on the basis of colour. White households were allocated proportionally more new-build housing: 27.5% of white households as compared to 22.3% of black households were allocated such property. White households were allocated differentially more of the high quality, high demand property, the difference being of clear significance: 38.0% of white and only 19.6% of black households were allocated 'excellent' property.

Table 17. South City Allocations by New-Build

	White		Black		Total	
New Build	27.5%	103	22.3%	60	25.4%	163
Relet	72.5%	272	77.7%	206	74.6%	478

Table 18. South City Allocations by Lettings Potential and Average Quality

		White		Black	
Excellent	(1)	38.0%	137	19.6%	55
Good	(2)	20.0%	76	24.6%	70
Average	(3)	24.7%	92	38.2%	109
Poor	(4)	17.3%	65	17.6%	49
Total		100%	370	100%	283
Average Quality		2.6		3.2	

Table 19. South City Allocations by Physical Condition of Dwelling

Condition of Dwelling	Tenant's Assessment		Fieldwork Assessment	
	White	Black	White	Black
Good	26.3%	19.8%	25.7%	19.9%
	102	59	100	59
Average	32.0%	36.9%	37.2%	52.4%
	124	110	145	155
Poor	41.7%	43.2%	31.1%	27.7%
	162	129	144	82
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
	388	298	289	296

Overall, a consistently lower quality of property has been allocated to black households with the average quality being significantly lower. In terms of the assessment of physical condition of the dwelling, as opposed to the assessment of lettings potential which also reflects location, environment and other factors associated with housing quality, there is again a consistent picture of differential allocation. White households again achieved a significantly higher proportion of dwellings in good physical condition through the process of allocation whereas black households were allocated a substantially higher proportion of dwellings in average physical condition. The tenants' assessment of the assessment of lettings potential both showed that black households were allocated a disproportionate number of poor quality dwellings, though the fieldwork assessment contradicted this aspect.

Table 20. South City Allocations by Property Type

Property Type	White		Black	
Flat	70.3	275	56.6	176
House	13.8	54	22.2	69
Maisonette	10.7	42	20.3	63
Sheltered Accommodation	5.1	20	-	-
Total	100	391	100	308

As Table 20 shows, proportionally more black households were allocated houses, slightly less to flats and maisonettes and none at all to sheltered accommodation for the elderly. The differential allocation with respect

to houses and sheltered accommodation will be discussed further below.

In considering allocation by property type it is necessary to consider whether there is any difference in quality across these types of accommodation, in order to identify specific areas of differential allocation.

Table 21. South City Allocations by Average Quality of Property Type.

	Average Quality	
Property Type	White	Black
House	1.7	1.8
Flat	3.0	3.3
Maisonette	2.7	3.6
Sheltered Accommodation	1.5	-

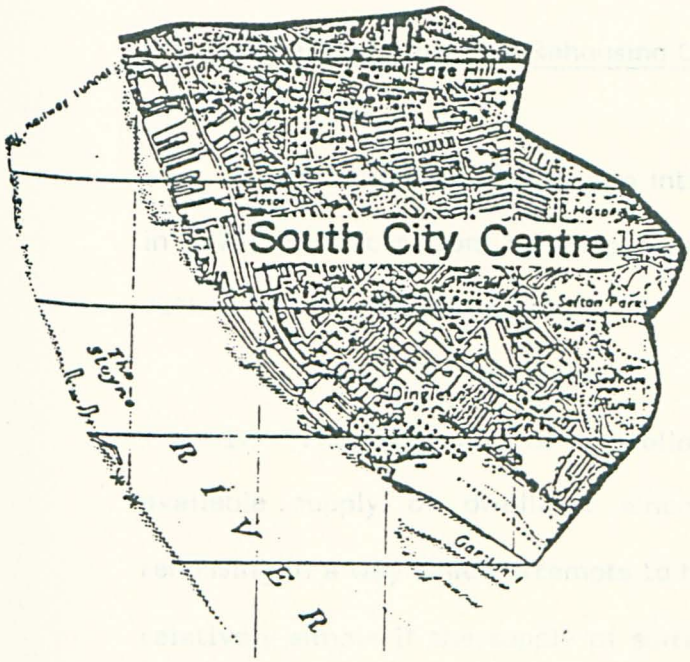
The above table shows that in terms of housing quality it appears that differential allocation is evident for the property types of flats and maisonettes, particularly the latter where the average quality was markedly lower. In terms of house quality the following table raises some doubts as to the seeming equity of house allocations as shown in Table 21. The significant difference in physical condition as assessed by tenants shows 'possible' differential allocation by quality.

Table 22. South City Allocations by Tenants Assessment of Physical Condition

Physical Condition	Good		Average		Poor	
Property Type	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
House	50.9%	31.0%	33.9%	24.1%	15.2%	44.9%

In order to assess allocation by area the South City District has been sub-divided (see over, page 176). The white households rehoused during this period have been allocated in roughly equal proportions across all areas of South City except Liverpool 1, and Princes Park which contains a small proportion of council dwellings. Black households have been markedly concentrated in the Falkner, Granby and Englefield Green Estates. It is disturbing to note that the only good quality, suburban area of South City is Aigburth yet very few black households have been rehoused there. Differential allocation is therefore evident on the basis of location or area rehoused. The influence of tenant's choice, information, advice and the operation of housing management procedures in relation to allocations will all be assessed to evaluate this pattern.

In conclusion black households are shown to be disadvantaged compared with white households in three specific areas. They have achieved a lower quality of dwelling overall, they have been excluded from sheltered accommodation and they have been concentrated in the original area of black post-war settlement and virtually excluded from the better quality environment of the suburban area of South City.



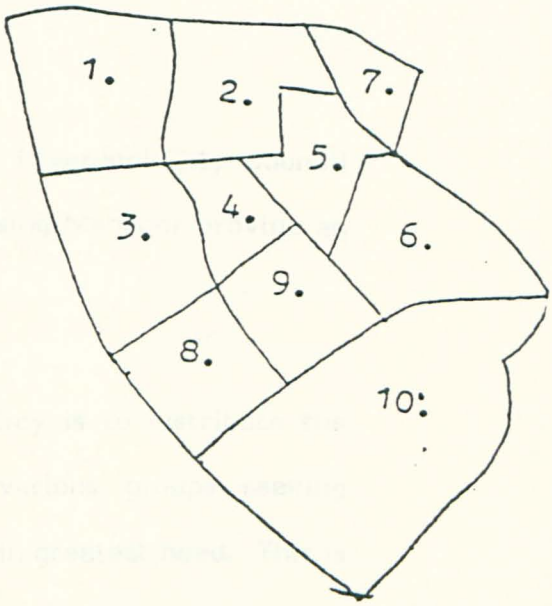


Figure 2:
South City Centre Housing Management Sub-Areas
1. Liverpool 1
2. Canning
3. Brunswick
4. Englefield Green
5. Granby/Falkner
6. Lodge Lane
7. Liverpool 7
8. Dingle
9. Princes Park
10. Aigburth/Sefton Park

Table 23 *South City allocation by location in sub-area of South City*

Area	*White*		*Black*	
Liverpool 7	16.7	65	6.2	18
Dingle	15.9	62	2.0	6
Brunswick	15.9	62	4.1	12
Aigburth	13.2	51	1.5	4
Lodge Lane	12.5	48	10.3	30
Granby/Falkner	10.9	42	52.8	153
Englefield Green	10.0	39	15.9	46
Liverpool 1	4.6	18	5.4	21
Princes Park	0.5	2	—	—
Total	100.0	389	100.0	290

(iii) Allocation Policy and Rehousing Category

A new allocations policy was introduced by Liverpool City Council in 1976. Extracts from the Report of the Housing Manager provide an outline of this allocations policy.

1. "The basic aim of any allocation policy is to distribute the available supply of dwellings amongst the various groups seeking rehousing in a way which attempts to help those in greatest need. This is relatively simple if the supply of suitable dwellings matches or exceeds the known demand; but it becomes increasingly difficult when demand exceeds supply and/or the range of needs embraces several client groups. The problem then becomes one of determining priorities and it helps little to say priority should go to those in greatest need since the criteria for determining need is open to question".

2. "The purpose of this report is to outline a method of allocation which attempts:-

(a) to meet a wide range of needs (some of which have been neglected in the past);

(b) can be readily understood by members of the public;

(c) to balance the competing claims for housing on a reasonable basis.

3. "It is proposed, therefore, to re-classify all existing rehousing groups in six basic categories based on the nature of the individual cases. For example, it can be seen from Appendix B that the group called "Clearance" embraces six sub-groups, from "Compulsory Purchase Orders" to "Other Demolition", all of which share the common feature that the property presently occupied is considered unfit to live in and is, therefore, to be demolished or closed up permanently.

"It is suggested, therefore, that the rehousing categories be re-defined as follows:-

Category 'A' (Demolition/Closure/Improvement):

Includes all cases both in the public and private sector where the property currently occupied is required for demolition/closure/improvement as a result of public action.

Category 'B' (Medical):

Includes all cases where rehousing has been certified as urgent by the M.O.E.H.

Category 'C' (Transfers):

Applications from existing tenants, including movement of tenants from one dwelling to another as a result of particular

policy decisions, where the vacant dwelling will be re-let (e.g. Multi-storey Decanting).

Category 'D' (Housing Applicants).

All applications for rehousing included on the Housing Waiting List.

Category 'E' (Others):

All other requests for rehousing, e.g. H.M.F., Services Tenancies, Key Workers, Church Workers, etc.

Category 'F' (Homeless):

All homeless and potentially homeless.

Within each category, however, there will be an order of priority:-

Category 'A' will have an order of priority based on the clearance/improvement programme.

Category 'B' will be based on the date of the recommendation made by the M.O.E.H.

Category 'D' will be based on the date of admission to the allocation group, and in Group II cases, on the number

of points.

Category 'C' will be based on the points scheme.

Category 'E' & 'F' will be based on the date of application.

4. "The proposed new system of allocations centres around two basic concepts:

(a) A percentage system of allocations designed to ensure help is given to the widest possible range of housing needs.

(b) A different percentage, and therefore "different" allocation policies, for each District Management area designed to reflect the particular supply and demand situation in each area.

5. "The percentage allocations for each district has been based on current known demand with some adjustment for the effect of the positive transfer policy. To some extent the percentages reflect the actual performance of District Offices during the twelve month period January 1975 to December 1976. An analysis of the performance of each District Office is set out in diagrammatic form and will be available for the information of members at the Committee meeting. From this analysis it can be seen it would clearly be inadvisable, for example, to recommend a high percentage of allocations of Slum Clearance families in the Childwall Valley District Management area. Most of the property becoming available in that area is of the flat/maisonette type and not acceptable to Slum Clearance families."

(Allocations Policy, Report of the Housing Manager, DH/107/74, Liverpool City Council).

This complex system should be the major factor in determining differential allocation.

Table 24. South City Allocations, Rehousing Category by Average Quality.

Category	% In Each Group		Average Quality		
	White	Black	Total	White	Black
A (Clearance)	20.8	12.9	1.9	1.8	2.2
B (Medical)	6.4	3.8	1.7	1.7	2.5
C (Transfer)	22.9	34.1	2.4	2.1	2.6
D (W/List)	43.2	45.3	3.5	3.4	3.6
E (Misc.)	1.1	0.4	2.8	-	-
F (Homeless)	5.6	3.5	3.3	3.3	3.3
Total	100	100	2.9	2.6	3.2

Table 24 clearly shows that black households are under-represented in those groups that are allocated the highest quality accommodation, that is medical and clearance cases. Black households are correspondly concentrated in those categories which have lower average quality of accommodation allocated to them, the waiting list and transfers. In the top three categories there is a significant difference in quality between white and black households, with the latter consistently being allocated lower quality housing. In the waiting list category the difference in quality is small, and there is no difference in quality in the homeless category.

Rehousing category, then, is an important factor in determining quality of accommodation as expected, but this only partially explains differential allocation on the basis of colour. It is therefore necessary to examine the causes of differential allocation within each category separately as there are important differences in access, choice and allocation.

(iv) The Causes of Differential Allocation

It was established in section (ii) that differential allocation on the basis of colour is evident in South City. Category rehoused, has been identified as a significant mechanism which reproduces racial disadvantage in terms of housing quality. This effect was shown by the clear under-representation of black households in those categories which received the highest average quality housing.

In order to specify the causes of differential allocation it is necessary to investigate variations in the many factors relating to allocation in the context of each category. Each category has its own rules of access and system of priority within each category which determines the order of applicants; these will be assessed with respect to racial disadvantage where possible. The determination of priorities between applicants is the major objective of allocation policy, which aims to relate demand by applicants to the supply of council housing vacants. This provides a clear framework within which individual allocations occur. The extent to which allocations policy directly determines

individual allocation decisions varies depending on the scope for flexibility and discretion. This space, allowed for by an indeterminate allocations policy, is the site for negotiation between housing management, the applicants and other agencies or individuals acting on their behalf. Applicants' choice or bargaining power is determined by a wide variety of factors such as previous housing need, applicant type, knowledge, advice, area preference and expectations. Housing management practices that relate to allocations involve manual selection of applicants, grading of housekeeping standards and standards of cleanliness, provision of information and advice, estate management and others.

The studies of differential allocation in council housing carried out by Smith and Whalley (1975), Skellington (1980) and Simpson (1981) all agree on the groups of factors to be considered as determinants of allocation, these will all be evaluated as far as possible, within the scope of available evidence:

1) Rules of access and eligibility for rehousing.
2) Allocations policy i.e. the priority system of categories of applicants.
3) The pool of available accommodation.
4) Demographic, social and economic characteristics of applicants.
5) Previous housing conditions of applicants.
6) Applicant's power of negotiation and choice.
7) Housing Management practice.

In order to assess the significance of some of the demographic and economic characteristics of the samples before they are broken down and investigated by category rehoused, these factors will be briefly reviewed in the next chapter.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLES.

In this chapter an analysis of the relation between the social and economic characteristics of the samples and the quality of the accommodation allocated is made, in order to assess the extent to which these variables may explain differential allocation.

(i) Household Size

Household size could influence the quality of housing allocated if there was a strong relationship between these two variables. Table 25 shows that there is no significant difference between the quality of accommodation allocated to 1, 2 and 3 person households irrespective of race, but there was a clear difference between those groups and households with 4 or more persons. This finding can be explained by the fact that 4+ person households are much more likely to be allocated to houses which are generally classified as being of higher quality than other types of accommodation. Furthermore, significant differential allocation is evident for every household size, except 2 person households. Therefore, as the GLC study found, household size plays no part in explaining differential allocation in terms of quality. The fact that 6.0% of white households and 13.3% of black households contained six or more persons may be an important factor in explaining differential allocation by area, depending on the location of four-bedroom vacants, particularly houses. The effect of this factor on constraining choice will be evaluated

within each category.

Table 25. Household Size by Ethnic Origin and by Average Quality.

Household Size	Total		White		Black		Average Quality		
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	Total	White	Black
1	26.6	180	30.0	115	22.1	65	3.2	2.9	3.4
2	23.5	159	26.1	100	20.1	59	3.1	3.1	3.1
3	16.3	110	16.2	62	16.4	48	3.2	2.9	3.3
4	13.9	94	13.6	52	14.3	42	2.5	2.1	3.2
5	10.5	71	8.1	31	13.7	40	2.2	2.0	2.5
6+	9.2	62	6.0	23	13.3	39	2.1	1.9	2.3
Total	100	676	100	383	100	293	2.9	2.6	3.2

(ii) Age of Tenant

Age could influence quality of accommodation in a number of ways. Younger families may be prepared to accept a poorer offer to improve their situation, if in serious housing need. The elderly may be less likely to accept a poor offer and less flexible concerning area or type of property they require. Table 26 shows that this does appear to be the case and there is a direct relationship between tenant's age and quality of accommodation, as average quality overall increases with age. Also black households are concentrated in the younger age groups 36.6% of black households and only 26.8% white households under 30.

Table 26. Age of Tenant by Ethnic Origin and Average Quality.

Age of Tenant	Total		White		Black		Average Quality		
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	Total	White	Black
Under 30	30.9	207	26.8	105	36.6	102	3.4	3.4	3.4
30-39	20.6	138	19.4	76	22.2	62	3.3	2.9	3.5
40-49	18.4	123	16.1	63	21.5	60	2.7	2.6	2.8
50-59	10.9	73	12.0	47	9.3	26	2.1	2.0	2.4
60-69	9.8	66	12.3	48	6.5	18	2.0	1.8	2.7
70+	9.4	63	13.3	52	3.9	11	1.8	1.7	2.9
Total	100	670	100	391	100	279	2.9	2.6	3.2

This youngest age group is allocated the lowest quality property. This may then explain differential allocation. But, there is a marked racial difference in quality of accommodation allocated to every group, except the under 30s and the 40-49s. Furthermore, for black households quality does not relate to age of tenant as there is little difference in quality between the age groups over 40, and for the 60+ groups differential allocation is the highest of all. Age is therefore an explanatory variable as far as white elderly applicants are concerned. This may be explained also by the failure of black elderly to achieve access to sheltered accommodation. This accommodation is available primarily to the single elderly in medical need. 54% of white households with the tenant over 60 were single households, and 48.3% of the black 60+ were single. Therefore, isolating this group for analysis should

identify the effect of access to sheltered accommodation.

Table 27 shows that the single elderly were as expected clearly differentiated by quality, but the non-single elderly were equally differentiated; therefore the lack of access to sheltered housing does not explain differential allocation for the elderly. Age seems relevant as an explanatory factor in two areas, for white elderly and for all households under 30.

Table 27. Single Elderly by Ethnic Origin and Average Quality.

Household Type	Age	Total % of Total	White % of Total	No.	Black % of Total	No.	Average Quality Total	White	Black
Single	60+	9.7	13.8	54	4.5	14	1.9	1.8	2.8
Non-Single	60+	8.7	11.8	46	4.8	15	1.8	1.7	2.7

(iii) Socio-Economic Group and Economic Status

Socio-economic factors may be related to quality, although such a correlation could not be explained by allocation policy as nature of employment and ability to pay are not taken into account in lettings. However, housing management practices may be influenced by whether an applicant is unemployed or unskilled as this may be thought to indicate an undeserving or 'bad' tenant. Also applicants from the higher socio-economic groups may be more able to gain support for their case

and negotiate the housing allocation system.

Firstly, Table 28 shows that blacks are under-represented in the retired group which receives the highest quality accommodation, and that there is differential allocation among this group on the basis of colour. Secondly, this table shows that black households are slightly over-represented amongst the unemployed who receive the lowest quality accommodation. There is a significant difference between the quality of allocations to the employed and the unemployed that constitutes a cause for concern. Nevertheless racial disadvantage was evident for the employed and elderly groups.

Table 28. Economic Status by Ethnic Origin and Average Quality.

Economic	White		Black		Average Quality		
Status	%	No.	%	No.	Total	White	Black
Employed	23.3	91	24.6	70	2.5	2.1	2.9
Unemployed	39.6	155	43.3	123	3.4	3.4	3.4
Housewife	13.8	54	20.8	59	2.7	2.6	2.7
OAP/Retired	19.9	78	8.6	24	1.8	1.7	2.8
Student	1.0	4	2.1	6	-	-	-
Sick	2.3	9	0.7	2	-	-	-
Total	100	391	100	284	2.9	2.6	3.2

Table 29. Socio-Economic Group by Ethnic Origin and Average Quality.

Socio-Economic Group	White		Black		Average Quality		
	%	No.	%	No.	Total	White	Black
Prof/Managerial	2.3	9	3.4	10	2.5	1.6	3.0
Clerical	8.8	34	6.6	19	3.0	2.7	3.5
Other Non-Manual	11.4	44	16.9	49	3.1	2.7	3.2
Skilled/Semi-Skilled	15.3	59	20.0	58	3.0	2.6	3.2
Unskilled	62.2	240	53.1	154	2.9	2.6	3.2
Total	100	386	100	290	2.9	2.6	3.2

Table 29 shows that for every socio-economic group racial disadvantage in terms of differential allocation was evident. Although the professional/managerial group were allocated higher quality than all other groups, the numbers of the sample were too small to be reliable. This factor does not therefore assist explanation of patterns of allocation, apart from noting the overwhelming proportion of unskilled in the sector of council housing.

(iv) Household Type

Table 30 shows that within each type of household differential allocation by quality is clear, except for single parents. This group received the lowest quality allocations overall, and it is also the group in which black households were particular over-represented.

Table 30. Household Type by Ethnic Origin and Average Quality.

Household Type	White		Black		Average Quality		
	%	No.	%	No.	Total	White	Black
Single Adult	31.5	123	23.0	67	3.2	2.9	3.4
Adult Household	25.6	100	13.4	39	2.7	2.4	2.9
Family							
(i) Single Parents	(13.3)	(52)	(29.6)	(86)	(3.3)	(3.3)	(3.3)
(ii) Small 1/2							
Children	(20.4)	(80)	(13.4)	(39)	(2.8)	(2.5)	(3.3)
(iii) Large 3+							
Children	(9.2)	(36)	(20.6)	(60)	(2.0)	(1.8)	(2.2)
(iv) Total	42.9	168	63.6	185	2.8	2.6	3.0
Total	100	391	100	291	2.9	2.6	3.2

The disadvantaged groups, such as the unemployed and single parents, tended to receive a similar poor average quality of allocations. But as we have seen, differential allocation by colour remains a separate dimension of disadvantage that requires a detailed exploration. This will be provided in the following chapter.

ALLOCATIONS TO CATEGORY A CASES

(i) Rules of Access and Eligibility

According to Liverpool City Council's statement of allocation policy (9/8/76), six categories were specified to classify all rehousing groups. The category with which this report is concerned is Category A (Demolition/Closure/Improvement) this is defined as:

> "all cases both in the public and private sector where the property is currently acquired for demolition/ closure/improvement as a result of public action".

Within this category, order of priority is to be based on the clearance/improvement programme. Allocations to Category A cases from January 1977 to December 1980 will be evaluated with respect to ethnic origin and the causes of differential allocation. Access to this category depended entirely on the designation of clearance and improvement programmes, entailing a rehousing commitment, by the City Council. These have included Stage I and Stage II clearance, modernisation of tenement blocks, tenement clearance, the urban renewal programme and other clearance commitments. In South City from 1977 to 1981 council allocations reflect the variation in impact of these programmes. 20.8% of white households and 12.0% of black households were rehoused in this category.

The under-representation of black council households in this category, which receives in general higher quality accommodation, represents racial disadvantage. In other words, access to good quality council housing for black households is restricted to the allocations policy. This is a result of council policy concerning the designation of areas for clearance and improvement. The demand from council households under clearance or improvement programmes was a major element in the area at the time of the survey, and therefore a history of racial disadvantage in access to council housing, as evidence from the N.D.H. Survey showed, can partly explain this situation. Nevertheless, restricted access of black households into category A is evident.

(ii) Allocation to Category A Cases

Over the study period 15.9% of all allocations in South City were to Category A cases according to Housing Department lettings returns. The survey found that 20.8% of white households and 12.0% of black households were rehoused in this group. These households had the greatest opportunity to achieve re-housing in a property type and location of their choice, within the constraints of available stock and the percentage system of allocations (which ensured a degree of priority for the other five rehousing categories). But as the following tables show, a pattern of differential allocation on the basis of colour is evident. 79.5% of white as opposed to 54.0% of black households were allocated to new property. 64.0% of white and only 35.1% of black households were allocated excellent property in terms of lettings potential. Also

allocations to black households were concentrated in the South City Sub-Area 5, as 62.1% of black and only 11.5% of white households were rehoused in that area.

Table 31. Category A Allocations to New-Build.

	White		Black	
New-Build	79.5	62	54.0	20
Re-Let	20.5	16	46.0	17
Total	100	78	100	37

Table 32. Category A Allocations by Lettings Potential.

	White		Black	
Excellent	64.0	50	35.1	13
Good	21.8	17	48.1	18
Average	7.8	6	13.5	5
Poor	6.4	5	2.7	1
Total	100	78	100	37

The GLC study of differential allocation used a quality grading of dwellings based on physical condition and experience of how difficult it is to let each property. The use of such a ranking of dwellings is that it provides a measure of average quality, which is the arithmetic mean. The grades of lettability will be ranked from 1.0 for excellent to 4.0 for

poor property; the mean of these categories will provide a measure of average quality which enables a clearer presentation of the extent of differential allocation. Using this method we arrive at the following table.

Table 33. Category A Allocations by Average Quality of Accommodation.

	White	Black
Average Quality	1.8	2.3

Table 34. Category A Allocations by Sub-Area of South City.

Area	White		Black	
Lodge Lane	19.2	15	13.5	5
Aigburth	18.0	14	2.7	1
Dingle	18.0	14	-	-
Brunswick	11.5	9	2.7	1
Granby	11.5	9	62.1	23
L. 7	10.3	8	-	-
Englefield Gr.	5.1	4	8.2	3
L. 1	5.1	4	10.8	4
Princes Park	1.3	1	-	-
Total	100	78	100	37

Table 35. Category A Allocations by Dwelling Type.

	White		Black	
House	29.5	23	37.8	14
Flat	57.6	45	55.6	20
Maisonette	7.7	6	8.3	3
Sheltered Flat	5.4	4	-	-
Total	100	78	100	37

Despite the differential allocation that is evident in terms of location and housing quality, black households have achieved access to houses as opposed to flats and maisonettes, but they have not achieved access to sheltered accommodation. Two more subjective assessments of housing condition were made in the course of the survey which underline the extent of differential allocation; these are set out in Table 36.

Table 36. Category A Allocations, Assessment of Physical Condition of Dwelling.

Physical Condition of Dwelling	Tenant's Assessment				Interviewer's Assessment			
	White		Black		White		Black	
Good	48.7	38	32.4	12	52.6	41	32.4	12
Average	24.4	19	40.5	15	32.0	25	51.3	19
Poor	26.9	21	27.1	10	15.4	12	16.2	6
Total	100	78	100	37	100	78	100	37

The consistency between Table 36 and Table 32 in the unequal proportion of white and black households being allocated good quality houses is clear. The extent of differential allocation, in this respect, varies from over 16% on the tenants' assessment, to 20% on the interviewer's assessment, to 29% on the District Manager's assessment of lettings potential. Black slum clearance households are as a consequence being allocated disproportionately to good, average and poor quality estates in Liverpool 8.

(iii) Previous Housing Conditions

The designation of households as Category A cases is primarily dependent on assessment of the physical condition of the dwelling. Table

37 shows that black households were more likely to be overcrowded and living with landlords on the premises, but in terms of sharing amenities, little difference is evident.

Table 37. Category A Cases by Previous Housing Conditions.

		White		Black	
(1)	Sharing/Lack Amenities	46.1	36	48.6	17
(2)	Overcrowded (More than 1 Person Per Room)	12.8	10	32.4	12
(3)	Landlord on Premises	42.5	32	27.0	10
	Sample Size	78		37	

Table 38. Category A Cases by Previous Tenure.

	White		Black	
Owner Occupation	41.1	11	31.4	11
Local Authority	32.1	25	25.7	9
Private Landlord	41.0	32	20.0	7
Sub-Tenant	2.6	2	17.1	6
Housing Association	1.2	1	-	-
Other	9.0	7	5.8	2
Total	100	78	100	37

Black households were more likely to be owner-occupiers and sub-tenants as opposed to white households. Also blacks were more likely to have large families as 18.9% of black and only 6.4% of white households contained seven or more persons. This is reflected in the difference in average household size.

Table 39. Category A Cases by Household Size.

No. of Persons	White		Black	
1	14.1	11	16.2	6
2	29.9	21	21.6	8
3	19.2	15	18.9	7
4	20.5	16	8.1	3
5	6.4	5	8.1	3
6	6.4	5	8.1	3
7	6.4	5	8.1	3
Total	100	78	100	37
Average Household Size	2.3		2.6	

These aspects of previous housing conditions will all have some effect on the pattern of allocation. The G.L.C. survey found that:

> "Previous housing conditions do influence differential allocation."[56]

The greater housing need of black households, particularly in

relation to overcrowding, would have ensured a more urgent need to move. This may have decreased the confidence to reject offers and wait for better choices, thereby increasing the vulnerability to the quality of the first offer. This will be explored in the next section. The effect of there being almost three times as many black households with seven or more persons compared to whites related particularly to the number of large dwellings available to the Housing Department for letting. The location of these may well constrain choice and affect the pattern of rehousing. This will also be assessed overleaf.

(iv) Choices and Offers.

The determinants of a particular household's choice of area for rehousing are many. Common knowledge, advice from friends and relations, advice or pressure from housing officials, ties to family and friends, place of work and many other factors influence housing choice. This will be assessed firstly in relation to applicants' stated preferences recorded in tenancy files and the offers of accommodation to these tenants. It is frequently argued by housing officials that black households are living in the Granby area of Liverpool because they choose to. This assertion is shown to be a racial stereotype which obscures the range of different locations chosen by black households, with only 27% choosing Granby specifically.

Table 40. Category A Allocations by First Choice and Area Rehoused.

	White		Black	
	1st Choice	Area Rehoused	1st Choice	Area Rehoused
Dingle	24.4	18.0	-	-
Aigburth	11.6	18.0	8.1	2.7
Lodge Lane	9.0	19.2	10.8	13.5
Liverpool 7	6.4	10.3	5.4	-
Granby/Falkner	5.2	11.5	27.0	62.1
Brunswick	5.2	11.5	-	2.7
Liverpool 1	3.8	5.1	13.5	10.8
Eng. Green	-	-	-	8.2
Anywhere South City	15.4	-	13.5	-
Outside South City	14.1	-	10.8	-
No choice	5.1	-	10.8	-
Total	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	78		37	

Table 41. Category A Allocation by Previous Residence, First Choice and Present Residence in Liverpool 8.

		White	Black
(1)	Previous Residence in L.8	84.6	86.5
(2)	1st Choice L.8	59.1	51.3
(3)	Rehoused in L.8	66.6	86.5
	Sample Size	78	37

White households experienced a greater preference for staying local in Liverpool 8 than black households. The proportion of households wanting to move to Liverpool 7, Aigburth or further away from South City was greater for whites (32.1%) than for blacks (24.3%). This difference is outweighed by the greater propensity for black households to choose Liverpool 1, near the city centre, and by the fact that twice as many black households as white recorded no preference. The differential allocation by area cannot be explained on the basis of choice as the disparity between whites and blacks rehoused in Liverpool 8 is almost 20% and is too large to be accounted for by the variation in choice. A particularly disturbing trend is that the only part of South City which contains attractive suburban estates, Aigburth, had over 15% more whites than blacks rehoused there, despite the fact that there was only a 3% difference in preference for this area. The concentration of black allocations to Granby is of particular importance. This area contained the highest concentration (about 30%) of black households in Liverpool and the overall effect of clearance and rehousing has been to increase

this concentration as 51% more blacks than whites were rehoused there.

There was little difference in the acceptance of offers as Table 42 shows.

Table 42. Category A Allocations by Number of Offers.

No. Of Offers	White		Black	
1	69.2	54	70.3	26
2	21.8	17	16.2	6
3	5.1	4	10.8	4
4+	3.9	3	2.7	1
Total	100	78	100	37

The high percentage of households accepting the first offer will reflect previous housing need and the desire to move combined with the suitability and quality of the first offer. Black households being in greater housing need would be more likely to accept a lower quality first offer and this is in fact what has happened. Black households were offered and then accepted less of the higher quality property than white households.

Table 43. Category A Allocation, Households Accepting First Offer by Lettings Potential.

	White		Black	
Excellent	66.7	36	46.1	12
Good	22.3	12	42.4	11
Average	5.5	3	11.5	3
Poor	5.5	3		-
Total	100	54	100	26
Average Quality	1.75		2.1	

The assessment of quality in terms of lettings potential of dwellings to waiting list applicants provides a low base-line for a quality indicator. In dealing with Category A cases it could be argued that only the 'excellent' property was of high demand and the rest could be classified as low demand. The dividing line between high and low quality property would then on these terms be crucial in explaining differential allocation, as the quality of the first offer must then be seen as a major factor in determining this outcome. The reason why blacks were not offered as good quality property as whites cannot be explained fully in terms of differential choice, allocation policy or previous housing need; it may however be a function of household size and availability of large dwellings.

(v) Large Families.

It was shown in Table 39 that black households were almost twice as likely to contain five or more persons, as 35.1% of blacks and only 19.2% of whites were in this group. The location of property offered to these large families will be compared to assess whether this was a significant factor in explaining differential allocation.

Table 44. Category A Allocations, Location of Four Bedroom Dwellings.

Location	White	Black
Granby	5	7
Eng. Green	2	3
L. 1.	3	1
Dingle	3	-
Lodge Lane	-	2
% of Total	16.6	35.1

The allocation of large dwellings to large families seems satisfactory in terms of the quantity of stock and the matching of Category A applicants. However, the location of available stock constrains black housing choice more than whites, as very few large dwellings were made available to Category A large households outside Liverpool 8 e.g. in Aigburth. This will, therefore, have been a factor in determining differential allocation by area, but not in explaining differential quality of the first offer.

(vi) Applicants' Power of Negotiation.

The ability of each applicant to achieve the best possible allocation may depend on the information, advice and support available to achieve a Category A allocation. 35.9% of whites but only 18.9% of black households knew of the opportunities available for council rehousing as a matter of common knowledge, whereas 48.6% of blacks and only 29.6% of white households obtained information about rehousing from the council itself. This indicates a situation of disadvantage through the lack of awareness of council housing amongst black households. This is particularly important in relation to knowledge of estates and facilities; in this sense racial disadvantage constrains choice and decreases the negotiating power of the applicant. The disproportionate reliance on the housing department for information and advice could have been balanced by the support of other agencies. But the negligible positive support for black cases as opposed to whites, shown in the Table overleaf, indicates that this situation was one of clear racial disadvantage. 36% of white households and only 13.5% of black households had useful support for their case from councillors, doctors and other agencies.

Table 45. Category A Allocation by main source of support for case.

Type of Support	White		Black	
	%	No.	%	No.
Doctor	14.1	11	2.7	1
Councillor	10.3	8	2.7	1
Social Worker	3.9	3	2.7	1
Health Visitor	2.5	2	-	1
Solicitor	2.5	2	-	-
Other	2.5	2	5.4	2
No Support	64.1	50	86.5	32
Total	100	78	100	37

In this context direct negotiation by applicants with the housing department was of vital importance in determining choice and the decision to accept the first offer.

The assessment of domestic cleanliness and/or the grading of house-keeping standards is one function of a home visit. Although the latter has been opposed at a policy level since 1979 it appears that grading has continued in practice as 70.4% of Category A cases were graded and this was recorded in tenancy files. These factors may be marginal and therefore effective implementation of a ban on grading should resolve this issue. Nevertheless, this area is one in which bias can operate as many studies have shown.[57]

Table 46. Category A Allocations by Assessment of Domestic Cleanliness.

Assessment	White		Black	
Good	37.2	29	21.6	8
Average	32.0	25	35.1	13
Poor	1.3	1	10.8	4
Not recorded	29.5	23	32.4	12
Total	100	78	100	37

Table 47. Category A Allocations by Grading of Housekeeping Standards.

Grading	White		Black	
A	6.4	5	-	-
B	60.4	47	64.8	24
B-	2.5	2		
C	2.5	2	5.4	2
Not recorded	28.2	22	30.2	11
Total	100	78	100	37

These two Tables show that black households are consistently under-represented in the highest grades, 15% more white households were classified as 'good' and 6.4% more white households were given 'A' grade. The differences in grading are minor, however, compared to the

difference in assessment of cleanliness.

This latter difference is also more important as it is still used, the relation of this assessment to quality of housing is shown in Table 48.

Table 48. Category A Allocations, Average Quality by Assessment of Domestic Cleanliness.

	Average Quality		
Assessment	Total	White	Black
Good	1.7	1.7	1.8
Average	1.9	1.8	1.9
Poor	2.8	-	-

For the 'poor' assessment the values were too small to provide a reliable breakdown by race. This shows that racial differences are insignificant but there is a strong relationship between the factors of quality and cleanliness assessment. Differential assessment of domestic standards is therefore significant as one element in explaining differential allocation. But further explanation of differential allocation by quality and area is required.

ALLOCATIONS TO CATEGORY B (SPECIAL PRIORITY - MEDICAL) CASES.

In a review of the allocations policy in 1976 the new Category B (Medical) was proposed by the Housing Manager:

> "The current method of awarding 'Special Priority - Medical' to the separate rehousing groups, Slum Clearance, etc. should be discontinued and a specific percentage allocation be made to Medical Cases rather than make medical recommendations within each rehousing group", (para 15, 1976).

This was subsequently adopted by the City Council 28.7.76.

The policy defined this group as follows:

> "It includes all cases where rehousing has been certified as urgent by the Medical Officer of Environmental health (MOEH)".

and stated that within it, order of priority was to be:

> "based on date of recommendation made by the MOEH".

A review of the new allocations policy in 1979 noted that the present system for Special Priority Medical Cases was working

satisfactorily. Furthermore, it commented that several large housing authorities operated a similar procedure of setting a quota of properties aside for urgent medical cases with less urgent cases receiving additional points within the overall points scheme. At that time 660 Special Medical cases were outstanding, of which 120 had been waiting for more than 6 months without an offer.

(i) Access in Practice: Administrative Procedures

The route to achieve registration as a Category B case is begun by filling in the application form and sending it to the Medical Officer of Environmental Health (MOEH). Forms are usually picked up from Housing Department Offices or asked for over the telephone. Cases may also be referred by School Clinics, hospitals, social workers, G.P.s, health visitors, public health inspectors or voluntary agencies. Also a request for medical consideration to be taken into account can be made on Transfer or Waiting List forms which are processed by the District Offices or the Central Allocations and Tenancies Unit (CATU). If this is made then CATU should automatically send out a form.

The MOEH decides firstly whether the case requires medical consideration, or whether it is purely a housing case. If it is the latter then a letter is sent to the applicant and CATU; if the case needs further medical consideration the MOEH asks for a report by the health visitors who visit rehousing cases full-time, or from other relevant people e.g. occupational therapist, social worker or Public Health Inspector. G.P.s

are not requested for reports due to costs. Approximately 20% of cases are rejected; the rest are awarded a medical recommendation depending on urgency of the case:

a) registration as a Category B case

b) recommendation for sheltered accommodation for any category case

c) recommendation for 5 points for a Waiting List case

d) recommendation for 1-10 points for a Transfer case

e) recommendation for priority for a Slum Clearance case

If the award of Category B priority is made then CATU will send out a housing visitor to interview the applicant for Waiting List cases. Since January 1981 it has been Council policy that these cases must be rehoused in their area of choice; this is explained and a normal waiting application form is filled in by the visitor. The file is then sent to the District Office covering the area specified as the applicant's first choice. Offers of accommodation are then made by the District Office and they should comply with both the MOEH's recommendation, e.g. 'a house' or 'low level, no stairs flat', and with the area of choice. All offers and refusals are recorded in CATU and cases are filed at the District Office in bedroom stream and date order.

If three offers are refused CATU decide whether the case should be given another one or two offers, or whether it should go to the Allocations Sub-Committee for a decision to be taken. This is only done

as the last resort, and only one case has gone to Committee since the resolution relating to area of choice was passed. If the case was not given three offers in the requested area of choice CATU suggest that further offers be made. If this was complied with the MOEH is asked whether all the offers complied with the medical recommendation and if not CATU suggest further offers. If all procedures were complied with and three refusals were made, such rare occurrences are sent to Committee to 'test' the policy and arrive at a decision. The Committee is given no information covering the names and addresses of cases submitted.

A case may wait, where area of choice and MOEH recommendations do not relate easily to vacants, for a number of months or longer. The situation in the District Offices, particularly in relation to staff shortages, can result in a lack of time to tackle such cases. The position of each medical case in terms of offers is recorded in CATU, therefore it should be possible for CATU to pick up on those cases that have been left waiting by the District Office.

Before April 1982 the number of awards for medical priority by the MOEH was limited to 750 a year. This has now been abandoned by Council decision, although this number was never in fact reached in previous years. As a result the number of Category B cases has increased from about 800-900 in 1980 to 1,200 in 1982. The resulting backlog is also due to the decreasing percentage share of allocations given to this category due to the decreasing supply of good quality

property and the increasing demand for rehousing by Category A cases due to the designation of clearance and improvement programmes. As a result, medical cases wait longer and some cases have been waiting three years or more and have not yet received their first offer.

The growth in clearance programmes has also increased the duplication between allocation categories, i.e. where a case is designated as having both medical and clearance priority. In such cases the MOEH recommendation for type of accommodation is made and the case is allocated in the clearance category.

CATU and the MOEH suffer the problems of lack of co-ordination and knowledge of each other's criteria of operation. The policy for determining medical recommendations is extremely vague and the lack of medical expertise in CATU makes the MOEH decisions seem contradictory and sometimes unjustified. But in cases where changes are required, the medical recommendation can be made fairly quickly as cases now take between five and eight weeks to be assessed rather than three to four months.

The MOEH is also unaware of details regarding the Council's housing stock which is necessary to make a realistic recommendation that equates medical need and area of choice. This information is not easily available to either CATU staff or the applicant as it is only the District Office that can provide such information.

These problems in access and allocation procedure will be discussed further after analysis of the study data.

(ii) Allocation to Category B Cases.

Over the study period 4.0% of all allocations in South City were to Category B cases, according to Housing Department lettings returns. The survey found that 64% of white households and 3.8% of black households were rehoused in this category. The racial difference in access to this category can be explained in two ways, after taking into account differences in age structure which partially explain this difference. Firstly, black households were in less medical need than white, secondly, if this is not the case problems must arise in the identification and referral of black medical cases to the MOEH.

There is no evidence to support the first proposition and some to refute it. Black households in South City in general are more likely to be unemployed and to live in those areas where health problems are most acute; black households are also more likely to be found amongst the unskilled. These factors suggest that medical need for blacks is more likely to be higher than for whites but at least there should be little difference. Research has also shown that ethnic minorities do have special medical needs that can often be ignored or misunderstood by doctors.[58] The failure of Liverpool Area Health Authority in the 1970s to acknowledge any racial dimension in assessing health needs and in the delivery of services also indicates potential problems of language,

culture or racial disadvantage in the operation of health services which may lead to a failure to identify and refer ethnic minority cases in particular medical need.[59]

The allocations made to the Category B cases sampled in this study are set out below by lettings potential and average quality, property type and sub-area of South City.

Table 49. Category B Allocations by Lettings Potential

	White		Black	
Excellent	18	75.0	4	36.4
Good	3	12.5	3	27.3
Average	3	-	3	27.3
Poor	-	-	1	9.1
Total	24	100	11	100
Average Quality	1.7		2.5	

Table 50. Category B Allocations by Property Type

	White		Black	
Flat	66.7	16	54.5	6
House	16.7	4	36.4	4
Maisonette	8.3	2	9.1	1
Sheltered	8.3	2	-	-
Total	24	100	11	100

Table 51. Category B Allocations by Sub-area of South City.

	White		Black	
Aigburth	25.0	6	-	-
Dingle	37.5	9	-	-
Brunswick	8.3	2	-	-
Liverpool 7	25.0	6	18.2	2
Granby	4.2	1	54.5	6
Lodge Lane	-	-	18.2	2
Liverpool 1	-	-	9.1	1
Total	100	24	100	11

It is clear there is differential allocation by lettings potential and average quality on the basis of colour, with black households being allocated a disproportionate share of good, average and poor dwellings, and with white households being allocated twice as much excellent property as blacks (75.0% white as opposed to 36.4% black). It could be argued that the sample is too small to be adequate. But from January 1977 to December 1980 only 195 allocations were made in South City to Category B cases and our random sample, at 18%, provides a reasonably accurate representation of this group of cases.

The differential allocation by quality is partly explained by Table 50. Allocations of houses to blacks account for all the excellent property offered. Although whites were offered a smaller proportion of houses, this was more than counter-balanced by allocation of excellent

quality flats, such as sheltered accommodation and property in Aigburth and Liverpool 7. This is shown by the location of allocations in Table 51, with no property in Aigburth or Dingle (which contains the only two sheltered blocks available at that time).

Allocations to houses can be explained more fully by looking at household size and type, but the problem of black households being allocated lower-quality flatted accommodation remains.

Table 52. Category B Allocations by Household Size and Type.

	White		Black	
Single Person	50.0	12	-	-
2+ Adult Household				
i) No Children	41.7	10	27.3	3
ii) 1 Child	-	-	27.3	3
iii) 2 Children	8.3	2	18.2	2
iv) 3 Children	-	-	27.3	3
Total	100	24	100	11

This Table shows that the allocation of houses which seemed to disproportionately favour black tenants, as 36.4% of blacks and 16.7% of whites were allocated this property type, now seems inequitable in reverse. Four houses were allocated to white households, two to adults with no children. Similarly four houses were allocated to blacks, but four black adult households with children were allocated to flats.

This apparent inequity requires further explanation. The role of applicant choice could be used to explain differential allocation.

As Table 53 shows there was a roughly even distribution of first choices across South City with only a marked desire by some white households for the Dingle. Granby was the area with the highest number of first choices for black households but this area only accounted for 27%.

Table 53. Category B Allocations by Choice of Area and Location of Houses Allocated to This Category.

	1st Choice		2nd Choice		3rd Choice		Location of Houses Allocated to
Area	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	S.P. MOEH
Dingle	7	1	8	-	-	1	2
L. 7.	3	1	-	-	-	-	3
Aigburth	3	1	3	1	2	-	-
Lodge Lane	3	1	-	-	-	-	2
Granby	1	3	-	2	-	-	1
Brunswick	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
L. 1.	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Anywhere							
S. City	3	1	-	-	-	-	-
Allerton	-	1	1	1	2	-	-
Wavertree	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
Don't Know	1		10	7	20	10	
Total	24	11	24	11	24	11	8

The houses allocated to Category B cases were located in the areas chosen by some blacks, although a greater number of whites chose these areas also. Choice recorded on application forms does therefore seem to be reflected in allocation. But the anomaly arises in black allocation to Granby with over half of black Category B cases being allocated to this area (Table 51), a fact which cannot be fully explained by applicants' choice whereas white households have been allocated disproportionately to Aigburth, Liverpool 7 and the Dingle. This may also reflect availability of adequate stock and area preference. But, a conclusion could be drawn that for those cases not requesting a specified area, and possibly some others, differential allocation is evident on the basis of colour with black households being allocated to Granby and white households being allocated to the peripheral estates of South City. Overall, 58.3% of whites and 54.5% of black households were rehoused in the area of their first choice.

Table 54. Category B Allocations by Number of Offers.

No.	White		Black	
1	60.9	14	50.0	5
2	17.4	4	40.0	4
3	8.7	2	10.0	1
4	13.0	3	-	-
Total	100	23	100	10

This Table showing number of offers does not throw any light on the question of why black households were allocated lower-quality flatted accommodation, as more whites accepted the first offer. The quality of the flats is clearly differentiated by area, however, with all white allocations to Aigburth being excellent quality flats and it is here that explanation must be sought. The problem of lack of information and advice for blacks and choice of area, combined with lack of knowledge and support for the case, as detailed for Category A cases, leads to a situation of racial disadvantage which is reproduced through differential allocation and may or may not be the result of racial discrimination.

Table 55. Category B Allocations by Applicant's Knowledge of External Support.

	White		Black	
Doctor/Health Visitor	70.8	17	45.5	5
Social Worker	4.2	1	36.4	4
Councillor	-	-	18.1	2
No Support	25.0	6	-	-
Total	100	24	100	11

The above Table does seem to show that external support for the case was greater for black households, although the lack of equal perception of support from health workers may indicate one aspect of the problem of black access to medical priority. Therefore, unlike Category A cases, it appears that housing management had a slightly wider area of

discretion for rehousing these cases, within the specification of the MOEH's recommendation. The balance of the explanation in differential allocation must then lie in the day-to-day decision making procedures of housing management, and here interpretation and assessment of area of choice on the basis of colour seems to be a factor.

(iii) Allocation to Sheltered Accommodation.

From our previous information it is clear that no black households from any category were rehoused in sheltered accommodation. Furthermore white allocations to sheltered accommodation were drawn from a wide variety of categories.

Table 56. Allocations to Sheltered Accommodation by Category Rehoused.

Category	White Households	
	No.	%
A	4	20.0
B	2	10.0
C	7	45.0
D	4	20.0
E	-	-
F	1	5.0
Total	20	100

The method by which allocations to sheltered acommodation were achieved is set out below.

Table 57. Allocations to Sheltered Accommodation: Access in Practice.

Route	No. of Persons
MOEH Recommendation	4
Personal Effort	4
G.P.	3
Housing Officer	3
Hospital Social Worker	2
Relation's Effort	2
Councillor	2

There were no clear policies of procedures for allocating sheltered accommodation during the study period. As a result allocations seem to have occurred due to pressure for certain cases from a wide variety of sources, which was accommodated in relation to housing management criteria such as the maintenance of social viability in the sheltered blocks. The failure of black applicants to demand rehousing in this type of accommodation combined with the failure of relevant institutions to identify and support black elderly clients and the colour-blind approach of housing management have all contributed to the exclusion of black people from sheltered accommodation.

The introduction of a register for sheltered accommodation, kept

in date order and used for selection and allocation, and the construction of new property in areas of black settlement, will help to ensure the establishment of racial equality in this area. However problems may still arise in inadequate referral procedures. The development of more effective inter-departmental work on the elderly should also assist this process.

(iv) Award of Medical Points.

On application to the MOEH an award of medical points may be made to Category C (Transfer) or Category D (Waiting List) cases where medical factors were not felt to be sufficiently serious to warrant a Category B (Special Priority - Medical) recommendation. The Table below shows the number of cases whose award of medical points was recorded in tenancy files.

Table 58. Category C and D cases receiving medical points.

	Medical Points			
Category	No.		% of Category	
	White	Black	White	Black
C	13	20	15.1	20.4
D	10	5	6.2	3.4

The problem of access identified for black households to Category B through the failure of effective referral procedures does not appear to

arise for those from Council households who sought a transfer, whereas Waiting List cases may suffer from a similar problem. This indicates that those already in the Council housing sector are more likely to know how to make best use of the present administrative system in relation to medical recommendations, and so are able to overcome administrative inflexibility.

The conclusion may therefore be drawn that improving the advice, information and knowledge available to black households in particular, will reduce the scope for differential allocation to take place. This relates to the delivery of both housing and health services.

(v) Conclusion

The discussion has so far identified a series of problems that have implications for the rehousing of black households. The delivery of health services does not tend to take account of problems of racial disadvantage. This leads to an ineffective referral system of cases for medical consideration and possibly uneven or contradictory medical assessments for those households seeking rehousing by the Council. This tends to produce a situation of racial disadvantage in access to Category B, sheltered accommodation, and in acquiring medical points for Category D cases. This is accentuated by the vague criteria used to specify different medical recommendations, the lack of co-ordination

between MOEH and CATU and the lack of relevant data covering Council stock and vacants for both sections. Also, in allocations to Category B cases, the problems of interpreting and assessing MOEH recommendations and applicants' choice of area tend to lead to differential allocation on the basis of colour.

ALLOCATIONS TO CATEGORY C (TRANSFER) CASES.

(i) Policy and Procedures.

The re-housing Category C (Transfer) was re-defined in 1976 as including:

> "Applications from existing tenants, including movement of tenants from one dwelling to another as a result of particular policy decisions, where the vacant dwelling will be re-let."

Priority in this Category is based on a points scheme completely separate from the points scheme used for Category D cases. To qualify for a transfer it is necessary to have a clear rent account and to have lived in present council accommodation for two years. On application by a council tenant for a transfer, the form is sent to the District Office covering the tenant's present address. Date of commencement of tenancy, rent account, and address are checked. Points are awarded for bedroom deficiency, bedroom surplus, members of family, flat dwellers above ground floor, medical need and for length of tenancy, as the policy states:

> "THE POINTS SCHEME
> All transfer applications will be pointed on receipt and placed in one of the following categories (which are arranged in priority order):

(i) 'Overcrowded' (based on bedroom standard)

(ii) 'Flat-to-House'

(iii) 'Under-Occupied'

(iv) 'General' (e.g. to be nearer work or relatives)

If a particular transfer request falls into more than one of the above categories it will be included in that which affords the highest priority.

Points will be awarded on the following basis:

(a) Points available for bedroom deficiency:
(points awarded for each bedroom by which tenant's accommodation falls short of standard)..... 5 points

(b) Points available for tenant's family..... 1 point for each member of the family

(c) Point(s) available for flat dwellers for number of floors above ground (excluding multi-storey)..... 2 points if the tenant lives on the ground or first floors and two additional points for each successive floor after the first.

(d) Point(s) available for bedroom surplus: (point(s) awarded

for each bedroom required..... 3 points

(e) Points for length of tenancy (applies only to tenants of flats or maisonnettes NOT tenants of houses)

..... 1 point for each three completed years of tenancy.

(f) Point(s) available for medical factors - to be awarded by Medical Officer. (Will have effect of advancing individual case within particular transfer class)..... Up to 10 points."[60]

Transfer requests are then sorted into four categories of descending priority order: overcrowded, flat-to-house, under occupied and general e.g. to be near work or relatives. A Housing Officer from the relevant District Office should visit transfer applicants to assess the bedroom deficiency and the condition of the dwelling and decorations, and also to advise on choice of area if necessary. Transfer requests are then kept at the relevant office, depending on applicant's choice of area, and filed in priority category, bedroom stream, point level and tenancy date order. Allocations are then made from these files within the context of available vacants, competing demands from other categories and the percentage system of allocations.

(ii) Allocations to Category C cases

Over the study period the survey found that 22.9% of white households and 34.1% of black households were rehoused in South City as

Category C (Transfer) cases. Apart from Category B allocations, which only accounted for 4% - 5% of all allocations, the largest degree of differential allocation was found in this category, which accounted for 28% of all allocations.

Table 59. Category C Allocations by Lettings Potential.

	White		Black	
Excellent	42	48.8	31	32.3
Good	23	28.7	27	28.1
Average	15	17.4	26	27.1
Poor	6	7.0	12	12.5
Total	85	100	96	100
Average Quality	2.0		2.6	

Black households were allocated 16% less excellent quality property than white households, 10% more average quality property and 5% more good quality property than white households. Black households were allocated 22% more houses than white households as Table 60 shows.

Table 60. Category C Allocations by Property Type.

Type	White		Black	
House	17	19.7	41	41.8
Flat	49	57.0	42	42.9
Maisonnette	13	15.1	15	15.3
Sheltered	7	8.2	-	-
Total	86	100	98	100

Table 61. Category C Allocations by Average Quality and Property Type.

	Average Quality	
Type	White	Black
House	1.7	1.9
Flat	2.5	3.1
Maisonnette	2.1	3.7
Sheltered	1.5	-

This apparent contradication between quality and property type is explained by Table 61. The allocation of houses must be related to household type, but there seems to be little difference in quality. The greater proportion of houses allocated to black households should have produced a higher average quality of allocations to black households overall. This was not the outcome observed. Therefore, this apparent

advantage has been outweighed by the extent of differential allocation by quality for flats and maisonnettes.

Differential allocation by area is also clearly evident as Table 62 shows with 84% of all black transfer allocations going to Granby, Falkner and Englefield Green, compared to only 21% of white transfer allocations.

Table 62. Category C Allocations by Sub-Area of South City.

Area	White		Black	
Dingle	70	23.3	-	
Liverpool 7	15	17.4	3	3.1
Granby/Falkner	12	13.9	64	65.3
Aigburth	11	12.8	3	3.1
Brunswick	11	12.8	3	3.1
Englefield Gr.	6	7.0	18	18.4
Lodge Lane	6	7.0	5	5.1
Liverpool 1	5	5.8	3	3.1
Total	86	100	98	100

Differential allocation by quality and area is therefore established. The first factors to be considered are those of household size and household type.

(iii) Household Characteristics

There was little difference in allocations by property size although 7% more black households were allocated four bedroom property than whites (see Table 63). This can be accounted for by the difference in households comprised of six or more persons (see Table 64). There does appear to be an efficient matching of a transfer applicant's requirements and supply of vacant properties. Table 65 shows an important difference in household type, 75% of black households being families with children compared to 52% of white households. Black households also tended to have larger families. This difference in household characteristics does explain differential allocation of houses.

Table 63. Category C Allocations by Property Size.

No. of Bedrooms	White		Black	
1	21	24.4	12	12.4
2	16	18.6	23	23.7
3	44	51.2	50	51.5
4	5	5.8	12	12.4
Total	86	100	97	100

Table 64. Category C Allocations by Household Size.

No. of Persons	White		Black	
1	22	25.6	16	16.3
2	17	19.8	15	15.3
3	9	10.5	8	8.2
4	18	20.9	19	19.44
5	9	10.5	20	20.4
6+	11	12.8	20	20.4
Total	86	100	96	100

Table 65. Category C Allocations by Household Type.

Type	White		Black	
Single Person	22	25.6	16	16.3
Two Person	13	15.1	5	5.1
Family: Single Parent	10	11.6	28	28.6
Small	18	20.9	12	12.4
Large	17	19.8	33	33.7
Three & Adults	6	7.0	4	4.0
Total	85	100	98	100

(iv) Transfer Policy in Practice.

The two rules of eligibility for transfers, a clear rent account and two years' residence, were in the main applied. Table 66 shows that over

90% of all households complied with these rules. A fairly similar proportion of black and white households did not comply. There is no racial difference, and the stipulation that transfers may be made outside the normal scheme at the discretion of the Housing Manager accounts for these cases.

Table 66. Category C Allocations: Rules of Eligibility.

	White		Black	
	No.	% of Total (86)	No.	% of Total (98)
Previous Rent Arrears	7	8.1	8	8.2
Less Than 2 Years Previous Tenancy	4	4.7	6	6.3

The scheme by which applicants are ranked in priority order has two parts, firstly an award of points and secondly a position in one of the four priority categories for transfers. Table 67 shows that black households had a higher average points level of 14.4 compared to a white average of 12.0 which should have produced a higher quality of allocation for black households. Although only 56% of all tenancy files contained data concerning the points awarded, nevertheless we are dealing with a random sample which may therefore be taken to be representative. Table 68 shows that blacks were more likely to receive points on every criterion for which they could be awarded.

Table 67. Category C Allocations by Transfer Points.

Points	White		Black	
0-5	10	23.3	4	6.7
5-10	10	23.3	16	26.7
11-15	10	23.3	20	33.3
16-20	9	20.9	12	20.0
21+	4	9.3	8	13.3
Total	43	100	60	100
Average Transfer Points	12.0		14.4	

Table 68. Category C Allocations by Persons Receiving Transfer Points for Specified Reasons.

	White		Black	
	No.	% of Total (43)	No.	% of Total (60)
Bedroom Deficiency	12	27.9	26	43.3
Bedroom Surplus	9	20.9	20	33.3
Flat Dweller	20	46.5	59	98.3
Medical	13	30.2	22	36.7
Other e.g. Length of Tenancy	13	30.2	28	46.7

Table 69. Category C Allocations by Priority Category

Category		White		Black	
(i)	Overcrowded	12	27.9	26	43.3
(ii)	Flat-House	8	18.6	33	55.0
(iii)	Undercrowded	9	20.9	1	1.7
(iv)	General	14	32.6	-	-
Total		43	100	60	100

Table 69 shows that 15% more black households than white were in the top priority category of "overcrowded", and that 36% more black households than white were in the second priority category of "flat of house". Therefore black households were in greater previous housing need than whites which was reflected in their higher points and higher priority for rehousing as transfers. This further justifies the differences seen in allocation by property type, and it also justifies cause for concern about the outcome of significant differential allocation by quality and area.

Another aspect of transfer procedures to take into account is the report made by the Housing Visitor. This appears to consist of little but an assessment of overcrowding and an assessment of domestic decorations and the condition of the dwelling. There is a clear racial difference in these assessments.

Table 70. Category C Allocations by Assessment of Domestic Conditions.

	White		Black	
Good	29	33.7	20	20.4
Average	16	18.6	31	31.6
Poor	-	-	6	6.1
Not Known	41	47.7	41	41.9
Total	86	100	98	100

There is a significant difference in the quality of property allocated to good and "average" assessed transfer applicants. But, although this must be seen as one factor in explaining differential allocation by quality, it does not fully explain this process.

Table 71. Category C Allocations: Average Quality by Assessment of Domestic Conditions.

	Average Quality		
	Total	White	Black
Good	2.0	1.8	2.3
Average	2.5	2.2	2.6
Poor	(2.5)		(2.5)
No. in Sample	92	45	47

With the exception of the assessment made by housing visitors,

therefore, the transfer policy, the points scheme, and household characteristics do not explain why black households were generally let lower quality property.

(v) Applicant Choice

Differential allocation by area can be explained to a significant extent by applicant choice. Although 84% of black households were allocated to Granby, Falkner and Englefield Area, 48% chose to be rehoused there. This compares to 21% of white households rehoused in these areas and 12% who chose to be rehoused there. Also the proportion of households choosing Aigburth is reflected in rehousing.

But of the 38% of blacks and the 29% of whites who did not specify a particular area of choice, allocations have been made on a racially different basis. Over 90% of these black households were rehoused in the Granby and Englefield Green areas compared to 30% of these white households. This direct influence of the Housing Department on patterns of black settlement may well be based on current ideas of good practice as it is Council policy that at least three offers may be made, which should give enough scope for applicant choice.

Table 72. Category C Allocations by 1st, 2nd and/or 3rd Choice of Area and Area.

Area	1st Choice		2nd Choice		3rd Choice		Area Rehoused	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Dingle	16.3	1.0	8.1	1.0	1.2	-	23.3	-
Liverpool	11.6	5.1	3.5	5.1	1.2	-	17.4	3.1
Granby	9.3	41.8	3.5	17.3	-	10.2	13.9	65.3
Aigburth	15.1	2.0	7.0	2.0	2.3	5.1	12.8	3.1
Brunswick	5.8	-	-	2.0	2.3	-	12.8	3.1
Englefield Green	2.3	6.1	-	6.1	-	-	7.0	18.4
Lodge Lane	3.5	3.1	-	1.0	-	1.0	7.0	5.1
Liverpool 1	2.3	3.1	2.3	3.1	3.5	-	5.8	3.1
Anywhere South City	16.3	12.2	2.3	5.1	1.2	1.0	-	-
Outside South City	7.0	4.1	11.6	8.2	9.3	12.2	-	-
Not Stated	10.5	21.4	61.6	49.0	79.1	70.4	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 73. Category C Allocations by Number of Offers.

No.	White		Black	
1	67	82.7	88	92.6
2	12	14.8	6	6.3
3	1	1.2	1	1.1
4	1	1.2	-	-

Table 74. Category C Allocations: Average Quality of Offers.

	Average Quality		
No. of Offers	Total	White	Black
1	2.4	2.0	2.7
2-4	2.1	2.0	2.3

It does appear however from Table 73 that black households in particular are more likely to accept their first offer. This is probably related to the greater housing need and desire to obtain a transfer on the part of black households which severely constrains the exercise of applicant choice. However, it is clear from Table 74 that a transfer applicant is more likely to achieve better quality housing if the first offer is rejected and a further offer is sought. This is true for black households but not for white. Therefore, the very high proportion of black households accepting their first offer does seem to be a factor in determining differential allocation.

This raises two areas of concern. What advice or pressure is put on applicants to accept their first offer, and secondly are all black applicants aware that they can hold out for more than one offer without being penalised under present Council policy? But the general issue arising here is that differential allocation cannot be fully explained by transfer policy, household characteristics or applicant choice.

(vi) Conclusion

Category C (Transfers) should function as a mechanism of crucial importance to black council households. Some of the effects of racial disadvantage and possible discrimination identified in the primary access routes to council housing i.e. waiting list, clearance, and medical priority may be alleviated by the operation of a racially equitable system of transfers. The greater proportion of black households being rehoused as transfers indicates the greater housing need, particularly in terms of overcrowding, of black council households throughout South City. Therefore, access to rehousing via this route does show a potentially positive aspect of allocations policy.

The percentage of allocations in South City and other areas given to transfers could be increased in order to facilitate the reduction of racial disadvantages in council housing, but this would not in any way guarantee racial equality in the resulting allocations. The evidence presented here shows that differential allocation on the basis of colour is clear and that it cannot be explained by transfer policy or priorities, household characteristics or applicant choice.

ALLOCATIONS TO CATEGORY D (HOUSING APPLICANTS) CASES.

Category D refers to the Housing Waiting List on which all applications for rehousing are included, except for existing tenants who are included on a separate Transfer List. The allocations policy states that within Category D there will be an order of priority:

> "based on the date of admission to the allocation group (Group 1), and in the remaining cases (Group 2), on the number of points."[61]

The other aspects of policy relating to Waiting List cases are discussed below. It is worth noting, however, that this Category represents the biggest single element of demand which is reflected in the number of re-let allocations made to these cases each year.

(i) Access in Practice: Policy and Procedures

To achieve rehousing as a Waiting List case an application form must be completed. This is then sent to the Central Allocation and Tenancies Unit (CATU) where a series of checks are made. These include checks to identify whether the address is correct, whether the case is in a designated clearance area and therefore should be rehoused in Category A, whether the case is a local authority household and therefore should be rehoused in Category C (Transfers), whether the applicant is already registered, and whether the applicant is a council

sub-tenant. After these procedures it is passed for pointing. Approximately 100-200 applications are received each week by CATU.

Any person can apply to be rehoused by the Council; there are no restrictions such as residence qualifications or other exclusions, except that applicants must be resident for at least 24 hours in the city. The rules of eligibility for rehousing discussed below govern allocation decisions and lead to the exclusion of some groups in favour of others. For example, owner-occupiers are only accepted for rehousing if they are in financial difficulties that lead to the need for rehousing, although they may have obtained sufficient points for entry into the allocation group.

To assess general housing need of housing applicants, a points system is used. Points are awarded for the following factors:

Table 75. Points Awarded to Waiting List Cases.

Reason for Award		No. of Points
Each member of family		1
Sub-Tenant		3
In Rooms (not self-contained) over a shop		1
Waiting List for 10 years or more		5
Sharing a living room with another family		1
Using same room for eating and sleeping		2
People over 10 years of opposite sex (other than married couple) share a bedroom		1
No proper bathroom		1
Poor sanitary arrangements		1
Property in dilapidated condition		Up to 2
Overcrowding, dependent on room and family size		
Medical Award		5
Each person over 10	(Persons above permitted	1
Each person under 10	number on rent book).	½

When points have been assessed for the case a decision is made as to whether a housing visitor from CATU should be sent out. All owner-occupiers, all elderly with possible medical factors and all those cases who look as if they should receive additional points for over-crowding or physical condition of the property are visited. There is inevitably a large backlog of visits to be made as only four housing visitors are employed to cover the whole city. The visit is mainly comprised of routine

questioning to ascertain the validity of the application, possible overcrowding, and also the applicant's needs or wishes for accommodation and area of choice. No judgement on cleanliness or housekeeping standards should be made as this practice was stopped in 1979 by the Council.

After the visit or after initial pointing in those cases not visited, a points card is sent to the applicant. Also the relevant files are sent out by CATU to the District Office covering the area of the applicant's first choice if the applicant is in Group 1 (Allocations Group). If an applicant is in any doubt as to the under-pointing of the case a visit or telephone call to CATU should identify the factors that may justify extra points.

To enter the allocations group an applicant has to reach a specific points level for a specific type of property as set out in the Table below.

Table 76. Points Required for Access to Group 1.

Type of Accommodation	Points
1-Bed Flat	10½
2-Bed Flat/Mais.	11½
2-Bed House	13
3-Bed Flat/Mais.	13
3-Bed House	15½
4-Bed Flat/Mais.	17½
4-Bed House	25½

It is Council policy that at least one offer will be made to Group 1 cases in the first year from date of entry to this Group. It is clear that the vast majority of applicants may well be suffering similar housing problems in both groups. According to the policy review of the Waiting List in 1979:

> "The major factors influencing admission to the Allocation Group are the award of medical points and the addition of over-crowding points."[62]

Discussion of medical needs and award of points was developed in the previous section of the report. The assessment of overcrowding points was made on the basis of the 1957 Housing Act and it was suggested in the 1979 policy review that a more generous criterion could be employed. This should be of particular benefit to black households as they tend to have a larger than average household size.

It is at District level that individual allocation decisions are made in matching of applicants and properties. Due to the pressing objective of reducing vacant properties and the lack of demand for the flats and maisonnettes which constitute the bulk of re-lets, offers are made to Group 2 cases often on demand. In the North City, South City, Norris Green and occasionally Speke, offers of low demand property are often made to the applicant, usually having established that a points card has been obtained. In South City this means that the majority of allocations being made to Waiting List cases are made as a result of offers by

housing staff to applicants over the counter. In this sense no effective decisions concerning housing need are made as there is seen to be no problem of scarcity of vacants.

The computerisation of the Waiting List that has been gradually taking place over the study period has not, therefore, contributed to the equity or efficiency of council allocations as no direct access to computer files is available from District Offices to assist lettings. The problems of manual selection of lettings resulted in a delegation of allocations decisions to counter staff who offer property in response to personal calls by the applicant. Furthermore, this may often happen as a result of the applicant identifying the empty property before calling at the District Office. This contradictory situation, where a detailed assessment of housing need is made which is not taken into account in allocations for the majority of Waiting List cases, shows the tension that exists between allocations policy and lettings procedures.

(iii) Allocations to Category D Cases

Over the study period the survey found that 43.2% of white households and 45.3% of black households were rehoused in South City as Category D cases.

Table 77. Category D Allocations by Ethnic Origin.

Allocations Group	White		Black	
Group 1	18	11.1	12	9.2
Group 2	144	88.9	118	91.8
Total	162	100	130	100

As the preceding discussion established, there is an informal policy of 'open' access to low-demand property for Waiting List applicants. This may account for the similar levels of access to council housing by this route, but further explanation must be sought for the causes of differential allocation. In this category, differential allocation by quality is not significant overall but there is a discrepancy in the allocation of "excellent", quality property to Waiting List applicants, as the Table below shows.

Table 78. Category D Allocations by Lettings Potential.

	White		Black	
Excellent	27	16.7	7	5.4
Good	28	16.3	19	14.6
Average	60	37.0	68	52.3
Poor	47	29.0	36	27.7
Total	162	100	130	100
Average Quality	3.4		3.6	

This may be partly explained by the fact that black households were disproportionately allocated to most areas of South City except Sefton Park and Aigburth where all council housing is classified as of excellent quality.

Table 79. Category D Allocations by Sub-Area of South City.

Area	White		Black	
Liverpool 7	28	17.9	9	6.6
Brunswick	24	15.4	5	3.7
Englefield Gr.	24	15.4	23	16.9
Granby	23	14.7	63	46.3
Dingle	22	14.1	3	2.2
Aigburth/Sefton Park	15	9.6	-	-
Lodge Lane	15	9.6	13	9.6
Liverpool 1	5	3.2	10	7.4
Total	156	100	126	100

The recurrent pattern of allocations appears again here with a fairly even spread of white households and a particular concentration of black households in Granby. In order to examine this more closely, allocations in the Granby and Aigburth sub-areas have been enumerated by estate.

Table 80. Category D Allocations to Granby Sub-Area.

Estate/Block	(No.) White	(No.) Black
Harrowby PH.1	1	8
Harrowby PH.2	5	2
Falkner Estate	5	39
Milner/Entwistle Hts.	12	8
Myrtle Hse.	-	6

Table 81. Category D Allocations to Sefton Park/Aigburth Sub-Area.

Estate/Block	(No.) White	(No.) Black
High Rise	14	-
Aigburth Drive	1	-

Given the lack of bargaining power of Waiting List applicants in terms of choice of area, the failure of any black households to achieve re-housing in re-let flats in Sefton Park needs to be related to choice and offers. The concentration of black re-lets in the Falkner Estate, comprising mainly of 1970s maisonnettes, also requires explanation as to whether this is due to applicant choice, selective provision of information on offers, or other factors.

This differential allocation is reflected in allocations to maisonettes as Table 82 shows.

Table 82. Category D Allocation by Property Type.

Type	White		Black	
Flat	133	82.1	81	62.3
House	7	4.3	10	7.7
Maisonnette	18	11.1	39	36.0
Sheltered	4	2.5	-	-
Total	162	100	130	100

Two more subjective assessments of housing condition were made in the course of the survey. These indicate two things, firstly the small over-representation of white households in good quality property and secondly a similar over-representation in poor quality property. These subjective assessments reinforce the point that overall there is little differential allocation by quality in this Category.

Table 83. Category D Allocations, Assessment of Physical Condition of Dwelling.

	Tenant Assessment				Fieldwork Assessment			
Physical Condition	White		Black		White		Black	
Good	22	13.6	7	5.8	12	7.4	7	5.8
Average	48	29.6	54	44.6	62	38.3	67	54.3
Poor	92	56.8	60	49.6	88	54.3	47	38.8
Total	162	100	121	100	162	100	121	100

(iii) Previous Housing Conditions

The assessment of previous housing need would have been made during the process of pointing each application. For only 64% of all households interviewed was there a record of points in District Office tenancy files. The Table below shows the spread of points for these cases.

Table 84. Category D Allocations by Housing Points.

Points	White		Black	
0-5	22	20.3	8	10.1
6-10	61	56.5	54	68.3
11-15	21	19.4	10	12.7
16-20	3	2.8	4	5.1
21+	1	0.9	3	3.8
Total	108	100	79	100

The average points level for white households was 8.4 and for black households this was 9.3. These figures indicate a fairly similar level of previous housing need, bearing in mind that 11.1% of whites rehoused in this Category and 9.2% of blacks in this Category were rehoused from Group 1.

In terms of previous tenure black households rehoused via the Waiting List were more likely to be owner-occupiers and less likely to be tenants in private rented accommodation. The majority of both black and white households were sub-tenants as Table 85 shows.

The similarity in previous housing conditions overall can therefore be identified as one factor that should lead to little differential allocation by quality and indeed this was the outcome (see Table 78).

Table 85. Category D Allocations by Previous Tenure

Tenure	White		Black	
Owner-Occupier	4	2.5	10	7.8
Private Landlord	50	30.9	26	20.1
Local Authority	-	-	-	-
Sub-Tenant	86	53.0	70	54.3
Housing Association	4	2.5	4	3.1
Other	18	11.1	19	14.7
Total	162	100	129	100

(iv) Previous Household Characteristics

Differential allocation by property type showed that 7.7% of black households were allocated to houses compared to 4.3% of white households. This can be explained by the fact that 60.9% of black households were families with children, compared to 47.5% of white households; black households also had a larger than average household size, and consequently more black households reached the required points level for houses.

Table 86. Household Size.

Type	White		Black	
Single Person	47	29.0	35	27.3
Two Person	35	21.6	11	8.9
Family: Single Parent	32	19.8	44	34.4
Small (1/2 children)	29	17.9	20	15.6
Large (3+ children)	16	9.9	14	10.9
Three + Adult Household	3	1.8	4	3.1
Total	162	100	128	100

Table 87. Category D Allocations by Household Size.

No. of Persons	White		Black	
1	47	29.0	33	25.8
2	50	30.9	29	22.6
3	34	21.0	29	22.6
4	10	6.2	17	13.3
5	17	10.5	13	10.2
6+	4	2.4	7	5.5
Total	162	100	128	100
Average Household Size	2.7		3.1	

Table 88. Category D Allocations by Property Size.

No. of Bedrooms	White		Black	
1	28	17.3	21	16.2
2	65	40.1	54	41.5
3	67	41.4	52	40.0
4	2	1.2	3	2.3
Total	162	100	130	100

In comparing property size it does appear that despite blacks showing a larger household size on average, this did not necessarily lead to a reduction of over-crowding to the level of white households. Whites and blacks received approximately equal proportions of three and four bedroomed accommodation despite the fact that 29.0% of blacks had 4+ person households compared to only 20.1% of whites. But in a situation where little objective matching of applicants and properties took place, such outcomes must be seen in the context of the information, advice and support available to households as this facilitates effective demand by applicants.

(v) Choices and Offers

Applicants who are rehoused via the Waiting List, although constituting the largest rehousing category and achieving consistently more re-let allocations than any other group, are in general allocated to poor quality flats and maisonettes. As the Housing Department's policy

review stated:

> "This reflects not only the nature of the supply available but also the lack of 'bargaining power' available to Waiting List applicants."[63]

In this context, applicant choice of area is severely constrained. The 'over-the-counter' style of lettings, which pays little attention to housing need, is however a mechanism which attempts to increase lettings and reduce vacants through the introduction of flexibiity and responsiveness to applicant demand and applicant choice. Such a system should therefore be able to accommodate a degree of applicant choice in South City. But the 'openness' of Waiting List allocations to a variety of subjective or external factors such as applicant knowledge of location of Council stock, lettings potential and stock and location of vacants, staff interpretation of applicant choice, etc., does indicate that this access route may facilitate differential allocations.

Differential allocation by area cannot be fully explained by applicant choice as Table 89 shows.

Table 89. Category D Allocations by Area Rehoused and Choices of Area.

Area	1st Choice		2nd Choice		3rd Choice		Area Rehoused	
	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B
L.7.	12.3	6.2	1.2	6.9	0.6	3.1	17.9	6.6
Brunswick	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	15.9	3.7
Eng. Green	2.5	-	1.2	0.8	-	-	15.4	16.9
Granby	5.6	10.0	1.9	1.5	-	1.5	14.7	46.3
Dingle	6.2	1.5	3.7	1.5	1.2	1.5	14.1	2.2
Aigburth/S. Park	5.6	2.3	8.0	1.9	3.7	1.5	9.6	-
Lodge Lane	1.8	3.1	1.2	1.5	-	1.5	9.6	9.6
L.1.	4.3	4.6	-	0.8	0.6	2.3	3.2	7.4
Anywhere S. City	34.6	36.2	6.2	6.9	6.2	-	-	-
Outside S. City	10.5	2.3	17.9	7.7	26.5	5.4	-	-
No Choice Stated	14.2	31.5	58.6	70.0	73.4	84.6	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(no.)	(162)	(130)	(162)	(130)	(162)	(130)	(162)	(130)

Table 90. Category D Allocations by Number of Offers

No.	White		Black	
1	140	89.2	106	89.1
2	11	7.0	9	7.6
3	4	2.5	3	2.5
4	2	1.3	1	0.8
Total	157	100	119	100

Of those applicants stating a specific area of choice in South City, over 75% were rehoused as requested; the only group not to achieve any rehousing in their stated area of choice was the small number of black households who chose Aigburth/Sefton Park. But only 30% of black households and 40% of white households stated their choice for a specific location in South City. The largest group of applicants (57.2%) were those who asked for anywhere in South City or stated no choice at all. These applicants were offered and then accepted allocations on a racially different area basis. As Table 90 shows, 90% of all applicants accepted their first offer.

Black households were disproportionately offered properties on the Englefield Green, Falkner and Granby estates, whereas white households were offered a reasonable range of areas across South City. The physical condition of much of the property offered to these applicants varies little across the different sub-areas of South City except Aigburth, yet there has been a failure to achieve equality of access by

black households to other areas in South City. This problem cannot be fully explained by supply of property, applicant choice or household size.

(vi) Conclusion

The Waiting List is the major route of access for black and white households to Council housing. These households had fairly similar levels of housing need although the greater proportion of black households that consisted of families with children and single-parent families showed differing housing requirements. This resulted in the allocation of proportionately more houses to black households. But, despite this difference in allocations by property type, there was little difference in overall housing quality, although there was a lack of equality in allocation of excellent quality property. This indicates that when household size and household type are accounted for, black households are allocated lower quality property overall. This can be partly explained by the concentration of black allocations on low-demand estates such as Falkner and Englefield Green. Applicant choice does not explain differential allocation by area.

Therefore racial disadvantage in this Category must be seen as resulting from the two-sided negotiation between applicants and housing department staff. The housing department does not provide accurate, up-to-date information to applicants about council housing stock and the distribution of vacants. When the lack of bargaining power on the part of housing applicants is combined with this limited knowledge and

advice, it does appear that a situation is produced where applicant choice of area can be easily directed through offers of accommodation by housing staff. We would suggest that it is this process that had led to an increased concentration of black households in the Granby area and restricted access to high-demand, excellent quality property outside that area. The overall outcome then is that allocations to Waiting List applicants tend to reproduce racial disadvantage.

ALLOCATIONS IN WALTON CLUBMOOR AND ACCESS FROM SOUTH CITY

We have seen in preceding sections of this study that black households are concentrated in the South City District area which contains the lowest number of houses of any housing district although the percentage of house compared to flats is slightly higher in North City. Irrespective of any observations made on allocation procedures and outcomes in South City this concentration shows that black council households are in a position of racial disadvantage. This position needs to be seen as a result of Council policies and priorities for investment in building council houses. In order to identify the percentage of black allocations and black access to a District of high demand with a large proportion of houses in its stock, the Walton/Clubmoor District was chosen for study. This choice was based on data given in Table 91.

Table 91. Council Housing Stock (April 1982).

	Flats		Houses		Total	
Walton/Clubmoor	3,504	28	8,877	72	12,381	100
Knotty Ash	3,545	33	7,233	67	10,778	100
Speke	3,025	33	6,266	67	9,291	100
Norris Green	2,598	33	8,385	67	10,983	100
Childwall Valley	5,928	62	3,641	38	9,569	100
South City	8,399	83	1,679	17	10,078	100
North City	11,581	84	2,167	16	13,748	100
Total	38,580	50	38,248	50	76,828	100

Walton/Clubmoor also has the highest outstanding demand in the city, with 22% of all city demand and only 9% of all city lettings. This compares with South City which has 10% of all city demand and 23% of all city lettings.

(i) Allocations in Walton/Clubmoor

A 10% random sample of all allocations between January, 1979 and December 1980, in the Walton/Clubmoor District was taken. A 100% sample of all tenants who were rehoused from Liverpool 8 in the same period (an area which includes most of the South City District) was also taken. The Table below shows the low level of black access to council housing in the District.

Table 92. Walton/Clubmoor Allocations.

	10% Sample		L.8 Movers	
Black	4	4.8	-	-
White	80	95.2	29	100
Total	84	100	29	100

Thus 4.8% of the allocations in Walton/Clubmoor were to black households as compared to 21.5% for South City (this figure is representative for a larger period, January 1977 to December 1980). The lack of access achieved by black households from South City is disturbing and requires explanation, as without a higher level of

movement of black households into high demand high quality property there will be little scope for the rectification of many years of racial disadvantage. This is considered below in relation to demand for this area by households from Liverpool 8.

The analysis that follows combines the 10% sample and the L.8 movers sample. Therefore the data is not strictly indicative of allocations outcomes but it does indicate broad contrasts with the South City district. Only 103 households were interviewed, of white 4 were black; 10 of the L.8 movers sample were identified as white but not interviewed for a variety of reasons noted in the Survey Design. Table 93 shows that 75% of allocations were to Category A and B cases compared to 23% in South City. Table 94 shows that 75% of allocations were to excellent quality property with an overall average quality of 1.7, which compares to an average quality of 2.9 in South City with only 29% of allocations to excellent quality property. Table 95 shows that 49% of allocations were to new-build compared to 25% in South City. Table 96 shows that 58% of allocations were to houses compared to 18% in South City.

It is clear that access to the high quality Council stock in Walton/Clubmoor is determined by the allocation policy. Apart from the question of applicant choice and housing department information and advice, access for black households to high quality high demand areas is restricted by the designation of Council policies which determines access to Category A and the identification of medical need by a variety of agencies which determines access to Category B. The only other group to achieve any significant percentage of rehousing in this District were

Transfers. It was evident from the preceding section of the report that black households were over-represented in this Category and this also appears to be true for black allocations in Walton/Clubmoor.

Table 93. Walton/Clubmoor Allocations by Category.

Rehoused Category	Total No.	Black No.
A (Clearance)	67	1
B (Medical)	8	-
C (Transfer)	18	2
D_1 (Waiting List)	-	-
D_2 (Waiting List)	-	-
E (Misc.)	1	-
F (Homeless)	3	-
Other e.g. Squatter, Exchange	2	1
Total	109	4

Table 94. Walton/Clubmoor Allocations by Lettings Potential.

	No.	%	Black
Excellent	77	74.0	2
Good	20	19.4	2
Average	4	39	-
Poor	2	19	-
Total	103	100	4

Table 95. Walton/Clubmoor Allocations by New-Build.

	No.	%	Black
New-Build	50	48.5	-
Relet	53	51.5	4

Table 96. Walton/Clubmoor Allocations by Property Type.

Type	No.	%	Black	Average Quality
House	60	58.3	3	1.8
Flat	43	41.7	1	1.6
Total	103	100	4	-

The four black households identified in our sample cannot justify reliable comparison for black and white allocations. In order to investigate the access of black families to Council housing in this District these cases will be discussed in detail: see Table 98.

Firstly, our wider definition of black households which includes households with white adults and black children allowed inclusion of two of the four cases. In South City only 18% of all black households were included in this category. One of these households in Walton/Clubmoor did not receive any offers and was squatting, which reduces the percentage of actual allocations to blacks. The white couple with a black foster child did not specify any area of choice, as was the case for many

households rehoused in South City, but they were rehoused in Walton/Clubmoor due to a Councillor's intervention. Such a case casts doubt on the argument that black households are not rehoused in this District due to lack of choice. As we have seen in the preceding discussion offers of accommodation can easily override area of choice. The other two cases asked for this District, were rehoused there and were satisfied with the way their application was dealt with and their accommodation. We can therefore draw the conclusion that access for black households is not totally restricted. However no black households were rehoused from Liverpool 8; also all these cases gave evidence of racial harassment.

Of all the households surveyed in South City, not more than 2% of whites or black specified the Walton/Clubmoor District as an area of choice. The lack of black choice for this District may be put forward as a reason why no black households were rehoused from Liverpool 8 over the two-year period under study. But the specified choices of white applicants who were rehoused from Liverpool 8 shows that only 40% requested that area, with 40-50% of the rest requesting South City and no area in particular. The fact that an offer of accommodation can override area of choice is again significant, given willingness to accept the offer on the part of prospective tenants.

Table 97. Walton/Clubmoor Allocations, L.8 Movers by First, Second and Third Choice of Area.

Area	1st Choice		2nd Choice		3rd Choice	
South City	5	26.3	3	15.8	2	10.5
Walton/Club.	7	36.8	8	42.1	3	15.8
North City	1	5.3	-	-	-	-
Speke	-	-	1	5.3	1	5.3
Knotty Ash	4	21.0	-	-	-	-
Not Stated	2	10.5	7	36.8	13	68.4
Total	19	100	19	100	19	100

Table 98. Walton/Clubmoor Allocations to Black Households

Case No.	1	2	3	4
Category	A (Clearance)	C (Transfer)	D (Transfer)	Squatter
Family Type and Ethnic Origin	White mother, black father, black child	White mother African father 3 black children	White couple, black foster, child, described as 'half-caste'	White mother, 3 black children
Property Type	2 Bed. Flat	3 Bed. House	3 Bed. House	2 Bed. House
Previous Post Dist.	L.4	L.25	L.1	L.6
Present Post Dist.	L.6	L.4	L.4	L.6
Previous Tenure	Private Landlord	L.A.	L.A.	Sub-Tenant
Reason for Move	Medical Problem	Bad Area, Wanted House	Wanted Better Environment	Evicted
1st Area Choice	L.4 (Anfield)	L.4 (Walton)	-	L.6
2nd Area Choice	-	-	-	-
Main Support for Case	Doctor/Social Worker	-	Councillor	-
District Office Helpfulness	Fairly Helpful	Not at all Helpful	Not at all Helpful	Not at all Helpful
Satisfied with Allocations	Yes	Yes	No	No
Satisfied with Accommodation	Satisfied	Satisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Satisfied
Racial Harassment	N.F. signs painted on front wall 'Keep Britain White', N.F. carvings on the Block of flats. Cousin in Walton harassed by N.F. on buying a house there. Neighbours child harassed at school.	N.F. poster on garden fence. Harassment by kids of children, abuse due to mixed marriage.	Harassment by kids of foster child ie. name-calling 'nigger' etc.	Verbal abuse particularly of children

(ii) Conclusion.

The Housing Department does, therefore, have the power and influence to determine the extent of black access to high quality, high demand property. At present, what may appear to be normal, good practice is facilitating white-only access out of South City to such property. The point at which area of choice is recorded on the application form, usually after discussion between applicants and housing officers, is crucial to this process. The development of information and advice in this area is particularly important.

TENANT SATISFACTION AND HOUSING MANAGEMENT.

(i) Satisfaction with Accommodation.

In this section of the report information is presented which relates to the evaluation of the delivery of housing services by tenants. Table 99 shows that there was little difference between black and white households concerning their satisfaction with present accommodation; about 42% of tenants in South City were dissatisfied overall. This compared to about 16% of tenants in Walton/Clubmoor who were dissatisfied with their accommodation, which emphasises the difference in housing and environmental quality of the two areas. The extent of dissatisfaction is assessed further in Table 100. About 23% of tenants in South City had applied for a transfer, 5% had applied for an exchange and 10% had taken other action e.g. looking for a private rented flat, registering with a housing association etc., although about 60% of tenants expressed a general desire to move. Dissatisfaction with present accommodation evoked two general sets of comments, those concerning the accommodation itself and those concerning the estate or area: these are shown in Table 102 and Table 103. Problems of damp, vermin, poor repairs, poor street cleaning and street lighting, crime, violence and vandalism and a lack of community facilities were all identified as being a major concern to tenants.

Table 99. Satisfaction with Present Accommodation.

	South City				Walton	
	White		Black		Total	
Very Satisfied	67	19.8	34	11.4	47	45.6
Satisfied	160	41.0	132	44.3	39	37.9
Dissatisfied	66	16.9	60	20.1	10	9.7
Very Dissatisfied	97	24.9	70	23.5	7	6.8
Total	390	100	298	100	103	100

Table 100. Demand for Move from Present Accommodation.

	South City				Walton	
	White		Black		Total	
Transfer Application	86	22.1	73	24.5	2	1.9
Exchange Application	17	4.4	16	5.4	3	2.9
Other Action Taken	39	9.8	30	10.3	-	-
Wants to Move	224	57.4	185	61.9	22	21.4
Number in Sample	390		298		103	

Table 101. Reasons for Dissatisfaction with Present Accommodation.

Reason	South City White		South City Black		Walton Total	
Damp, Condensation Flooding	80	20.5	50	16.8	9	8.7
Vermin, Poor Rubbish Disposal	46	11.8	41	13.8	6	5.8
Bad Repairs Service	42	10.8	34	11.4	4	3.9
Bad Design of Dwelling	25	6.4	31	10.4	14	13.6
Dwelling too Small, Overcrowded	22	5.6	32	10.7	1	0.9
No Privacy, Poor Soundproofing	26	6.7	19	6.4	11	10.7
Lifts Don't Work, Problems with Stairs	27	6.9	11	3.7	2	1.9
Number in Sample	390		298		103	

Table 102. Reasons for Dissatisfaction with Estate/Area.

	South City				Walton	
	White		Black		Total	
Crime, Violence, Burglaries	158	40.5	93	31.2	12	11.7
Vandalism, Noisy Kids	105	26.9	78	26.2	6	5.8
Dirty, Unlit Streets	63	16.2	121	40.6	4	3.9
No Play Areas, Leisure Facilities	43	11.0	48	16.1	4	3.9
Traffic Noise/Problems	30	7.7	25	8.4	-	-
Local Residents Uncaring	10	2.6	22	7.4	10	9.7
Poor Shopping Facilities	6	1.5	15	5.0	1	0.9
Kerb Crawlers	8	2.1	6	2.0	-	-
Total	390	100	298	100	103	100

(ii) Satisfaction with Housing Office Staff

The tenant's evaluation of the helpfulness of housing staff in different offices is based mainly on the tenant's experiences of the process of obtaining rehousing by the Council. In this context it is disturbing that apart from Granby Housing Aid Centre about 40% of all tenants found the staff unhelpful, although this will relate partly to the availability and quality of property.

Little differential evaluation on the basis of colour was found except in the case of the Housing Aid Centre where the generally better tenant evaluation was marred by the differential delivery of housing services, as 34.0% of black households found the staff unhelpful compared to 16.7% of white households.

Table 103. Tenant Evaluation of Central Housing Office Staff.

	South City				Walton	
	White		Black		Total	
Very Helpful	11	13.8	6	8.5	4	22.2
Helpful	34	42.5	28	39.4	3	16.7
Not Very Helpful	20	25.0	19	26.8	5	27.8
Not At All Helpful	15	18.7	18	25.3	6	33.3
Total	80	100	71	100	18	100

Table 104. Tenant Evaluation of District Office Staff.

	South City				Walton	
	White		Black		Total	
Very Helpful	42	14.1	25	9.2	22	26.5
Helpful	127	42.6	120	44.1	36	43.4
Not Very Helpful	68	22.8	77	28.3	11	13.3
Not At All Helpful	61	20.5	50	18.4	14	16.9
Total	298	100	272	100	83	100

Table 105. Tenant Evaluation of Housing Visitors.

	South City				Walton	
	White		Black		Total	
Very Helpful	33	16.3	14	10.0	18	22.2
Helpful	96	47.5	72	51.4	32	39.5
Not Very Helpful	49	24.3	44	31.4	25	30.9
Not At All Helpful	24	11.9	10	7.1	6	7.4
Total	202	100	140	100	81	100

Table 106. Tenant Evaluation of Granby Housing Aid Centre Staff.

	South City			
	White		Black	
Very Helpful	38	48.7	17	18.1
Helpful	27	34.6	45	47.8
Not Very Helpful	7	9.0	18	19.1
Not At All Helpful	6	7.7	14	14.9
Total	78	100	94	100

(iii) Satisfaction with Allocations Procedures

The allocations procedures have been described in detail in relation to each Category of housing applicant. Tenants were asked how they felt their applications had been dealt with in general. There was little difference on the basis of colour in overall dissatisfaction with

allocations procedures, with about 40% of all tenants expressing dissatisfaction as Table 107 shows. This dissatisfaction was due to a number of factors which are listed in Table 108. The main reasons given by tenants were length of waiting time, dislike of accommodation allocated, apparent inefficiency in the allocations process, and in South City, offers in a restricted area.

Table 107. Satisfaction with Way Application Was Dealt With.

	South City				Walton	
	White		Black		Total	
Satisfied	129	59.6	165	57.5	64	62.1
Dissatisfied	155	40.4	122	42.5	39	37.9
Total	384	100	287	100	103	100

Table 108. Reasons for Dissatisfaction with Way Application was Dealt with.

	South City				Walton	
	White		Black		Total	
Only Offered L.8	41	26.5	35	28.7	-	-
Waited Too Long	42	27.0	30	24.6	20	51.3
Dislike Accommodation	49	31.6	29	23.8	4	10.3
Confusion and Delay	10	6.5	16	13.1	6	15.4
Told to Look for Vacants	7	4.5	6	4.9	-	-
Staff Don't Care	2	1.3	5	4.1	2	5.1
Other	4	2.6	1	0.8	7	17.9
Total	155	100	122	100	39	100

(iv) Evaluation of Access to Council Housing.

The previous sub-section dealt with tenants' individual experience of allocations procedures; this section gives tenants' views on the way allocations policy, procedures and practice combine to control access to council housing. Overall 72% of all council tenants interviewed thought access to council housing to be unfair, and black households were more likely to perceive this inequality than white households as Table 109 shows. The reasons for this evaluation express the perceived lack of power and choice felt by tenants in the allocations process. Allocations were thought to exploit people in urgent or severe housing need in particular. Also applicants felt they were given little choice or relevant information. This was a reason noted particularly by black households. Tenants were also asked to suggest improvements in allocations. The main suggestion put forward was that the housing department should have a better attitude to applicants and its own tenants and that they should provide more information and a better quality service in terms of advice on possible choices than is provided at present. Other suggestions are listed in Table 111.

Table 109. Tenant Evaluation of Access to Council Housing.

	South City				Walton	
	White		Black		Total	
Fair	99	30.0	64	24.7	24	31.1
Unfair	231	70.0	195	75.3	53	68.9
Total	330	100	259	100	77	100

Table 110. Reasons Why Access to Council Housing Seen as Unfair.

	South City				Walton	
	White		Black		Total	
Exploits Desperate People	104	45.0	56	28.7	11	20.8
Choice Controlled by Dept., No Information	28	12.1	49	25.1	9	17.0
Wait Too Long, Queue Jumping	25	10.8	42	21.5	15	28.3
Staff Attitude, No Advice	24	10.4	16	8.2	4	7.5
Allocations Corrupt	21	9.1	10	5.1	4	7.5
Too Much Priority if Relatives Nearby	9	3.9	5	2.6	1	1.9
Priority Given to Blacks (Foreigners)	12	5.2	-	-	2	3.8
Other	8	3.5	16	8.2	7	13.2
Total	231	100	195	100	53	100

Table 111. Tenant Suggestions to Improve Allocations.

	South City		Walton	
Better Attitude to Public Give Information and Discuss Choice	80	22.7	13	30.2
Give Families With Children Higher Priority	55	15.6	7	16.3
Explain System, Make It Understandable	50	14.2	2	4.7
Give Priority According to Housing Need	49	13.9	6	13.9
Build More Houses Not Flats	43	12.2	1	2.3
Speed Up Re-lets, Give Information on Vacancies	41	11.6	9	20.9
Increase Tenant Involvement	26	7.4	5	11.6
Relieve Pressure on Staff	9	2.5	-	-
Total	353	100	43	100

(v) Conclusion

Forty Two percent of all tenants were dissatisfied with their Council accommodation, 40% found housing department staff unhelpful, 40% were dissatisfied with the way their application was dealt with and 72% thought access to council housing was unfair. Tenant satisfaction was in general greater for council tenants in Walton/Clubmoor which reflects the disadvantaged position of black households who are concentrated in South City. The South City Statement in the recently published report Renewing Liverpool's Council Housing, (Liverpool City

Council, 1982) outlines a strategy for physical renewal and improvement of the Council stock which would be of particular benefit to black households. No such proposals have been presented to improve the delivery of housing management services which clearly require further development.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND RACIAL HARASSMENT

(i) Racial Discrimination

In the preceding sections of this study it has been established that differential allocation on the basis of colour is evident as black households receive lower quality housing on average and are disproportionately rehoused on particular estates. This can be partly explained by allocations policy, family type and applicant choice. It may also be possible to explain the allocation of lower quality accommodation by direct discrimination on the grounds of colour or stereotyping by individual officers when implementing allocation procedures. The Table below shows the information provided by black council tenants on their perception of discrimination. Of the 311 black households interviewed 75, or 24%, felt that they had been discriminated against by the Housing Department.

Table 111. Perceived Discrimination by Housing Department.

Type	%	No.
Only Offered Liverpool 8	9.7	30
Offered Poorer Quality Accommodation	8.0	25
Racist Staff Attitude	3.5	11
Other	2.9	9
Don't Know	75.9	236
Total	100	311

This allegation by tenants, although very difficult to prove in individual cases, does indicate that there may be an element of racism, which can be defined as racial prejudice plus institutional power, present in the implementation of the local authority's allocations policy by housing staff. There are four ways in which discrimination may be carried out by housing staff; these are listed below.

1. Discrimination may occur because staff act on the belief that all black households want to live in the same area.
2. Discrimination may occur by staff acting on the belief that black people should not be offered as good quality accommodation as white people.
3. Discrimination may occur through the selective provision of information and advice and in the assessment of domestic standards.
4. Discrimination may occur because staff are pursuing the management objective of letting properties quickly.

These four types of discrimination have also been identified as operating by council tenants themselves. Quotations from interviews with tenants are presented below to illustrate the ways in which racial discrimination can operate.

1. Discrimination may occur because staff act on the belief that all black households want to live in the same area.

West Indian Male, "After seeing a vacant flat I went to the District Office where I was told that the flat was not 'for your kind of people'. They then offered me Entwistle Heights (Falkner Estate). I was so put out I didn't know what to do so I accepted it".

White wife of Chinese man, "They shove you in one area and say well they are all together, they don't care whether you are black, Chinese, Indian or what, you are all classed the same, and me being white I'm classed like them because I have Chinese kids and I am married to a Chinese man".

Black British Male,	"They make sure racial minorities are kept together, suburbs are kept for whites only. White people also get priority at the housing offices."
Black British female,	"Because I'm black they did not make me an offer outside Liverpool 8."
African male,	"With me being black they think they can just dump us anywhere but they will over-play their hand one of these days."
Chinese female,	"I feel that the housing department are racist in their allocations to black and Chinese people, that is why they're all living on the Granby and Falkner estates and there's none in Allerton or Aigburth."
Black British female,	"Black people get housed in this area and they don't get given a chance to move out, they're just

	dumped here. I think the council has been prejudiced for years."
Black British O.A.P.,	"They think that if you're black you should go to L.8."
Black British female,	"They put us all together. They seem to dump us together so, yes, I'd say prejudice did affect where we were rehoused."
African male,	"They say this is a black area and because of that they don't care about it and they don't give you any choice of where to live they just say 'take it or leave it', and because everyone is so desperate to move they'll take anything."
White mother with Malaysian children,	"They have put all the foreigners on one estate (Granby) so race prejudice must have affected me."

Black British female rehoused as homeless case,	"They offered me three flats all around Falkner Square and Parliament Street (L.8). They said that this is the type of property that will be offered to you and that if you go outside this area you will come up against prejudice and won't be accepted in a white area. I refused to take these flats because they were in a disgusting state. But after I got pressure from my social worker and other girls in the hostel I accepted one of the flats."
Black British Male,	"Local government and housing co-ops are all tarred with the same brush as far as racial prejudice is concerned. Black people get housed in this area and they don't get a chance to move out,

they're just dumped here. I think they are prejudiced, don't you?"

Black British male, "It's obvious we're affected as we were told only Liverpool 8 for rehousing".

Black British male, "You feel that you've been classified as black and that they would have given you a better place or offered you better accommodation if it wasn't for you being black. They treat you like dirt in the Housing Office, that's why they need bars to hide behind. But blacks do seem to come off worse regarding housing. The decent places outside the South end aren't offered to blacks. The houses and flats around here aren't bad (L.1) but there's a tendency for them to get

	passed on to friends and relatives not allocated. So, blacks get sent to places like Entwistle Heights and around Parliament Street (Granby)".

2. <u>Discrimination may occur by staff acting on the belief that black people should not be offered as good quality accommodation as white people</u>

White female with African O.A.P. husband Category A case,	"We asked for Belem Towers in Sefton Park but then they said I had no chance there but that was after my husband had showed his face".
White female,	"They offered me a place at one time but when my husband went down (to the District Office) as he's Somali they changed their minds".

Black British male, "Blacks get dumped in the lowest standard of accommodation".

3. Discrimination may occur through the selective provision of information and advice, and in the assessment of domestic standards.

White mother with black kids, "Up to when we had a housing visitor they were smashing but when he saw the kids they didn't want to know about our case".

West Indian male, "My house go 'C' graded because I was black. I complained about the very nasty housing visitor and got regarded as an 'A' by the manager".

White mother with black children, "After seeing a councillor I got an interview with a housing officer. I explained the situation I was in. I was getting a divorce and wanted a transfer. He asked me

what type of accommodation I wanted and I said just a two bedroom flat somewhere decent. He said my name wasn't English so I said that's right. Then he asked if my daughter was coloured so I said of course since my husband is, and then he said 'You people, your form of decency is different to mine'. After he said that I picked up the ashtray and threw it at him, it missed. He said he was going to 'phone the police so I said go right ahead. After that his attitude changed and he said if I saw a place empty I should phone up. A few weeks later I saw this place and eventually signed up for it".

4. Discrimination may occur because staff are pursuing the management objective of letting properties quickly.

Staff may assume that white applicants will reject an offer on a poor quality estate which has a relatively high proportion of black tenants, such as Englefield Green. It could be thought expedient to offer the vacancy to a black applicant.

We have established that there is scope for racial bias to operate in current allocation procedures; our survey indicates that there is also a significant degree of perceived discrimination by black households and that there is evidence of differential allocation which cannot be explained by measurable factors. It is not possible, however, to establish on the basis of our survey data that individual acts of discrimination have in fact influenced allocation decisions.

(ii) Racial Harassment

Racial harassment is one type of racist action which is directed at black families or individuals. The use of racist slogans, racist insults, racist literature as well as physical attacks on black people or their homes or property usually indicate the existence of racial harassment. But more importantly the victims' belief that they have been racially harassed is a crucial indicator. All black households were asked an open

question on whether they had been subjected to any form of racial harassment; the results in Table 112 show that 28% of black council households had experienced such harassment. This was the result in South City where most black council tenants live. But as the case details for those black households interviewed in Walton/Clubmoor showed, all had been subject to some form of racial harassment.

Table 112. Racial Harassment in South City.

Type	No.	%
Racial Harassment at Home	25	29.1
Racial Harassment in the Community	16	18.6
Racial Harassment at Work	4	4.7
Racial Harassment by the Police	38	44.2
Other	3	3.4
Total	86	100

These different types of harassment will be discussed separately.

1. Racial Harassment at Home

The occurrence of racial harassment on Council estates in Liverpool has been an issue of concern to the local Community Relations Council for many years. A report presented by the C.R.C. in June, 1981 showed detailed case evidence of racial harassment and argued that the response of relevant agencies such as the Housing and Social Service

Departments and the Police:

> "has varied from a total refusal to accept that racism exists to a refusal to respond on the basis that every black person will jump on the band-wagon and use their 'blackness' to elicit special treatment".[64]

Evidence of racial harassment on Local Authority housing estates has also been presented along with recommendations for action in a report prepared by the London Race and Housing Forum and published by the Commission for Racial Equality in 1981, "Racial Harassment on Local Authority Housing Estates". This provides very useful guidelines for developing good practice in this area. Racial harassment on Merseyside has also been reported in the press, an article in the Guardian, 12/4/82, entitled "Black families living in fear on Council estates" is one such example.

Examples from this survey are presented below:

(i) Black British female on Falkner Estate, "I'm continually getting Nazi propoganda stickers

put on my door and notes and leaflets through my letterbox with sexual taunts written on them".

A sticker shown below was given to our interviewer by the respondent:

(ii) White mother with black children. "It's easier to put black families in this area (Granby) from a white area rather than deal with the race issue and promote integrated areas".

This single-parent family was subject to persistent racial harassment by neighbours. This escalated to an incident where bricks were thrown at the children. The police were called by the mother; after talking to the neighbour the police informed the woman that the man was "obviously a racist" and she should try and keep her children indoors. After further incidents she was rehoused on the Falkner Estate.

(iii) Black British female O.A.P., "We moved from Lodge Lane because of racial harassment. They used to bang and kick on the door and shout 'Niggers Out'. The Housing Inspector told us we were 'crazy to move'."

(iv) White mother with black children, "People used to spit on me when I lived in (L.7) and they used to call me 'nigger lover'."

(v) Black British female, "When I used to live in the Dingle I used to get called 'nigger' and all kinds of names by my neighbours. My daughter would always get called and if she hit back it always ended up with me fighting with the white kids' parents".

(vi) Black British female, "My daughters were getting harassed around here, being called 'niggers' and 'you've got a nose all over the place' and lots of

other things, these people were really persistent. It ended when I confronted them and had a big argument, since then the harassment has stopped."

2. Racial Harassment in the Community

Racial harassment is not only directed against black households and their property at home, it also occurs in the community. A recent Home Office report on 'Racial Attacks' acknowledged this problem and noted that Asians were 50 times more likely to be attacked than whites, and West Indians 36 times more likely.[65] Although these acts may be linked, the form of racial harassment considered here does not arise from neighbour disputes which can be transformed into racial disputes, or from organised harassment by fascists and others of black peoples' homes; we are referring here to the often physical attacks on black people in the community.

Nigerian O.A.P., "I have been repeatedly attacked and severely wounded by white kids of an evening after leaving work (at the Federal Nigeria Club) which

resulted in me having to attend four different hospitals. Now my wife and myself are frightened to go out, this causes much anxiety and friction at home".

Chinese female, "We went out on Saturday to Chinatown and there was a gang of men calling the Chinese names and my daughter got hit. We've had 'Chinks fuck-off' and 'Chinks go home' written on the wall of the flat".

Trinidadian female, "I was walking to my flat in (North City) and these three white guys said 'look at that nigger', and I kept staring but they kept saying what are you staring at 'monkey' and 'nigger', I kept staring at them and in the end they just walked away.

3. Racial Harassment at Work

A small number of incidents concerning racial harassment at work was reported by black households. These generally involved verbal abuse and some perceived act of discrimination. This issue may apply to the Housing Department in so far as they employ a small number of black staff (less than 1%). The Local Authority at present has no policy statement or procedure that deals specifically with racial harassment at work. Therefore policy and procedures should be established to ensure that such cases are not ignored. Amendment to the Council's grievance procedure would be a first step.

4. Racial Harassment by the Police

Apart from the issue of racial harassment on Council estates, this was the second largest perceived type of racial harassment. The issues raised here are outside the scope of this study but it is worth emphasising that 12.2% of all black council households gave evidence of police harassment involving such elements as racial abuse, harassment on the street involving 'stop and search' powers, physical attacks and other aspects. As with all evidence collected on racial harassment in this study, the tenants' accounts are unsubstantiated; nevertheless they seem representative of what is known, from other sources, of the black community's perceptions and feelings, and must therefore give cause for concern.66

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The Extent of Differential Allocation in South City

The survey was concerned to establish whether or not black households were being allocated council housing of lower quality and in different areas than white households.

In terms of quality, black households were allocated 5% less new-build property and 18% less of the high quality property in South City. According to the District Manager's definition of the lettings potential of each property identified in the survey, white households were allocated 38% of the excellent property compared to 20% of black households. This indication of quality is taken as being of prime importance as the District Manager is responsible for allocations. In terms of location, white households were allocated in roughly equal proportions across South City. Black households have been markedly concentrated in the Falkner, Granby and Englefield Green estates. In Sefton Park/Aigburth (the only good quality, suburban area in South City) 1.5% of all black households were rehoused there compared to 13% of white households. In Granby/Falkner 11% of white households and 53% of black households were rehoused there. Our evidence, therefore, demonstrates that housing allocations in South City have reinforced the geographical concentration of black households, and racial disadvantage is clearly evident in that black households received lower quality housing compared to white households.

The Causes of Differential Allocation

Differential allocation on the basis of colour requires explanation and a range of factors were investigated to ascertain the reasons for this process being observed. These included rules of access and eligibility for council housing, the supply of available accommodation, demographic characteristics of applicants, previous housing conditions, applicants' power of negotiation, housing management practices, tenants' perceptions of racial discrimination and racial harassment.

a) Rehousing Category

The allocations policy of Liverpool City Council is based on ordering applicants into rehousing categories and allocating property to those categories by a percentage system. The Council should expect that this policy will be the major factor in explaining the extent of differential allocation observed.

The survey shows that black households are clearly under-represented in those categories that are allocated the highest quality accommodation, that is medical and clearance cases. Black households are correspondingly concentrated in those categories which have a lower average quality of accommodation allocated to them i.e. the waiting list and transfers. In the three categories clearance (A), medical (B) and transfers (C), there is a significant difference in quality between white

and black households, with the latter consistently being allocated lower quality housing. Rehousing category is an important factor in determining differential allocation but it does not explain the differences in quality observed within Categories A, B and C. To explain these factors each route to rehousing (allocation category) was examined separately.

b) Category A (Clearance/Improvement) cases

The failure of black households to achieve equal access to this category was seen to be due to the impact of council policy concerning the designation of areas for clearance and improvement. Differential allocation was evident as 80% of white and 54% of black households were allocated new property, 64% of white and 35% of black households were allocated excellent quality property, 12% of white and 62% of black households were allocated to Granby and 18% of white and 3% of black households were allocated to Sefton Park/Aigburth. Black households were more likely to have larger households and to be in greater housing need, in terms of overcrowding, before they were rehoused. 5% of whites and 27% of blacks chose Granby specifically, and 12% of whites and 8% of blacks chose Sefton Park/Aigburth. Therefore allocations policy, applicant choice and previous housing need could not explain differential allocation. Black households had less support from councillors, doctors, social workers and other agencies. 36% of whites compared to 14% of blacks had some useful support. Black households were larger on average and their choice was constrained by the location

of large dwellings. Also black households were more likely to receive a lower assessment of domestic cleanliness than white households. Nevertheless these factors could not fully explain why differential allocation had occurred.

c) Category B (Special Medical) cases

6% of white households compared to 4% of black households were rehoused in this category. Although this can be partly explained by the older age structure of the white population it appears that the failure of health services to take account of problems of racial disadvantage and the lack of information and advice available to black households produces an ineffective referral system which appears to affect the identification of medical need among black applicants. This not only affects the rehousing of black households as Special Medical cases; the survey found that in South City no black households were rehoused in sheltered accommodation whereas 5% of all white households were rehoused there. This was seen to be due to the failure of relevant institutions in identifying and supporting black elderly clients, combined with the lack of an explicit race dimension to housing management policy. Therefore, improving referral procedures would not necessarily produce racially equitable allocation as the rehousing of Special Medical cases showed. 75% of white households in this category were rehoused in property classified as excellent quality whereas only 36% of black households were rehoused there. This was particularly due to the rehousing of black households in lower quality flatted accommodation in Granby/Falkner: 55% of black households were rehoused there compared

to 4% of white households in this category. This was seen to be due to the differential allocation on the basis of colour of those households that did not specify an area of choice. Lack of information, advice and support for black applicants are also important factors in explaining this outcome.

d) Category C (Transfer) cases

Black households were in greater previous housing need than white households, particularly in terms of overcrowding, which was seen in a higher average transfer points score for blacks of 14% compared to 12% for whites. This housing need was also reflected in the greater proportion of black households receiving transfers: 23% of all whites and 34% of all blacks were rehoused as transfers. Nevertheless the largest degree of differential allocation was found in this category. 49% of whites were allocated excellent quality property compared to 32% of black households. 13% of whites were allocated to Sefton Park/Aigburth compared to 3% of black households, and 14% of whites were allocated to Granby/Falkner compared to 65% of blacks. The transfer policy, the points scheme and household characteristics were analysed and these could not explain differential allocation. 93% of blacks compared to 83% of whites accepted their first offer of accommodation. Therefore, advice that applicants accept their first offer, combined with previous housing need appear to have constrained applicant choice. But, of the 38% of blacks and 29% of whites who did not specify a particular area of choice over 90% of these black households were rehoused on the Granby,

Falkner and Englefield Green estates compared to only 30% of these white households. The Housing Department therefore appears to exercise a direct influence on patterns of black settlement which has implications for the quality of housing offered to black applicants. Furthermore, there was a clear correspondence between the quality of property allocated and the assessment of the condition of internal decorations made by housing visitors. As 34% of white households were classified as 'good' compared to only 20% of black households this was seen to be one factor to be taken into account.

e) Category D (Waiting List) cases

The waiting list is the primary route of access for black and white households to Council housing. There was a major difference in the household type of blacks and whites being rehoused in this category. 61% of black households contained children compared to 48% of white households. This resulted in the allocation of proportionately more houses to black households as expected (7.7% compared to 4.3% whites). But, despite this difference in allocations by property type, there was in fact little difference in average housing quality. There was also a marked inequality in the allocation of excellent quality property (16.7% of whites and 5.4% of black households).

The study found that a concentration of black allocations on low-demand estates such as Falkner and Englefield Green had occurred (63.2% compared to 30.1% whites). As with previous categories,

allocations of those households who did not specify a particular choice of area were made on a racially different basis as only 42% of households did specify a choice of area and their choices cannot explain the difference evident in allocation. Therefore racial discrimination in this Category must be seen as resulting from the two-sided negotiation between applicants and housing department staff. The housing department does not provide accurate, up-to-date information to applicants about council housing stock and the distribution of vacants. When the lack of bargaininng power on the part of housing applicants is combined with this limited knowledge and advice, it does appear that a situation is produced where applicant choice of area can be easily directed through offers of accommodation by housing staff. We would suggest that it is this process that has led to an increased concentration of black households in the Granby area and restricted access to high-demand, excellent quality property outside that area. The overall outcome then is that allocations to Waiting List applicants tend to reproduce racial disadvantage.

f) Allocations in Walton/Clubmoor and Access from South City

Between January 1979 and December 1980 4.8% of all allocations in Walton/Clubmoor were to black households. A survey was also carried out of all those tenants that had moved from Liverpool 8 to Walton/Clubmoor in this period: 29 households were interviewed, none of which were black. Although the numbers here are small, this trend indicating lack of access is disturbing. Of all the households rehoused in

South City only 2.0% of whites and blacks specified Walton/Clubmoor as a choice of area for rehousing. Of those households rehoused in Walton/Clubmoor from Liverpool 8, 60% did not specifically request that area. The Housing Department does have the power and influence to determine the extent of black access to high quality, high demand property. In Walton/Clubmoor 76.7% of all allocations were to excellent quality property compared to 29.4% in South City. The lack of information and advice available to black households, the problems of racial harassment on council estates, the failure to deliver housing services equally and the difference in council stock between areas have all been identified as perpetuating racial inequality particularly through restricting the choices available to black households.

g) Racial Harassment and Racial Discrimination

In South City 28% of all black council households interviewed stated that they had experienced some form of racial harassment. In Walton/Clubmoor evidence was also given by the four black households interviewed of racial harassment in that area.

In South City, of the 311 black households interviewed 24% said that they had perceived discrimination against them by the Housing Deparment. Investigation of individual acts of discrimination was not the object of this study and so we cannot directly substantiate these cases. Nevertheless this perception is of crucial importance as an indicator of the relationship between the Housing Department and black

tenants, and should therefore spur the Council to approve the recommendations presented below. Four types of discrimination have been identified as operating with particular respect to officer discretion in allocations procedures. The first three types of discrimination are illustrated from interviews with black households.

1. Discrimination may occur because staff act on the belief that all black households want to live in the same area, and correspondingly do not want to live outside certain sections of Liverpool 8.
2. Discrimination may occur because staff act on the belief that black people should not be offered as good quality accommodation as white people, for whatever reason.
3. Discrimination may occur through the racially selective provision of information and advice and in the racially biased assessment of domestic standards.
4. Discrimination may occur because staff are pursuing the management objective of letting properties quickly and in so doing draw upon racial stereotypes of both white and black applicants to facilitate the process of allocation.

h) Summary

As previous sections of this summary have identified, within rehousing categories when such factors as family size, household type, previous housing need etc. have been discounted, black households tend

to receive lower quality accommodation than white households and also black households have been concentrated in certain parts of South City, irrespective of choice. The differences in allocations observed could only be explained by the factor of the racial origin of the applicants. Therefore, there is no alternative explanation other than that conscious or unconscious stereotyping of black applicants must have entered into the subjective interpretations of housing officers.

This study then points to a clear situation of racial inequality in the allocation of council housing in Liverpool. It has not been suggested that this is due to the explicit racist intention of the Council's housing policies, but it is primarily due to the unintentional racist effect of allocation procedures and practices and also the racial stereotyping of white and black applicants by Council officers.

CONCLUSION

This Part has therefore attempted to single out a particular institutional terrain for the investigation of how racism operates in Liverpool. Housing is a crucial arena in which racism has been shown to operate. The impact of this process has involved the complex oppression of black people's feelings, choices, needs and rights ranging from subtle and not so subtle racist aggressions by white people with power to put their prejudice into effect and a 'colour-blind' City Council that has so far failed to adequately acknowledge and tackle the issues presented here. The crucial role that council housing has played in actually increasing the concentration of black people in the historical heart of black settlement in Liverpool is extraordinary. This is a significant factor in the determination of a whole range of economic, social, educational and political opportunities for the black community. It increases the damaging effects of racism by reducing opportunities in education and therefore employment. Concentration in bad quality housing will disproportionately affect the physical and mental health of the local black population, and in conditions of poverty the threat of criminalisation of black people by the courts and the police is increased. These deleterious processes structure the experience of black people and thereby racism operates as a system of white oppression in Liverpool. The historically produced popular culture of racial prejudice in Liverpool is a constantly reproduced intrinsic part of the consciousness of white people in the city. All the departments of the City Council, the County Council, the City Centre stores, the Health Authority and many other

sectors of local employment are all between 97% and 100% white, where there is a 78% local black population. In this context white people in Liverpool have the power to maintain or dismantle those aspects of racism that are locally determined. Local authority council housing allocation policies, procedures and practices are locally determined and locally controllable. Therefore it is vital that racism is seen as a white problem for which white people in relevant positions of power from councillors to receptionists should take responsibility and challenge. This requires the politicisation of the race issue and this is discussed in full in the next Part of this thesis.

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44) See New Society, 17/8/72; Race Today, Sept, 1972; New Statesman, 25/8/72; D. Clay, op. cit.

45) See Annual Reports of Merseyside Community Relations Council (1970-1978).

46) R. J. Webber and M. G. Shaw, The Social Characteristics of Residential Neighbourhoods on Merseyside, (Planning Research and Applications Group, Technical Paper No. 24, London, 1978, p. 54).

47) F. Fru, Differential Allocation in Council Housing, (Unpublished, Merseyside CRC, 1979).

48) Merseyside Area Profile Group, Racial Disadvantage in Liverpool, An Area Profile, (Liverpool 1980).

49) See notes 9-15.

50) J. Parker and K. Dugmore, op. cit., p. 3.

51) OPCS, Census 1971 Report for Liverpool, (HMSO, 1973).

52) Department of Environment, (1979), op. cit., also special tabulations courtesy of Liverpool City Housing Department.

53) Department of Employment, Labour Force Survey, 1981, (HMSO, 1983).

54) OPCS, Census 1981, County Report for Merseyside, (HMSO, 1982).

55) N.D.H.S. Special Tabulations, op. cit.

56) J. Parker and K. Dugmore, op. cit., p.37.

57) R. Skellington, op. cit., J. English, R. Madigan and P. Norman, Slum Clearance: the social and administrative context in England and Wales, (London, Croom Helm, 1976).

58) P. Torkington, Racial Politics of Health in Liverpool, (Merseyside Area Profile Group, 1983).

59) ibid.

60) City of Liverpool Housing Department, Applications for transfer of accommodation.

61) Liverpool City Council, Allocations Policy, (Unpublished, DH/107/74, 1976).

62) Liverpool City Council, Allocations Policy Review, (Unpublished, 1979, p. 10).

63) ibid.

64) M. O'Reilly, op. cit.

65) Home Office, op. cit.

66) See statements of Liverpool 8 Defence Committee and Merseyside CRC, Annual Reports, (1981-4).

PART THREE. RACE, POLICY AND LOCAL POLITICS: TACKLING RACISM IN HOUSING IN LIVERPOOL.

Introduction.

This part of the thesis is concerned to analyse the scope for political and policy-orientated interventions at the local level to tackle racism and racial inequality in housing. Firstly, the range of policy responses from central and local government to tackle racism in housing is reviewed in order to establish that a direct response to racial inequality backed by strong political commitment is necessary. So far this has been lacking and in Liverpool, where the Labour Party have been in control of the City Council since May 1983, housing improvement is a central part of the Urban Regeneration Strategy but opposition to positive action and monitoring of service-delivery in contradiction to national Labour Party policy is ensuring that racial inequality in housing will remain.

Consideration is then given to forms of anti-racist political intervention at national and local levels in order to establish that the local level provides the primary arena for constructing effective intervention due to the specific conditions of existence of black people. The terrain for the development of such political action, the local state, is then assessed in terms of the scope for popular-democratic struggle to take effect and the constraints and limits on such action. To assess further the scope for action that would have some real effect on

reducing racial inequalities the direct role that the local state plays in monitoring and approaching such inequality is investigated. The local state, through its control over significant areas of the local social domain is seen to be directly responsible for the reproduction of many forms of racial inequality in Britain. Therefore action at the local level has, despite numerous constraints, the potential to achieve real changes in racial oppression. Examples of good practice, particularly the series of intermediate reforms involved in detailed equal opportunity strategies, are then reviewed. The problems for many of those involved in this area of work and action is not, however, one of knowing what reform or recommendation to suggest but how that initiative can be implemented effectively so that it has some measurably positive effect on the material conditions of black people, as many seemingly positive reforms can result in furthering the racial disadvantage facing black people. For example, a racial harassment policy that supports action against the perpetrators of such harassment but which restricts the transfer choices open to the households suffering harassment will further disadvantage black households. The later sections of this Part of the thesis are then concerned with the problem of under what conditions and in what circumstances can effective policy-orientated reforms be taken to secure real changes in racial inequality in housing. Four different agencies are considered, two voluntary housing associations, the City Council and a positive action scheme run by representatives from local community organisations in order to enable a detailed investigation of the scope and limits for such action, thereby enabling an assessment of the main barriers to such change to be made. This finally leads to a

clearer specification of the research and policy-orientated action that is necessary to progress towards the objectives of equality in this sphere, this is considered particularly in the conclusion of this thesis.

The primary research carried out in order to provide the information necessary to establish the arguments and observations presented in this Part of the thesis stem from direct involvement in campaigns to achieve equal opportunity in these agencies and involvement in local community organisations and various working parties and committees. Also in my work as Public Education Officer for Merseyside Community Relations Council I have organised a large number of race training programmes for the City Council and other agencies with the specific objectives of challenging personal racist ideologies and establishing detailed action planning for racial equality. This has been immensely valuable in that the staff working in the relevant organisations have, in the context of a structured programme, assessed the nature, scale and effects of racism in their own organisations and therefore this enabled effective strategies to be considered and evaluated. The concern to follow through from the production of initial research on the operation of racism in history and housing to the implementation and use of that knowledge in the calculation of political and policy action, and then to follow the demands for certain reforms through to effective policy implementation, is the core process involved here. This action-research process has, as stated, enabled the generation of data to allow the completion of this analysis, and in placing this study of racism in housing in both its historical and

political context has enabled a fairly holistic view to be taken. This action-research element is then crucial to this project. It is the product of work carried out between October 1978 and December 1984, as is the rest of this thesis, and is therefore subject to the specific conditions and constraints operating locally during this period. But this points to the inseparability of politics and policy and the integral role of research in both, and furthermore the state must be conceived in the first instance as a site of struggle and not as a system which is impervious to penetration and change from below.

RACIAL INEQUALITY AND HOUSING : THE STATE RESPONSE

There have been three main policy responses, taken by the state in Britain, to the issues of racism and racial inequality in housing discussed in the preceding section. The first type of response recognised the issue of residential concentration and the probability of racial conflict, and looked for a solution through the dominant liberal ethos of integration which results in a focus on dispersal of 'the social problem', i.e. black households. The second type of response recognised the concentration of black people in poor housing conditions in the inner city areas, and sought an answer in 'colour-blind' inner city politics through the improvement of housing conditions in general. The third type of response identified racial discrimination against black people as the issue and sought to tackle racial inequality by eliminating direct and indirect racial discrimination primarily through legislative means. The ideological construction of black settlement as the symbol of inner-city decline has led policy discussion around the issue of racism in housing to be hamstrung by the focus on the shallow and irrelevant debate of how to disperse black households. Research studies[1] and official reports[2] have assumed that black residential concentration is primarily involuntary, being due to the existence of social and institutional barriers. Central government fears of race riots and local government concern that blacks have precipitated urban decay have all pointed to the need for dispersal, as a "laudable aim of policy".[3] Despite protestations to the contrary, the implication of this position was, however, that the individual choice of black households should be not widened but constrained still further in

pursuit of the liberal ideal of 'racial harmony'. Two examples of local government practice show the racist effects of such policy discussion. Between 1969 and 1975 Birmingham City Council practised a set-ratio policy for black council tenants, thorough limiting concentration and attempting to effect dispersal.[4] This was found to constitute racial discrimination by the Race Relations Board and the practice was abandoned whereas in London, the Conservative controlled Greater London Council announced in June 1978 a proposed policy of 'planned concentration' in 'racially segregated' areas for rehousing Bengali households in the East End. This was in response to the expressed desires of Bengali groups for protection against racial harassment in and around the Brick Lane area.[5] The uproar that followed this policy decision from Bengali Housing groups was supported by the Environment Minister, Peter Shore, and the GLC later resolved to ensure that each of the families retained the opportunity to make a real choice as to the area in which they wanted to live. The challenge of eradicating racism, in particular racial harassment to establish some degree of real choice is however a much more complex and difficult task which the GLC has begun to take on board under Labour control (1984 was declared an "anti-racist" year for Greater London). Nevertheless, some proponents of the dispersal of black households would still argue that this will decrease racial inequality.[6] But firstly, as the Community Relations Commission[7] noted in its study of housing choice and ethnic concentration dispersal would be resisted by black groups, particularly those of South Asian origin. Secondly, it is important to stress that there is no necessary

connection between a decrease in spatial segregation and a decrease in racial inequality as Peach and Shah[8] have argued. Johnson, Cross and Parker[9] use data from the National Dwelling and Household Survey to show that the dispersal of West Indians in London, Birmingham and Manchester may have actually led to a decline in their relative social and economic position. Therefore, it seems clear that racial inequality cannot be tackled without directly investigating and then demolishing racist ideologies, policies and institutional practices.

The policy aim of improving the housing conditions of black people through general improvements in housing and environment was expressed in the Labour Government's White Paper on Race and Housing in 1975. But, this paper lacked clarity and failed to provide an effective framework for challenging racism in housing as it side-stepped the issue centrally and provided local authorities with the scope to formulate whatever policies they saw fit to implement in their particular area.[10] The 1977 consultative document on Housing Policy states that black people will benefit from policies designed to help those in housing need. But, from the abundance of evidence to show that colour-blind housing policies provided enough space for racial inequality to be reproduced and reinforced[11] this proposition was clearly misplaced. Official recognition that issues of race and racism were by no means "co-terminous with inner area problems" was made in the White Paper, Policy for the Inner Cities.[12] This document attempted to hand over the responsibility for action in this area entirely to the Commission for Racial Equality, newly formed under the Race Relations Act 1976, but it did stress that the

needs of black groups should be taken into account in the planning and implementation of policies for inner areas. But, the review of inner-city policy and programme documents, for 1981/85 produced by local authorities in response to the White Paper,[13] established that very few authorities had even explicitly mentioned racial discrimination and racial disadvantage as a major issue. The dominance of racist ideological positions amongst political parties, trade unions and professional groups, discussed in Parts 1 and 2, which prevent a sustained commitment to anti-racist policies are therefore clearly reflected throughout the country in the early 1980's.

The Government has expressed its concern about racial discrimination directly by passing the Race Relations Act 1976, although direct discrimination in housing was made illegal by the Race Relations Act 1968. Overt discrimination by landlords, estate agents and others in the housing market has partly disappeared. One of the most publicised convictions under the 1968 Act was Robert Relf who was imprisoned in 1976 for contempt of court when he refused to remove a 'for sale to English only' sign from his home in Leamington Spa. The 1976 Act made indirect discrimination unlawful and laid an obligation on local authorities to eliminate racial discrimination and promote equality of opportunity under Section 71. But, the lack of positive initiatives by central government, the reactive posture of central government and the luke-warm response of government departments to calls for action by such as the Home Affairs Committee, in its report on Racial Disadvantage,[14] has inhibited effective implementation of anti-racist

strategies at the local level.[15] The Commission for Racial Equality is the statutory body set up to enforce the Race Relations Act and promote equal opportunity. The CRE has classified local authorities' reponse to equal opportunity policies into three categories.[16] Firstly, those that have accepted their responsibility and set up machinery to rectify their role in reproducing racial inequality, including the maintaining of ethnic records of the delivery of housing and taking action where necessary. Secondly, those authorities that have taken some action, including formal policy declaration of a commitment to equal opportunity, but have not set up any co-ordination system to tackle racial inequality in their provision of employment and services. Thirdly, those that claim they do not discriminate and have refused to place the issue of race on their policy agenda, and thus express a 'colour-blind' approach. The CRE's main work in housing has been to undertake a programme of equal opportunity promotion with a wide range of local authorities.[17] In 1983 it was their view that there were relatively few local authorities in the first category, a considerable number in the second category and still a considerable number in the third category. The issue of racial inequality has therefore been seen to be a marginal and relatively low priority area of concern by both central and local government.

ANTI-RACIST POLITICAL INTERVENTION

In the 1970's and 1980's the political struggle against racism in Britain has taken place primarily at the local level. The urban stage has provided the setting for black resistance to white oppression which has taken a wide variety of forms of political action from the spontaneous disturbance or riot (witnessed in Liverpool in 1972, 1976 and 1981), ad hoc defensive or oppositionist campaigns e.g. to protect individuals from deportation or racial harassment, or to oppose racist groups (such as Al Charif campaign to oppose deportation and the formation of the Liverpool 8 Defence Committee), attempts by community groups to secure some special need or resource (such as the Hindu Centre in Liverpool) to the development of more systematic political intervention with the aims of establishing equality of opportunity and reducing racial inequalities (such as the Equal Opportunity Campaign in Liverpool).[18] This range of anti-racist political action has developed unevenly across the different towns and cities of Britain, and in this Part we will be reviewing the conditions, tactics and effects of such interventions in Liverpool. The emergence of such action is of particular significance in this decade as the local level provides the primary arena for constructing effective anti-racist political struggle due to the specific conditions of existence of black people. The anti-racist struggle must recognise the ideological diversity and the specific objects and activities of the black community. The use of the term 'black community' as such assumes a pre-given level of unity that in a number of ways is misleading. Cultural, national, linguistic, age, sex and ideological divisions all

provide the starting point for organisational work at the political level. The force of race, as shown in the previous sections places tremendous constraints on the lives and experience of black people, but it also provides through this process the conditions for the construction of effective resistance to the dehumanising effects of racism. The residential concentration of black people in inner-city parts of most urban areas has provided the setting for racial discrimination by institutions in the housing market: estate agents, building societies, private landlords, council landlords and housing associations, the entrenchment of racial inequalities in the labour market by the actions of private and public employers, MSC and Trade Unions, and also for the day-to-day experience of living in a racist society; verbal abuse, harassment by neighbours, the police or fascists, racist graffitti, racist jokes, racist adverts, comics, magazines and other material, and racist comments by those in positions of power. These are the forces that provide the conditions for black unity and grounded political action. The duality of race can be seen clearly in housing where discrimination in housing has been partly responsible for the concentration of the black community and thereby facilitated community and social networks and action. These pre-conditions for struggle are also barriers as the grind of living in poor housing, being unemployed, being dehumanised by racism creates many problems. The threat of criminalisation by police action on trivial offences hangs over the black community like the sword of Damocles. These factors do hamper the development of sustained voluntary political action, but such action itself will be measured to be effective if it strengthens the material conditions of living for the black

community which can only assist the development of organisation and intervention further. Such urban struggles are at the heart of political conflict in advanced capitalist societies, as Castells has argued,[19] and the development of such urban-based popular movements are one of the most significant phenomena of the post-war period.

THE LOCAL STATE

Local government has become a part of the corporate state, an arrangement for the institutionalised exercise of political and economic power by certain sections of society. Yet ideally, local government should, as its name implies be local administration for local people under their control through their elected representatives. The various sections of the corporate state undertake deals, blame each other and cover up for each other when it suits them and such manouevering is often conducted behind closed doors. Given the pre-conditions for black politicisation and action this is the terrain of particular significance for the future of race in Britain.

The 'local state' is not a separate entity but is a shorthand term for the organisation at a local level to which state power has been designated, and within this power structure blacks are largely absent. There are no black M.P.'s or judges, and up to the early 1980's black representation on local councils was minimal. The Home Affairs Committee report said that 'it would be a welcome sign of progress if there was an increase in ethnic minority involvement in local politics" and indeed political parties and the process of electoral democracy has been seen as a legitimate site of struggle for black activists.[20] Following the 1982 local council elections, black representation in the London town halls had nearly doubled and 77 out of a total of 1,914 councillors (4%) are now black. However, outside London there are very few black people

in local government (none on Liverpool City Council). Senior management in local government departments also fails to reflect a fair representation of black workers. The failure of the 'local state' to adequately represent the views of its black ratepayers and taxpayers through electoral democracy through senior officials and also through general channels of participation indicates a problem of lack of power and lack of access to power by black people.

In this context the local state may be seen as a potential terrain for the expansion and extension of democracy, for 'popular democratic' struggle.[21] This can be said to cover three areas of political action as Jessop[22] argued. Firstly it involves questions of the formal scope and mechanism of representation and accountability. There are formidable obstacles to the representation of race issues here due to the political ideologies of race operating in the political parties, the lack of mechanisms to promote black candidates and the problems of developing effective policy on race within local parties. Furthermore the institutional separation of the state from the economic domain and civil society ensures that certain key areas remain beyond the scope of formal democratic control and thereby directly available to anti-racist interventions. The loss of a range of functions over the last fifty years from local government to nationalised industries and central government has occurred thereby leaving a much less localised and in some areas less democratic terrain to struggle in. Secondly, 'popular-democratic' struggle in the local state involves questions of the substantive

conditions under which such control can be exercised. The clear subordination of local government to central government which does constrain and change aspects of local government organisation must be emphasised, although there is continuing support for 'localism' and consequently a debate about central and local relations. Therefore to move significantly from electoral democracy that avoids issues of black representation and accountability to a wider participative democratic local state would require at some point a change in central and local relations. In terms of race, the statutory duty laid on local authorities' Section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976 "to make appropriate arrangements with a view to securing that their various functions are carried out with due regard to the need to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination and to provide equality of opportunity", does provide a condition for popular democratic intervention in this struggle. However, this central constraint has been described as "general, ambiguous and supported neither by sanctions nor incentives".[23] When the Act came into force a joint departmental circular was sent to all local authorities drawing attention to Sec. 71 but no guidance was provided on its interpretation. This guidance has been left to the Commission for Racial Equality and the NACRC's nationally and CRC's and black organisations locally. Further constraints on structural political interventions in the local state may be economic in that central control of local finance, particularly in the Liverpool case, provides a source of conflict and itself a site of struggle in that the resources available for jobs and services may be crucial in determining the scope for significant race

interventions e.g. a positive action training scheme to redress racial inequality in a particular area of work (as allowed under Sec. 37 of the Race Relations Act, 1976). Thirdly, popular democratic struggle over race in the local state involves the interpellation of black people in the democratic rules of the game. Formal democratic institutions do not (and cannot) guarantee that the politics of race in particular will be conducted in a substantively democratic manner as they could as well provide the means to institute populist, authoritarian government, rather than popular-democratic government. The development of procedures to ensure black access to decision-making such as working parties or new council committees does not in itself guarantee a commitment to change in policies or practices. This may be dependent on information, political and professional ideologies and personal commitment to the issue which is prepared to temper particular demands in the light of broad anti-racist or equal opportunity objectives. The PSI report found that local authorities had in the main taken little action to directly challenge issues of racism and racial inequality and it concluded that a local authority "disposition to be explicit about race is a pre-requisite for the development of policies."[24] In other words if Local Authorities cannot talk directly about racism and related issues they will not move forward, but nevertheless talking does not signify commitment to change and this is a key factor to be developed, established and secured in local struggle.

RACIAL INEQUALITY AND THE LOCAL STATE

This section will seek to identify the significant and direct role that local government plays in maintaining and reproducing racial inequality. A major area of racial inequality already identified is the one of most crucial significance, the inequality of power throughout all sections of local government. Not only do we see under-representation of black councillors, but also signficant under-representation of black people in senior-management and middle-management in local authority departments; other areas of unequal access to power are shown by the lack of black people on school's governing bodies, and other decision making groups. The development of restrictive access to decision-making in local government, as far as black people are concerned, can be traced initially to racism in employment, racism in the operation of political parties and the failure of black groups to effectively overcome these problems.

Local authorities are often a major, if not the major, employer in their areas and therefore they have a major responsibility in this area of work. The available data shows that black people have been systematically excluded from local government employment and that a major transformation is necessary to even attempt to redress this situation. In Liverpool the local authority employs approximately 30,000 workers and it would need to take on approximately 2,000 black workers to approach a fair measure of equality, with 5% to 7% black employees, in relation to the local population. This is due to the fact that at present 99.2% of its workforce is white.

To identify the forms that racism may take in employment a clarification of the dimensions of racism may be useful.[25]

Table 1. Types of Racism in Employment.

	Intentional	Unintentional
Personal	Racial abuse	Lower expectations of black employers.
Institutional	Segregated shifts or work sections.	Word of Mouth recruitment.

The existence of personal racism amongst a predominantly all-white workforce in local government is inevitable due to the cultural reservoir of racism that is an integral part of popular consciousness in Britain. It is most probable that white people are more aware of those behaviours which constitute intentional personal discrimination than those which reflect "subtle aggressions" against black men and women. The motivation for such action may be completely different but the effect of the treatment is the same when seen from the perspective of the person receiving the discrimination. To clarify the relationships between this grouping of racist behaviour and the legal definition of racial discrimination under the Race Relations Act, 1976, 'direct discrimination' covers both categories of intentional racist action and 'indirect discrimination' covers the category of unintentional institutional racist action.

The area not covered by the Race Relations Act is unintentional

personal racial discrimination; such action would be those behaviours performed by whites which reinforce the assumption of superiority of that group such as trivializing black issues, telling black people 'you're too sensitive', lack of support for black staff, or patronizing black people with language or gestures.

In employment racial discrimination may enter into every stage of the process of recruitment. In the advertising of jobs, failure to advertise in the black press, word of mouth recruitment practices and the use of internal recruitment practices will, in an organization where racial inequality exists in terms of black staff, discriminate against black applicants and tend to reproduce a white workforce. Other restrictive practices such as 'lads and dads' recruitment, trade union nomination, rights and restrictive quotas of black staff, will also discriminate. The majority of these practices exist in local authority recruitment procedures, particularly word of mouth recruitment. The use of selection tests e.g. for literacy, the use of educational qualifications and rules relating to dress etc. which are not job-related and relevant may also tend to discriminate against black applicants due to the existence of racial disadvantage in education and the special cultural and religious needs of black groups. In the interview situation, vague job descriptions and personnel specifications and the lack of explicit systematic procedures for decision-making will all extend the scope for racial stereotyping and racial discrimination to enter into this crucial area. When a decision to recruit a black worker has been made the assignment to a less desirable job, the bunching of black workers in certain areas, the overuse of black workers in certain jobs e.g. equal

opportunity work, the segregation of working conditions, will all affect the position of that worker. Furthermore, the failure to directly and effectively tackle racist language, racist jokes, racist graffitti and the mass of personal racist actions that occur in predominately all white organisations is evident in local government. This results in the lack of support for and isolation of black employees. Discrimination also occurs in the lack of recommendation for promotion and training for black employees. There have been very few cases under the Race Relations Act, 1976 relating to local government. The number of complaints and their rate of success is low, due to a number of factors a) expense of taking cases to Tribunal or Court, b) problem of finding evidence to establish discrimination, c) derisory damage for 'injury of feelings' of an average £200 and, d) no damage for indirect discrimination as there is said to be no intention to discriminate.[26]

The context is one, however, where collusion with racism, seen by the failure to identify racist behaviours and take effective action in terms of discipline, in terms of strong policy commitment and in terms of continued education sums up the general position of local government and local government unions given the massive extent of racial inequality at all levels within local government employment. This view is supported by the experiences of those undertaking race training across the country for staff with responsibility for recruitment in local authorities, in that the awareness of local government officers on the race issue is low and that there is an unwillingness to attend and receive equal opportunity training and more importantly actively support equal opportunity goals. Racial inequality in employment is a key area, second

in priority to racial inequality of power, and the achievement of real change here is crucial to developing equal opportunity in many other areas of local authority responsibility.

Local authorities are the main providers of a range of important services to the local communities they serve; these include education, youth and careers provision, housing development and management, personal social services, town planning and building control, leisure, libraries and arts, environmental health, refuse collection, street cleaning and consumer protection. Racism and practices which discriminate are clearly evident in the provision of all services by local government.[27]

In education, the under-achievement of black children in terms of access to further and higher education and in terms of exam results is a well-documented area of racial inequality. The Swann Committee did find that West Indian children did clearly under-achieve in terms of O-level results but Asian children did achieve higher results than white children, but fewer Asian children achieved access to further and higher education. West Indian children have been found to be over represented in ESN or special schools.[28] The context for this process is the interaction of different elements of racism, which act as external constraints on black children. Discrimination in housing and employment and the resulting location of black groups in British cities have both a direct and an indirect effect on access to education and on the private resources available to support children's education. Within the education system, racial inequality and racism are evident at every level. White children learn to be racially prejudiced by the time they are six or

seven,[29] and this must be seen in the context of pre-school provision and a failure to tackle racist influences on children. The lack of adequate language provision for black groups and the lack of sufficient educational provision in the pre-school area disproportionately effects black children, due to the greater percentage of black working women (74% compared to 43%).[30] In school, racism on the part of teachers as seen in the lower expectations for black pupils, the predominantely mono-cultural curriculum, and the lack of black people in senior teaching, management, governing bodies and education committees add up to a system that oppresses black children. In the careers service, the lack of specialist staff, the scarcity of detached workers and a certain indifference to employer discrimination impede the transition from school to work for black children.[31]

In housing, as we have seen, the scope for discrimination to enter into the provision of council housing is wide as allocation policies and practice are the sole responsibility of local government. The colour-blind implementationn of clearance and improvement policies, the failure to identify the health needs of black housing applicants, the operation of intentional and unintentional racial stereotypes in decisions made by housing staff providing accommodation and the lack of black representation in housing management, tenants groups and on housing committees have been identified as some of the forms that racism may take in many local authorities. Racial harassment on local authority housing estates is a real and growing problem, and the failure to tackle racism among their own tenants has for many years been taken for granted by housing departments across the country. The response of

housing departments to the special housing needs of black groups has been, in the main, subtly racist with entrenched opposition to providing for such housing needs from mainstream funding. The disproportionate number of black youth that suffer from homelessness, black single-parent families, Asian women, black elderly and other groups in the black communities all exhibit special housing needs; the failure of local authorities to tackle racism among its tenants combined with a failure to acknowledge these groups needs has resulted often in a chronic lack of service take-up by black people e.g. the predominance of white elderly in sheltered accommodation.[32]

In social services, there is an absence of service take-up in practically all areas except child care; casework difficulties and communication problems also indicate that black peoples' needs are not being met by local government. Indeed, institutionalised racism has been defined in a report on 'Care of the Elderly in Liverpool 8' (1983) as,

> "the way in which services became adopted in presentation availability and application so that they are not used, not available for use or not usable by the black community".[33]

Racial discrimination in the provision of services and racism from white clients are all factors that have been identified in this field. Overall, there has been an inability to see the racial inequality that is clearly evident in the delivery of many services e.g. meals on wheels,

home-helps, day-care, as an issue of high priority. The case-work philosophy, lack of local facilities, lack of information and other factors impede this recognition but those specific mechanisms which can be identified as perpetuating racism in the delivery of social services can be challenged within the constraints of local authorities. The use of power by Departments to undermine, oppose and delay tackling racial inequality is the result of both personal and institutional racism and this must be clearly seen to be the responsibility of local government.

In town planning, racism has often taken the form of a failure to note that black people exist and have special needs in local plans, structure plans and other planning documents, the failure to involve black groups in planning consultation processes, the failure to employ black workers at all levels in the planning department and the failure of planning committees to adequately address the cultural and religious needs of black groups.[34] In other service areas similar types of issues can arise, in terms of a failure to deal effectively with personal racism and a failure to address the causes of institutional racism. The Home Affairs Committee in its final report noted that local government should not be cast as 'the villain of the piece' in the sphere of racial disadvantage.[35] We wish to argue that local government is responsible for crucial areas of racial inequality through the operation of overtly racist and subtly racist policies, practices and personal actions.

Local authorities have three further areas of responsibility in which equal opportunity and anti-racist action is not evident, which are noted in declining order of priority. Firstly, as major financers of the

voluntary sector they are in a position to decide what scale of resources are made available to fund Community Relations Councils, ethnic community centres and other black projects. Secondly, they are in a potentially powerful situation to influence public opinion and the behaviour of other organisations and institutions in their area. This may operate to inhibit the development of anti-racist initiatives through high profile opposition, reflected in the media, and it may also operate to be a powerful force in the shifting of prevailing local ideologies of race to extend the scope for more concrete political struggle. Thirdly, local authorities finance a range of local contractors and they have a responsibility in this area to tackle the issues previously specified in terms of employment, particularly discrimination in access to jobs and racism on the shop floor.

The local state therefore controls and influences a significant part of its local social domain. Power over the day-to-day life of the community, provision of jobs, provision of a range of vital services, provision of financial resources and as a leader of public opinion constitutes a critical terrain for waging anti-racist political struggle. The role of the local state has been primarily to directly reproduce the structural oppression of black people and even those local authorities that have responded to the issues of equality of opportunity have, in the main, failed to show any significant change in the racial inequality in jobs and services. A review of initiatives taken to tackle these issues is undertaken in the next section.

ACTION-PLANNING FOR RACIAL EQUALITY

The production of action-programmes to facilitate the systematic removal of racist actions and racial inequality in the local state has begun to occur in many towns and cities throughout Britain. There is much to be learnt from the experience of black groups and local authorities who are grappling with the complex and far-reaching implications of attempting to remove the racial inequalities that exist in terms of power, jobs and services identified previously. Racism will not disappear through a statement of faith or a simple declaration of good intentions; some authorities have done little else than declare themselves equal opportunity employers, others have developed detailed programmes and strategies for action and in this section we consider some of the types of good practice developed in this sphere.

The measures that may be taken to tackle the forms of racism identified above require a strategic response that establishes formal commitment to equal opportunities through a Council resolution, a press statement, a sentence in job advertisements or on wage slips, a preface to standing orders as a start. As previously noted these do not change patterns of racial inequality but they may begin to establish a baseline or point of reference in challenging ideologies and actions in that organisation. The Race Relations Act, 1976 sets legal limits on racial discrimination segregation and victimisation and the Commission for Racial Equality Code of Practice in Employment, 1984 sets minimum requirements for equal opportunity practices in employment. Section II of the Local Government Act 1966 enables resources to be made

available to local authorities for specialist race staff and the Urban Programme and Inner City Partnership also assist local authorities to fund black projects and initiatives, they provide a limited but permissive framework for the development of clear commitment and action at the local level.

It should be clear from the previous section that an equal opportunity strategy must be comprehensive; the local authority's areas of responsibility as employer, service-provider, funder of the voluntary sector, provider of contracts, influencer of public opinion and site of local democracy are all inter-linked and must be considered. The development of a strategy that has real impact requires the first area of racial inequality, that of power, to be tackled and overcome, as the failure to involve the black community in policy formulation, policy implementation and policy evaluation will continue the white perception of black needs and thereby the subtly racist process of patronage and charity to black groups.

Such a process can only impede the difficult task of transforming historically-rooted structures of racial inequality. Given the under-representation of black people as councillors, senior officers and as trade union representatives, arrangements need to be considered to establish meaningful access and dialogue with black community representatives in each area. The creation of a Council committee to take responsibility for race issues, to co-ordinate the Council's equal opportunity programmes and to review existing policies and procedures in terms of their impact on the black population is necessary. This

may in itself be inadequate as there is a danger that race isues can be regarded as marginal to the work of other committees and therefore the co-option of black representatives onto other-council committees may be necessary to ensure that the race relations implications of all Council resolutions are considered possibly in the same way that the financial implications of all resolutions are considered as a matter of course. This process will thereby by-pass electoral democratic mechanisms and widen the control and accountability of local government through the creation of mechanisms of a representative democratic character. At officer level, it is important to establish access for black representatives to policy discussions with senior management teams: this may be done through the creation of regular advisory groups, contacts with CRC's and also through policy workshops. There are two further crucial areas to be considered in the development of a strategy for equal opportunity through access to power and decision making. Firstly, the development of mechanisms in political parties, particularly the Labour Party, to ensure a high profile political commitment to race and the production of relevant, useful policy guidelines is vital e.g. the establishment of a local race policy advisory group or District race sub-committee, which enables black representatives outside the party structure access to assist in policy development. Secondly, and in a similar vein the development of mechanisms in the local trade union structures to advance this process e.g. race sub-committees in Union branches that would negotiate equal opportunity policies and recommend necessary changes in branch internal arrangements. Securing the support of trade unions and developing detailed discussion of race issues within political parties are essential components of an effective equal opportunity campaign. Therefore

measures to tackle inequalities of power may involve the setting-up of organisations structures, systems, forms of consultation both formal and advisory for black groups to establish access and allow the black community's political voice to be heard within the structure of the local state.

Measures to tackle racial inequalities in employment are specified to a minimum extent in the Commission for Racial Equality's Code of Practice in Employment (1984), as follows.

a) Allocate responsibility for policy to members of senior management.

b) Consult and agree with trade union representatives.

c) Publicise policy and make known to all employees.

d) Training in law and policy for decision-makers (managers, gate-keepers, receptionists)

e) Examine procedures and criteria to identify racially discriminatory practices.

f) Monitor ethnic origin of workforce and job applicants.

g) Take positive action where black workers are under-represented in a particular section of the workforce re. Sec. 35 of RR. Act

h) Grievance and Disciplinary procedure to include racist activities and discrimination as subject to action.[36]

All these components of an equal opportunity policy for employment can be equally applied to all areas of local government service delivery. The CRE documents 'Implementing Equal Employment Opportunity Policies' (1983) and 'Local Government and Racial Equality'

(1982) give useful examples of how employers and local authorities have responded to these eight policy issues.[37] The failure of these documents to adequately consider the political aspects of securing equal opportunity initiatives does however render their usefulness as limited. The string of policy measures that may be considered such as specialist race relations staff funded under Section 11, the use of policy statements on advertisements, letterheads and vacancy lists, extended notification of jobs e.g. in the ethnic minority press, race awareness training to challenge racist attitudes, the development of effective statistical analysis of racial inequalities in employment and service-delivery, setting up pre-entry training schemes for unqualified black people e.g. in housing management or social work, funding of voluntary organisations who are working for racial equality e.g. Community Relations Council have been known in general for a number of years. There is a need for more effective inter-local authority communication on good practice in the development of equal opportunities and this has been noted as one of the main recommendations in the report on 'Local Authorities and Racial Disadvantage;[38] through the development of an up-to-date information bank, although the CRE does attempt to provide this function. But, those processes that have determined how these initiatives were agreed and implemented in different local authorities and exactly what effect they had on patterns of personal and institutional racism around the country require much closer attention; these issues are considered in the next section.

In conclusion, to refer back to the types of racial discrimination identified in Table 1 it is necessary to match each type of racism with

appropriate action. Unintentional personal racism requires training and education and the development of personal awareness as to what constitutes such action and how it may be tackled. Intentional personal racism may be dealt with through an effective grievance and disciplinary procedure and legislation given prior political and union commitment. Unintentional and institutional racism requires monitoring to assess the impact of policies in producing racial inequality, review of existing procedures and criteria and the development of new non-racist policies and criteria which allow scope for the development of positive action initiatives. Intentional institutional racism requires strong political commitment to challenge it and a willingness to use the Race Relations Act, 1976. Policy innovation in this field, as in many others, is however also vital to this process and new ways of tackling the often subtle forms that racism may take do need to be found.

RACE-RELATED INTERVENTIONS IN HOUSING IN LIVERPOOL

This section is concerned to establish and clarify the aims of intervention in race relations and the background of political and policy-orientated action to tackle racism in housing in Liverpool that relates to the achievement of the specified aims of intervention.

The framework that will be used in the analysis of race-related interventions in housing is derived from an article by Ben-Tovim, Gabriel, Law and Stredder.[39] Three aims of race-related interventions were established in this framework. Firstly, "anti-racism", which in the context of post-war Britain represents the aim of defending black groups or individuals from victimization or harassment. Issues in this area would encompass campaigns over immigration and deportation cases, the 'SUS' law, cases of racial attack and opposition to extreme right-wing organizations. Secondly, "meeting ethnic needs" here the aim is to respond to three specific areas of need. Cultural and linguistic differences generate a number of needs particularly on the part of newly arrived immigrants in such areas as employment opportunities or housing provision. Indirect forms of disadvantage such as the needs of homeless youth or the black elderly arising from cultural differences and racism clearly exist and need to be met. Lastly, issues of the mono-cultural curriculum in education are examples of need resulting from institutional forms of racism. A third aim of such intervention is that of "equality of opportunity". An important consideration here is the persistence of inequality of outcome in jobs and services and it is towards this aim i.e. equality of outcome that many CRC's and black groups are now

moving.[40] It is in this context that the aim of racial equality and justice can be clarified through the development of strategies, targets and timetables.

As previously stated in Part Two, Merseyside Community Relations Council (MCRC) since its inception in 1970 had identified three race-related issues in housing that arose from the casework section of the organisation. Firstly, the provision of accommodation for special housing needs e.g. black homeless youth and the black elderly, was not being adequately made by mainstream housing agencies. Secondly, black households suffering racial harassment was a serious problem of particular concern. Thirdly, the detrimental effect of council housing policy and practice on the black community was becoming evident through examples of perceived racial discrimination and the overall reproduction of racial inequalities in council housing. The emergence of these issues accords with the three broad aims of race-related interventions identified above, i.e. meeting ethnic needs, anti-racism and equal opportunity. The clear identification of those objectives and the development of political and campaign activity to achieve specific reforms in relation to each problem, expressed by a continual flow of individual cases, was not to be effectively begun until 1978/79. Nevertheless, it is worth noting the steps that were taken before that period.

(i) Meeting Ethnic Needs

By 1973 it was clear to the MCRC staff that the problem of young

black homeless people was increasing, often suffering racial discrimination in the search for either permanent or short-stay accommodation. A research report by the Community Relations Commission served to highlight this problem in 1974.[41] After consultation with the largest local housing association, Merseyside Improved Houses, a joint application was submitted under Urban Aid 12 to convert suitable premises and fund staff to run a hostel for homeless youth. Ujaama House came into being in April 1976 employing a warden and four other staff under a Manpower Services Commission Scheme and providing accommodation for seven young people. On paper this appears to be a useful innovation but due to many bureaucratic errors and mis-management which ended in the boycott of the hostel by the Social Service Department the usefulness of this venture was severely curtailed. In 1979, under the new Chairmanship of a member of the Liverpool Black Organisation, rather than a member of the Social Services Department, the hostel has developed in a more fruitful way indicating the possible impact grass-roots intervention can make on policy and provision.

(ii) Anti-Racism

Almost 50% of cases dealt with by the MCRC from 1971 to 1977 involved aspects of racial harassment or neighbourhood friction.[42] The motivating aim here was to protect the minority rights of individuals and households experiencing such action. The action taken invariably

involved support, representation and advocacy work to attempt to solve the case. But the orientation of the workers involved, and the lack of effective support and direction by MCRC management did not lead to any coherent pursual of "anti-racist" or "structural" initiatives. Although the recognition of poor staffing and resources in this community organisation did lead to the application for a "resource based" initiative, that of a Community Relations Officer (Housing) post funded by the EEC's Social Fund and managed via the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) in 1978.

(iii) Equal Opportunity

Apart from the attempts to lobby Liverpool City Council to adopt an Equal Opportunity Policy, some approaches were made specifically to the Housing Department in an effort to change council housing allocation policy. In 1975 the officer of the Race Relations Board, and the MCRC's Senior CRO approached the Housing Manager to highlight two problems. Firstly, the need to carefully monitor the allocation of housing to black families and secondly to give higher priority for transfer to those black families suffering racial harassment, particularly where they had been resident for a number of years prior to the neighbouring move of the problem white household. These proposals went unheeded. In May 1977 a resolution was put before the Housing Committee:

> "to consider the effects and implications of the Race Relations Act 1976 in relation to the City Council's Housing and Allocation Policy"[43]

This was deferred for a report by the Director of Housing. It was recommended that no action was necessary because of:

1. The undesirability of record keeping - "it may make discrimination easier".
2. The complexity of record keeping - given the "variety of Liverpool's immigrant community".
3. The lack of evidence of complaints of racial discrimination in allocations.[44]

A colour-blind approach by the Housing Department and the Housing Committee combined with no research and no follow-up by the MCRC led to the issue being dropped, although the casework continued to pile up in MCRC files.

New Organisational Context

A number of problems had emerged from the irregular attempts of the MCRC to achieve some sort of race-related reforms in housing by 1978. The lack of any grass-roots pressure for such reforms resulted from this area receiving low priority from community activists despite the intensity of housing deprivation in the black community. The Granby Housing Aid Centre set up by the Shelter Neighbourhood Action Project[45] in 1973 had been taken over by the Housing Department in 1975 and had never developed any specific action on race-related issues. A number of special needs amongst the community remained hidden and overshadowed by the colour-blind ideology of local authority

departments. In housing, the notional aim of housing need being the determinant in housing service delivery made any action on the issue of institutional discrimination in housing difficult. The universalist approach of local authority staff to their work and the workerist class ideologies of Labour councillors had so far prevented a constructive discussion of race and housing issues in even the most informal of political arenas. Furthermore, the distance of the MCRC from the local state in terms of direct links with state officials or elected members reduced the scope for influence and ideological struggle by the MCRC and other local activists.

But by late 1978 early 1979 a new organisational context had developed from which a number of effective race-related interventions in housing were to emerge. The appointment of a Community Relations Officer (Housing) at the MCRC in September 1978 and the formation of a support group (formalised in the wider Ethnic Minorities Liaison Committee in January 1979) consisting of representatives from the three political parties, senior staff from the Housing Department and Housing Associations, local black representatives and officers from the CRE were the initial factors in this process. After negotiations between the CRE and the Liberal Chairman of the Housing Committee an Ethnic Minorities Liaison Committee was established as a sub-committee of the Allocations and Services Sub-Committee, which itself reported to the Housing Committee. The Housing Committee reports to the Policy and Finance Committee (a product of the corporate management changes of the early 1970's) and thereby to the full Council. So, although tortuous an access point was established to decision-making in the local state.

The Liberals who had minority control of the Council at the time gave little resistance to the achievement of what potentially was a "structural (political)" reform conforming as it did to their style of "community politics". The Committee provided a forum in which representatives of black organisations met (albeit initially on an irregular basis) with officers and councillors to discuss reports on race and housing, particularly those produced by the CRC's Housing Officer and to feed recommendations directly into formal council structures. The outcome of the first meeting was an identification of the areas to be tackled.

a) Special Needs: in particular the housing needs of elderly persons and young homeless persons of ethnic origin.

b) Voluntary Sector: in particular the allocations policies of Housing Associations.

c) Council Housing: the keeping of records and the general policy area of allocations.[46]

Although the issue of record-keeping by the Housing Department was again raised the Housing Manager deferred the issue to the next meeting and showed a reticence to accept the arguments presented by representatives of the CRC and CRE, in accordance with the consistent opposition to monitoring and record-keeping set down in the Director of Housing's report in May 1977. The struggle to puncture this bureaucratic defensiveness ran parallel to the Equal Opportunity campaign, which developed from the experience gained from this Liaison Committee and the Race Relations Working Party, and from the development of renewed

radical activity in the Liverpool Black Organisation (L.B.O.) and the Merseyside Anti-Racialist Alliance (MARA). But in the housing field the interventions that were made by the core group of CRC staff and MARA/University researchers and the experienced advice of the CRE's Housing Officer were developed in a more low-profile way than the equal opportunity campaign but also were more thoroughly researched and consistent in their approach and impact. As outlined above, there were three distinct areas in which interventions were developed:- special needs, council housing, and the voluntary sector. The intervention in Liverpool Housing Trust's policy and practice which began from late 1978 is a clear example of initially successful intervention, which developed to encompass most of the intermediary reforms demanded.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND LIVERPOOL HOUSING TRUST

Liverpool Housing Trust (LHT) is a major inner city stress area housing association, with over three thousand properties throughout Liverpool, with almost half being situated in the main area of black settlement in South Liverpool. The reasons for tackling LHT were these; firstly, it is the second largest housing association in Liverpool (apart from Merseyside Improved Houses who are discussed in the next section) and secondly the main office was in Liverpool 8 and it provided a valuable source of accommodation in the area. Furthermore the head of Housing Management at LHT had agreed in October 1978 to an investigation of allocation procedures by the CRO (Housing) assisted by this researcher and showed willing to discuss the implications of such as the 1976 Race Relations Act. He was also a member of the Ethnic Minorities Liaison Committee as a result of his initial interest in this area. Therefore the scope for investigating equal opportunities in housing and the barriers to tackling racial inequality seemed to justify research in this area.

The first step was to carry out the research into LHT's allocation procedures, this was done between March and October 1979. The inexperience of the CRO (Housing) in survey research and the desire to produce a report that could form the basis for discussion as quickly as possible led to a number of methodological and technical criticisms of the final report but the orientation of LHT's Housing Manager allowed the issue to be accepted as one of concern to the Trust.

"I have reservations about the way in which the research was conducted and about the manner in which the findings have

been presented. I consider that the study does not justify the conclusions reached, but I think that Ferdi Fru, CRO (Housing), has highlighted an issue which should concern the trust. It is clear that we need to consider our policy towards ethnic minorities and review our procedures accordingly".[47]

A number of meetings were held with LHT staff and the recommendations suggested by the report were more precisely defined with a view to implementation. The report and recommendations were set out in a shortened version for the Ethnic Minorities Liaison Committee in February 1980.[48]

i) Allocations Survey

The objective of this study was to assess differential allocation in the provision of housing services to black and white households by Liverpool Housing Trust. 196 households were rehoused by LHT in its Southern District from November 1977 to October 1978 from which 97 households were interviewed. The remaining households had either given up their tenancy (38), not been contacted (32), been rehoused twice i.e. transfer (20), refused the interview (6), or the interview had been lost (3). Of the 97 interviewed 20% (19), were black households and 80% (78), were white. In relation to available data on the black population this seems roughly equitable with the proportion of black people in that area, similarly this was roughly equitable with the percentage of black households in the South City District in council housing (21.5%). This overall picture obscured difference in access and allocation.

Black tenants were in greater housing need than white tenants on application to LHT, in terms of shared amenities, physical condition of

property, landlord on premises and status as such tenants. In terms of treatment 32% of whites (25), and 78% of blacks (15) were told that the waiting list was closed for all areas except Liverpool 8, this indicates racially selective provision of information. Furthermore in terms of choice of area and actual rehousing black households were, irrespective of choice, disproportionately rehoused in the core area of black settlement. Also 79% of black households compared to 35% of whites were rehoused in the Falkner/Canning Street area in the centre of Liverpool 8.

Table 2. Choice of area and allocations to Liverpool Housing Trust tenants, 1977-78

	White (%)	Black (%)
Previously lived in L.8.	41	53
Requested L.8.	35	42
Rehoused in L.8.	69	89
Requested outside L.8.	65	58
Rehoused outside L.8.	31	11

(Source: LHT Allocation Procedures Practice, 1979).

In terms of waiting time, it appeared that black households tended to wait longer for housing as 42% of white households and only 26% of black households were rehoused in under 8 weeks. Furthermore 36% of white households and 47% of black households had stayed on the waiting list for 6 to 12 months despite being in greater housing need. Also, despite waiting longer for housing a lower proportion of black households, 52% compared to 86% white, had their accommodation clean

and ready when they moved in. In terms of stock, there was little provision for four to five bedroom accommodation which disadvantaged black households which tend to be larger. Overall, these facts tended to indicate, although in a rather piecemeal way, that there were inequalities in access and allocation of LHT housing and possible areas of racial discrimination. Therefore, the following package of intermediate reforms was proposed.

(ii) Recommendations

1. Record-Keeping

There is need to collect information at the point where a housing applicant first comes in to contact with L.H.T. The information should be simple containing only such information as name, address, ethnic origin and the name of the case worker who will be dealing with the case.

2. Monitoring

Information so collected should be analysed from time to time to satisfy management that in carrying out its function it is not placing any one group of people such as minority groups, single parent families, at a continuous disadvantage in terms of area and type of accommodation being offered to this group of people.

3. Advice

There is need to set up a small system for rendering advice and help to applicants who do not meet L.H.T. selection criteria.

4. Large Properties

L.H.T. should look into the possibility of providing four and five bedroomed accommodation in the south city area.

5. Special Needs Accommodation

L.H.T. should look into the possibility of providing some form of accommodation for elderly black people in the area, preferably grouping people of one ethnic group, e.g. Somalis, together.

6. Specialist Worker

L.H.T. should consider employing a Liverpool-born black worker with whom most of their black tenants can identify. The worker should be in the Housing Officer grade and his/her duties should include the housing needs of people of minority groups who apply to be rehoused by LHT.

At the Liaison Committee the issue of record-keeping in housing proved the most contentious. LHT's Housing Director pointed out that it would be difficult to implement the recommendation without keeping records, although he agreed that this would be discussed by the Trust's Management Committee the following week. The Councillors and officials representing the Housing and Building Committee opposed record-keeping referring again to the Director of Housing's report in 1977. But, it appeared that the preparation of the LHT Allocations Survey had taken the debate within LHT beyond that of the entrenched position of the local authority, and it was the process of informal

discussions with LHT staff that had secured this change. However the argument for ethnic minority needs and related provision by the housing associations was as it appeared a much easier initiative to win than in the public sector due to the changes in housing activity promoted by a shift in central and local government policy. In Liverpool, the 1976 priority area renewal strategy had provided for housing associations to become a main agent of publicly-funded improvement, and the 1978 local authority housing strategy envisaged that they would provide 49% of new public sector dwellings between 1978/79 and 1982/83.[49] The decline of the private landlord sector and housing for rent had to be compensated for and further large-scale expansion of local authority public sector housing was politically unwelcome due to the numerous monumental mistakes of previous councils e.g. the high-rise failures of the 1960's. In this sense cumulative decisions to expand the role of housing associations have equally been decisions to minimise the role of municipalisation. The arguments for them have included the provision of wider choice and the ability to cater for minority groups. In this context the evasion of local authority responsibility under the 1976 Race Relations Act, in relation to council housing, and the promotion of a positive response from the housing association sector fell within both the ideological and fiscal considerations of the ruling Liberal Party, and encouraged an inertia on the part of the local authority officials and councillors. The housing associations themselves with an ideology of responsiveness to community needs combined with the financial incentive to find new areas of expansion related to Housing Corporation criteria had little ground on which to oppose the general issue. The problems that needed tackling to achieve a rolling implementation of race related reforms in LHT were therefore, mainly technical e.g. how should records be kept and monitored, what specific ethnic needs should be provided for. The

involvement of LHT staff in discussion with MCRC staff and others, and in the Liaison Committee and the various race and housing training programmes carried out by the core group led to the implementation of the majority of the research report's recommendations by July 1981. The progress made was as follows:

1. On the 1st April 1981 an ethnic records section was introduced on the Trust's housing application form, which is to be monitored at regular intervals.

2. The Trust declared itself an Equal Opportunity employer and included a statement of all job advertisements.

3. The post of Project Officer Ethnic Minorities was advertised in May and an appointment made in June 1981. This officer has not only responsibility for projects involving ethnic minorities but also a research capacity in relation to all aspects of LHT's equal opportunities policy, in particular monitoring ethnic records.

4. Provision of accommodation for elderly blacks was in the process of being made. A pilot scheme of self-contained sheltered housing for elderly families opened in July 1981.

5. The Trust also managed a new EEC/CRC supported housing scheme of five units for youths at risk in Liverpool 8, particularly black youth, under the Projects Officer which opened in 1982.

The Special Projects Officer appointed was a member of the local black community with academic and housing experience, and the major

work of transforming the intermediary reforms of record-keeping and equal opportunity statements into real improvements in service delivery to the black community was a crucial part of this officer's role.

In 1981 the picture of racial inequality in LHT seemed bleak, there were no black people on the organisation's management committee, approximately 3% of LHT's 110 staff were black, there appeared to be racial discrimination and racial inequality in the provision of housing and there were no clear guidelines on how racist attitudes amongst staff should be dealt with. As stated the package of initiatives was agreed in early 1981 prior to the riots in that year, which can have only served to highlight issues of racism in Liverpool.

Through direct involvement in the Monitoring Support Group, which included LHT staff, Special Projects Officer, MCRC representative, Black Social Worker's Project representative, and Race Research Representative (Myself), a check on the development of record-keeping and monitoring and equal opportunity issues in LHT was made. In the Autumn of 1984, an evaluation of the impact of equal opportunities in LHT was carried out in conjunction with the Special Project Officer. This was structured around the eight points listed in the Equal Opportunities statement adopted in 1981 which is reviewed below.

1. "In providing housing services and in employing staff to provide these services the Trust will ensure equality of opportunity and treatment for all persons".

The implementation of record-keeping in housing allocations in

1981 and in employment since 1983 shows an initial commitment to ensure equality of opportunity. However, the results of monitoring housing allocations, discussed below in section 6, have shown that crucial areas of racial inequality remain and still need to be tackled, and in employment there are still only 4% of LHT staff that are black where 7% - 8% of the local population is black. So there has appeared to be no real progress towards removing racial inequality overall in housing services and in employment. Therefore, equality of outcome has not been achieved. But in terms of trying to ensure that equality of opportunity is established LHT have adopted the policy statement that is noted here, which is based on the model produced by the National Federation of Housing Associations.[50] LHT ran a training course for all staff consisting of five morning sessions covering the history and settlement of black people in Liverpool, the Race Relations Act, cross-cultural communication skills, special needs of black people in housing and personal social services, personal attitudes, and ethnic records and monitoring. This course was run twice with approximately 50 people on each course so as to cover all staff, furthermore staff from all levels were trained together. These organisational issues meant that apart from conveying and publicising to staff LHT's policy and commitment to equal opportunities there was little impact. The large numbers at each session with little opportunity for participation will have restricted severely the learning on the course. The differing training needs of, for example, senior management as opposed to receptionists meant that the course was not structured in the most effective way. The high turnover of staff since the course was run in 1980/81 given the lack of follow-up in race training means that there is an increasing lack of awareness of race and housing issues amongst staff. The most important criteria for

evaluating the course is whether action to tackle racism and racial disadvantage in LHT is carried out by staff and that no racial discrimination takes place. There is no evidence that individual acts of discrimination have taken place but in terms of the problems of the lack of detailed, objective policy and procedures in areas such as allocations and other areas of service delivery and therefore the scope for subjective judgements and the risk of personal prejudice to enter into these processes there is justifiable concern that equal opportunity has not been fully ensured.

2. "No person or group of persons applying for a job or for contracts with the Trust will be treated less favourably than any other person or groups of persons because of their race, colour, ethnic or national origin, or because of their religion, sex, physical disability, appearance or marital status."

This can only be assessed through detailed record-keeping and monitoring and the available evidence discussed below suggests that particularly in the provision of accommodation conscious or unconscious racial stereo-types may have entered into advice or decisions in this area.

3. "In carrying out its Equal Opportunity Policy the Trust will actively assist disadvantaged minorities to benefit from its housing services."

LHT has responded to the needs of disadvantaged black groups by providing accommodation appropriate to their needs. This has been

particularly developed by the Special Projects Officer who plays a key role in this area in terms of liaising with black organisations and groups and in identifying housing needs. The provision of accommodation for young homeless people in Liverpool 8 was tackled by the establishment of a small scheme particularly targeted at young black homeless. This has since closed and there is urgent need to review and meet this area of need. The provision of accommodation for elderly Somalis' has been more successful where sensitive management has assured a more effective scheme. There is also commitment to provide a new-build sheltered accommodation scheme for black elderly in Liverpool 8 and this would further the objective of meeting special needs in this sphere. There is also room for more effective co-ordination and communication on special needs and projects. The establishment of a working party with external involvement from black groups would be a crucial step forward to ensure greater representation and democratic control and thereby it would further break down barriers between the black community and LHT.

4. "It will seek to identify the needs of disadvantaged minority groups in its area of operations by establishing close relationships with the groups".

As a first and most important step LHT has increased the representation of black people on its Management Committee to about 10% thereby initiating links with black groups. But, as discussed above, the Special Project Officer's often key role in local black organisations

e.g. Law Centre, MCRC and others has been of immense assistance to LHT in enabling needs and issues affecting the black population to the identified. Nevertheless, black representation on sub-committees in LHT e.g. the Elderly Working Party, is minimal and there is need to consider co-option of representatives here.

5. "As an employer the Trust will seek actively to employ from minority groups. Where necessary it will provide them with special training facilities to enable them to compete or qualify for positions in the Trust".

As previously stated there has been no significant increase in the overall percentage of black staff in LHT, and in senior management there are no black staff. Nevertheless, LHT have included an equal opportunity statement on adverts and they do distribute vacancies particularly on lower grade jobs to local black community organisations and through South Liverpool Personnel, a local black employment agency. Despite ethnic monitoring of job applications no information has yet been made available, therefore it is difficult to assess whether applications are forthcoming in adequate numbers, whether black applicants have appropriate skills and whether there are any specific mechanisms that directly or indirectly discriminate against black applicants. It is certain, however, that some if not all of these factors are operating in the recruitment of staff in LHT. It is also not clear that word-of-mouth recruitment particular for part-time staff has ceased, a practice which has been shown to be clearly discriminatory.[51]

The development of positive action, in terms of training, in employment is absolutely vital to the development of real equality. If all practices of direct and indirect discrimination in LHT are removed the inequality will remain for decades due to prior racial inequality in education and previous racial discrimination. Without action which is compensatory and allows special resources to be directed towards black applicants only the inequalities will not disappear. Therefore treating everybody equally in a situation where some groups are unequal will only serve to maintain and reproduce that inequality. Merseyside Skills Training (MST), a positive action scheme designed to produce black housing management trainees and then find permanent jobs for them in housing associations and the City Councils' housing department, is a model of good practice in this field. (It is discussed later, but suffice to say that LHT were one of the housing associations that MST targeted for placements and jobs. From October 1983 to October 1984 three black trainees were placed there of which two successfully completed the training scheme. Subsequently they have both been permanently employed in housing management. No more trainees were placed for the year 1984-1985 due to MST's desire to place trainees in housing development and given the cuts in LHT's development programme and the threat of job losses in the organisation LHT could not provide placement facilities. Therefore, economic and financial constraints have now been identified by LHT as precluding the development of a strategy and timetable to achieving a minimum 8% target of black workers in LHT.

6. "To help fulfill it's commitment to Equal Opportunities, the Trust will collect and monitor records of all those applying for housing and all those seeking employment with the Trust. Practices and procedures will be monitored to ensure that they do not cause unintentional discrimination".

In employment, although detailed information is not yet available there are indications that practices and procedures are not adequate. The production of systematic guidelines and criteria for decision-making at every stage of the recruitment process has not been fully developed in LHT. This objective basis is necessary to allow effective monitoring and evalution of equal opportunity and therefore further work in this area is required. This might include specific guidelines for job descriptions and personnel specifications, criteria for short-listing and selection that are strictly job relevant and non-racist interviewing procedures. This would also assist in general progress towards eliminating the scope for subjective discretion and thereby potential racial discrimination in the recruitment process.

In housing allocations, the results of two years monitoring have been made available and produced by the Monitoring Support Group. The Trust has in management over 3,000 tenancies. During 1981/82 there were 450 tenancies given to the different needs groups rehoused by the Trust.

The 'needs groups' can be put into four basic categories:

(i) Improvement Decants

Families moved either permanently or temporarily for improvement work to be undertaken in their existing homes. The category is given the highest priority for rehousing.

(ii) Transfers

Existing Trust tenants who wish to move from one tenancy to another. Priority will vary depending upon the reason the family wish to move.

(iii) Local Authority Nominations

Liverpool City Council have nomination arrangements with the Trust, for 50% of the available tenancies. The City Council selects these families from their own waiting list and council tenants.

(iv) The Trust Waiting List

Applicants are admitted to the Trust waiting list if they meet the selection criteria, and the accommodation they are requesting is available within a reasonable period of time.

Before looking at the explanations of racial inequality the overall outcome of allocations to black and white households is described.

Table 3. Allocations by property type, 1982/1983.

		White (%)	Black (%)
1982	Houses	38	13
	Flats	62	87
1983	Houses	40	21
	Flats	60	79

The introduction of monitoring of all categories proceeded unevenly through 1982. Therefore these figures do not cover 100% of all lettings. But Table 3 does show that there is clear differential allocation in terms of property type. In terms of location 53% of black tenants were allocated to the Canning and Granby areas of Liverpool 8 compared to 42% of white tenants in 1982. This disproportionate concentration of black tenants is matched by under-representation of black tenants in all other areas of Liverpool. Furthermore, in 1983 15% of white tenants were allocated new-build property as opposed to rehabilitated property, compared to 3% of black tenants.

In terms of access full figures were only available in 1983, but these still did not include the improvement decant category.

Table 4. Allocations by category rehoused, 1983

	White (%)	Black (%)
Corporation Nominations	44	28
Transfer	22	30
Waiting List	34	42
Total	100	100

Overall, lettings to black applicants in 1983 were down from 34% in 1982 to 22%. This is particularly due to a reduction in the proportion of black households being rehoused as corporation nomination in 1982 to 15% in 1983, and also there was a reduction in the proportion being rehoused via the waiting list although not as great. The outcome of allocations in terms of property type can be partly explained by the over-representation of black households in the waiting list category which receives the lowest proportion of houses compared to all other categories (24.5%), and the under-representation in corporation nominations (C.N.) which receives the highest proportion of houses (41.7%). Therefore, securing a more even representation of black households in the C.N. category as has been achieved in transfers from 1982 to 1983 would be vital.

Nevertheless, white households in the waiting list and C.N. category are receiving a disproportionately high number of houses compared to black households whereas black households are receiving a higher proportion of houses as transfers as Table 5 shows.

Table 5. Category rehoused by percentage of each category rehoused in houses

	White (%)	Black (%)
Corporation Nominations	49	-
Transfers	40	56
Waiting List	29	15

Furthermore, in the waiting list category black households are being allocated disproportionately to older pre-1974 flats that are of lower quality due to the lower standard of rehabilitation prior to 1974 i.e. 31% of black households on the waiting list compared to 17% of white households.

Therefore, four issues of racial inequality have arisen in allocations that indicate potential areas of intentional or unintentional discrimination in LHT. These are, the concentration of black tenants in estates in Liverpool 8, the very few black households being rehoused in new-build property which for LHT is mainly outside L.8, the lack of access and inferior allocations through the C.N. category and lastly, the inferior allocations to black households, in terms of less houses and more low quality flats, through the waiting list category. These issues still require attention in LHT, although positive action has been taken to try to achieve a greater proportion of allocations to black households on new-build estates in North City which is to be welcomed. This was carried out by notifying all black tenants on LHT's transfer list of the

vacancies on the particular new-build site. This action was effectively followed through and three black households out of a total of twenty six were rehoused there. Also involved in this process was the discussion and formulation of a policy on racial harassment which was not finally agreed until 1984. Action over nominations from the city council is problematic given the local authorities' hostility to the record-keeping and monitoring of council services, which is discussed below, although there is a role for LHT to play in reviewing and checking cases coming through this channel and thereby local authority criteria. Racial stereotyping in allocations needs to be tackled through further training as discussed above and through a comprehensive review of the allocations policy to make it clearer, more systematic and less open to uneven subjective interpretation by officers.

7. "In hiring contractors and other agencies to work for it, the Trust will be mindful of its commitment to equality of opportunity".

Most, if not all, contractors hired by LHT are white and there appears to be clear racial inequality in the workforce engaged in this area of work. Little work has been doen so far by LHT to remind contractors of their obligation to equal opportunity and the Race Relations Act and to build this aspect into contracts and then ensure monitoring and contract compliance as the GLC have begun to do.[52] It is a complicated legal field but nevertheless LHT does have the power and responsibility to influence actions and attempt to eradicate racial

discrimination. This is not enough, however, as positive action must be taken to promote black contractors and skilled workers without which no real change can take place in this area of inequality.

8. "In the composition and operation of its Management Committee the Trust will be mindful of its commitment to equal opportunity."

As previously mentioned there are two black representatives on LHT's Management Committee but neither of these members have any specific background in housing and therefore a person with such experience would be of value in the furthering of equal opportunity. Nevertheless, these appointments need to be judged in terms of their effectivity. They can be taken to be tokenistic if no real change in racial inequality is achieved as this is within LHT's power, whereas where change does begin to happen these appointments may be seen to be an essential part of the package of intermediate reforms.

In conclusion, the role of research has been seen to be crucial to the instigation and continued development of equal opportunity and race-related interventions in LHT. Since the first research report was presented in 1980 LHT have shown a certain openness in the introduction and establishment of intermediate reforms. The implementation of training, record-keeping, monitoring, external involvement, and positive action has begun and the support of LHT's management committee and some officers in the Trust has been necessary in achieving these

measures. But, no real change has occured in racial inequalities in housing or employment, and in the latter area the problems of word-of-mouth recruitment, monitoring applicants' records, lack of clarity in procedures for recruitment, the pressures to drop positive action in training black people in housing management and the legal issues surrounding contract compliance have served to ensure the reproduction of racial inequality. In housing, the effect of the lack of black workers has serious implications in that racial stereotypes about black applicants' choices and needs may go unchallenged, and furthermore, effective implementation of what may be appropriate procedures e.g. record-keeping does not adequately occur. Therefore, as stated, the implementation of effective training over attitudes, good practice and policy assumes a higher priority in terms of need in the organisation. This can only happen however when effective policy development has taken place. There is a clear need in LHT to review and develop allocations policy in the light of the monitoring data and a commitment has been given by the Management Committee that this should be taken on board. Since that commitment was given in June 1984 the Monitoring Support Group has been disbanded and it has been replaced by an internal working party. Since the strongest force in the development of race issues in LHT has been external pressure through research and negotiation combined with supportive action from officers in LHT it does not appear that this step will lead to progress, if anything this action will lead to further inactivity and delay in achieving the goals of racial equality. If however, there is involvement from external race-related organisations, supportive LHT staff and management committee members there is a real chance that this may lead to a direct attack on

the ideological, organisational and technical barriers that at present constrain equal opportunity strategies in this organisation.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND MERSEYSIDE IMPROVED HOUSES

Merseyside Improved Houses (MIH) is the largest housing association operating in the area, managing more than eleven thousand properties throughout Merseyside. The association operates in areas with a substantial black population and has been the object of race-related interventions over a similar period to that of Liverpool Housing Trust. Prior to 1979 no effective action has been taken by MIH to respond to their obligations in terms of the 1976 Race Relations Act and wider issues of racism, racial disadvantage and racial inequality. In reviewing race and housing associations in a recent article Pat Niner pointed to the crucial role of external forces in prodding the organisations to break their colour-blind consensus and take action on equal opportunities.[53] She points to the role of research in challenging LHT and a complaint of direct discrimination against Copec Housing Trust in Birmingham in spurring action, however, in her review of MIH no mention is made of external pressure. But, as in most examples of housing associations that have lifted their colour-blind ideology of 'we treat them all the same' external pressure is vital.[54] MIH have been the object of pressure from Merseyside Community Relations Council (MCRC) executive and staff throughout the period of 1979 to 1984-85 and MCRC was the prime mover in drawing MIH's attention to the unmet housing needs of black people in the locality as their Annual Report in 1980 stated.[55]

The object of this section is then to review the initiatives

implemented in this process of negotiation and struggle in the light of the objectives of racial equality, racial justice and issues of democracy. The starting point for this campaign was the clear context of institutional racism in MIH. There were no black people on the management committee or other working parties in the association, three (or less than 1%) of MIH's four hundred or more staff were black and yet in parts of Liverpool 14% of MIH's tenants were black and there were indications that these tenants were rehoused in lower quality property overall. In the process of sustained dialogue between MCRC and MIH a prime objective was the struggle for local democratisation, that is to involve the black communities in formal structures in the association. This resulted in the establishment of the Ethnic Minorities Housing Advisory Group (EMHAG) in 1981, which was set up to advise the association on equal opportunities, support specialist staff and to monitor progress and develop policy in this field. It consisted of roughly equal representation from black groups and from MIH committee members and staff. Prior to the establishment of this group two resource-based initiatives were secured, firstly the appointment of a housing assistant with special responsibility for ethnic minority issues and secondly funding for a study of the housing conditions of Liverpool's Chinese Community which were both implemented in 1979/80. The funding of the study reflected the expansionist ideology of MIH management in that identifying special needs could lead to securing Housing Corporation finance and therefore more properties. This economic consideration therefore gave scope for action at the local level.

In order to evaluate the varied aspects of race-related intervention in MIH during the past three years the different forms of action will be discussed under the three principal aims of intervention discussed previously e.g. equal opportunity, special needs and anti-racism.

(i) Equal Opportunity

The first achievement of EMHAG in 1981 was to obtain approval for an equal opportunities policy statement as follows:

"Equal Opportunities Policy Statement

1. Merseyside Improved Houses accepts that in society, groups or individuals may have been disadvantaged in the past and so may not have attained equality of opportunity.

2. The Association is determined that in providing the housing service for which it was established no member of the public will receive anything other than equal consideration when having regard to their housing needs.

3. Merseyside Improved Houses will not allow discrimination or disadvantage to be an obstacle to the recruitment, training or promotion of staff, therefore, job descriptions and qualifications criteria will not be unnecessarily restrictive as to exclude particular groups and individuals will be selected, promoted and treated on the basis of their relevant merits and abilities.

4. We are intent upon providing equality of opportunity to all, regardless of sex, race, colour, national or ethnic origin, religious belief, marital status or disability. The Association accepts that it is morally wrong to hinder equality of opportunity on such grounds and is aware of the legal requirements of the Disabled Persons Employment Acts, the Sex Discrimination Act and the Race Relations Act.

5. Where a group or individual has a particular special need or disadvantage in relation to housing or employment, Merseyside Improved Houses will consider positive action to meet such need or to overcome that disadvantage.

6. It is intended that no individual connected with the Association will hinder the provisions of this policy. The Association will ensure this by making known the provisions of this policy statement to staff and, where appropriate, members of the public, both by the use of internal documentation and in public advertisements at relevant times.

7. Merseyside Improved Houses will invite all organisations with whom it is associated, to consider seriously the adoption of a similar policy. The Association would be pleased to assist with regard to such action."

This statement sets a baseline for discussion around the detailed issues of redressing racial inequality, but it is nothing more than a statement of intent. There is no detailed statement that sets out a

comprehensive equal opportunities strategy with timetables and measurable goals that can realistically bridge a gap between the statement of good intentions and racial inequalities in MIH. Furthermore, in comparison to LHT's statement it is inadequate and therefore requires further work.

In employment EMHAG have succeeded in gaining acceptance from MIH to take a number of initiatives in this area. A Special Needs Officer has been appointed with particular responsibility for the development of the equal opportunity policy, but who is constrained in terms of low-level status and location in the organisation. The two black housing management trainees placed in MIH by Merseyside Skill Training (discussed below) have been taken on as trainee housing assistants and they should progress through housing management in the future. Also two students from a special Access to Higher Education scheme aimed at mature black students are being sponsored through Bristol University with permanent employment as trainee housing assistants at the end of their course. In this context MIH have argued that the objective here is to recruit a black housing assistant to every team, of which there are five covering Merseyside. Despite these ad hoc initiatives there are still only 7/8 black workers (under 2%) in MIH out of 488 workers total (including part-time). The Special Needs Officer in a recent report on employment in MIH[56] states that matching the figures across Merseyside to the spread of MIH officers and staff the minimum target for equality in employment would be about 30 black workers. Similar to LHT no MST housing management trainees have been placed in MIH in 1984/85 and in that sense there are no schemes to ensure access of black skilled workers

to the areas of development, finance, direct work and other sections of MIH's organisation. Therefore, marginal initiatives in employment have been conceded but there is still a long way to go in MIH.

There are a range of actions that have been identified through the results of racism awareness training for all levels of staff in MIH which need to be taken to ensure equality of opportunity in employment. These include obtaining black representation on the Management Committee and establishing a strategy, timetable, targets and measures for achieving equal opportunities in employment. The allocation of responsibility for equal opportunities to a Director of MIH would also be useful in line with the CRE's Code of Practice. The employment of a black director, and black people in senior management would also show the commitment of senior management to this policy. This factor is crucial as many organisations have identified Senior Management commitment as crucial, in securing staff support and active participation in policy objectives. Lack of black representation at this level has often been cited by staff as an example of hollow senior management commitment. This is a criticism which can be used as a 'red herring' to offload their personal responsibilities but at the same time it is a situation which undermines staff support for this policy.

In the process of recruitment there are improvements that need to be made at every stage to ensure the successful development of an equal opportunity strategy and unless all components are working effectively the policy will break down. In advertising vacancies word-of-mouth recruitment for part-time staff and directors should cease, as should

exclusive internal advertising which has happened in MIH in the past as they both reinforce racial inequality. Positive action in advertising vacancies has begun to happen e.g. placing adverts in the black press and local organisations but ensuring that adverts reach black people in areas of Merseyside outside Liverpool was not yet begun in any systematic way. The role of the Special Needs Officer in possibly developing outreach work to support and ensure that black applicants do apply for vacancies is also important. This officers' presence at the interview stage to detect possible discrimination and to raise the issue of racism and equal opportunities with applicants would also be useful in furthering the aims of this strategy. Most importantly the development of systematic recruitment procedures, which at present vary from office to office, with explicit objective criteria for shortlisting and selection is essential. This is necessary to enable adquate monitoring to take place and to ensure that no criteria operate in an indirectly or directly discriminatory way. Monitoring of applicants for jobs has begun to happen and this information will also be important in evaluating access at each stage of the recruitment process. Lastly, these policy initiatives should be negotiated and agreed with the trades union in MIH and that organisation should itself take on the responsibility of acting to further equal opportunities.

In housing, there are a number of services provided by MIH that require review in relation to equal opportunities the most important of which is the allocation of mainstream housing. To assess the impact of allocations on black applicants, a pilot monitoring exercise was carried out at EMHAG's is request. The prime purpose of this exercise was to identify aspects of racial inequality and possible areas of personal or

institutional racism in the access and allocation of MIH's housing. The exercise was also carried out to enable the technical aspects of monitoring to be reviewed in order to assess the usefulness of the present system of data collection. This system involved the collection of data from housing management files for the period of January to June 1982 which was analysed by computer. The computer analysis was designed to assess the effect of allocations policy and procedures by race. Data was available on a variety of factors such as housing need, family size, area requested and thus enabled detailed study to be made. MIH's lettings policy was set out in the Annual Report for 1983/84 as shown overleaf.

MIH Lettings Policy

"Our Lettings Policy is to provide rented accommodation for those least able to compete in today's housing market. We do not discriminate against people on the grounds of race, sex, religion, disability or politics. Our tenants come from a variety of sources:

(i) Sitting Tenants

Much of the property we buy to improve is already tenanted. Families who need a transfer while their home is modernised are given priority.

(ii) Applicants

We are able to offer accommodation to only about 5% of those people who come to our offices in search of a home. This means that applicants have to be selected on the basis of need. When considering applications we take into account:

1. Existing housing conditions and how long the applicant has endured them.
2. The applicant's ability to cope with their present housing conditions.
3. Whether any alternative housing solution is open to them.
4. Whether we have suitable accommodation available.

Applications are only normally retained if we can expect to make

an offer of accommodation within 6-12 months.

(iii) Referrals

Applicants may be referred to MIH from agencies such as Social Services, Housing Aid Centres and Citizens Advice Bureaux.

(iv) Local Authority Nominations

The local authority can nominate tenants for 50% of our new lettings where public sector finance is involved.

All applications for housing are considered collectively by a tenancy selection meeting made up of housing management staff, which decides who is to be accepted for re-housing on the basis of the association's letting criteria. Invitations to attend these meetings are extended to representatives from the local authority housing department, councillors and other interested parties.

Sheltered Housing for the Elderly

The criteria we use to select tenants for accommodation in sheltered housing include those outlined above. However, we also consider particular difficulties with stairs or loneliness because of restricted mobility. Tenants selected for sheltered housing should be clearly in need of the particular support offered by this type of provision.

Special Needs

Some houses are allocated to voluntary groups such as MIND who provide specialist support for particular client groups. Under the terms of the management agreement we have with them, they can allocate places in the homes they run in accordance with criteria which are agreed between MIH and the voluntary group. In many cases members of our staff serve in a voluntary capacity on the committees of client groups."

Consideration of special needs housing will take place later in this section but to evaluate access each category of tenants will be reviewed. There were no black households rehoused in Liverpool during this period as decants or as City Council nominations, whereas 40% of white households were rehoused through these access channels. Both these categories receive a high priority and are mainly controlled by City Council Development programmes and nomination procedures which together with MIH priorities reproduce racial inequality in access to housing. Black households constituted 6% of total allocations (236 total households) either as waiting list applicants, transfers or other referral or nomination. In the first monitoring report,[57] using data prepared on the size of the local black population presented in Part 2 of this thesis, it was estimated that approximately 16% of households in the relevant districts for this exercise would be black. The main route of access for black applicants is the general waiting list and before approval for allocation there are three stages by which the applicants' case must be processed, these are general enquiries, home visit and tenancy selection meetings. Black applicants represented 8% of all applicants, 12% of all

applicants passing the general enquiries stage, 15% of all cases passing the home visit stage and 13% of those cases given access to the waiting list through a tenancy selection meeting. There is clearly a lack of black applicants overall, and further cross-tabulation showed a very low level of application from black people over 35 and particularly from those over retirement age and also a low proportion from Asian households (4% of the total black applicants). Before reviewing the effect of internal procedures and the outcome of allocations it is clear that monitoring has identified important areas of concern in the access of black households to MIH properties. The review of MIH's development programme, land-buying policy and acquisitions which have a racially exclusive effect is necessary to assess whether the maintainence of this process of racial inequality is justified. Pressure on the City Council to review its present system of racially exclusive nominations to housing associations is necessary if MIH is to take its responsibilities in equal opportunity seriously. Lastly, encouragement of black applicants is important and this is an area that has seen developmental action particularly through the work of the housing assistant with special responsibility for ethnic minorities. The employment of a Liverpool born Chinese person in this post in 1980 led to the establishment of a Chinese housing information service at the premises of Merseyside Chinese Community Services located in Liverpool's Chinatown and through the use of bi-lingual leaflets and posters. Housing leaflets have been translated into other languages and an office has been opened on a part-time basis at a health centre in Liverpool 8. The provision of full information on the location of MIH stock and waiting time is not given systematically and this will constrain the choice and knowledge available to black applicants. There

is need for more concentrated effort to overcome the problems of MIH's negative image in the black community and lack of information which restricts black applications.

The effects of internal procedures in the waiting list category will now be considered. Black applicants at the general enquiries stage were more likely to be in housing need in terms of overcrowding, shared rooms and physically poor conditions but housing need was not a good indicator of whether an applicant would pass this stage and receive a home visit. The criterion noted in the lettings policy operated here and the first criterion 'existing housing conditions' was not solely a good enough reason to be accepted. The second criterion 'applicants ability to cope in present housing conditions' could not be quantified and monitored but it is clear from discussion with MIH housing management staff that this criterion operates in a racist way. In other words, black households are often seen to be better able to cope with poor housing conditions than white households and therefore they receive lower priority. The third criterion, access to alternative housing solutions, weighed particularly heavily on black applicants as 62% were rejected as they had a City Council option compared to 58% of white applicants. Given the greater housing need of black households this criterion operates in a racially disadvantageous way. Furthermore the fourth criterion of only accepting applicants if a property was available in 6-12 months tended to restrict applications from these in severe housing need and where the waiting list was closed. The closing of waiting lists operates differently across MIH offices and requires the review at present being undertaken as it may particularly restrict the full-informed choice of black

applicants. In the area of choice, verbal advice about choice of area is often linked to the informal criteria of family and friends living nearby. This tends to ensure stability in housing management districts and inhibits inter-district mobility and will tend to ensure the continued concentration of black households in poor quality stock in the South City area. Therefore, applicants' choice of area should not be questioned and where appropriate applicants should be informed of MIH's racial harassment policy to ensure support for black applicants' freedom of choice and to avoid collusion and reinforcement of white tenants' racist views.

At the home visit stage, as identified in the council allocations survey, no assessment of house-keeping standards or internal decoration should be made as this gives scope for personal cultural/racial bias. Also, there should be clear criteria about the information required and role of staff in home visits. The most crucial stage of the process is the tenancy selection meeting where group decisions are made on who to allocate based on the advocacy of individual officers for their cases. The criteria unrelated to housing need whether formal, as mentioned above, or more subjective often enter into decision-making and here there is scope for direct and indirect discrimination to effect allocation outcomes. The criteria for allocation therefore require review and clearer, quantifiable assessments of housing need are required in order to achieve more objective, non-racist decision-making.

Overall allocations, which included decants, nominations, transfers and waiting list applicants, because of the problems identified resulted in only 6% of total allocations to black households. Also black households

tend to spend longer on the waiting list than white households (29% black as compared to 48% white were rehoused in two months). Due to the inequality of access black households were under-represented in lettings to houses (14% black tenants compared to 50% white tenants) and over-represented in converted flats (79% black tenants compared to 46% white tenants) which are the least desirable properties. The main conclusion here is that the bulk of the explanation lies in the 'colour-blind' approach towards policies, procedures and practice whereby the system of allocations reinforces and maintains racial inequality. This outcome can be understood by the successive range of barriers which face black people in achieving access, where their real housing needs are not adequately acknowledged and existing unjustifiable procedures remove their priority in housing. Decants and nominations are particularly allocated houses as opposed to flats and in order to break down white-only access to these new-build properties positive action, similar to that taken by LHT, in attracting black households is necessary. As a result of the monitoring exercise, race training and EMHAG's role as an advisory/pressure group such positive action has begun to take place. But clearly there is a long way to go before the operation of institutional racism can be eliminated in housing allocations.

There are two further areas of service - delivery where inequality of opportunity is evident. In the provision of contracts and employment by contractors there is a marked lack of black workers and here the issues of building equal opportunity into contract compliance requires policy development and positive action. The community projects section of MIH provides technical assistance to community groups in the development and improvement of their amenities. There is inadequate

take-up by black groups and a lack of knowledge of the services available. Again as a result of the increasing awareness of racial inequality brought about by race training moves have been made to encourage the use of this service by black groups.

(ii) Special Needs

There has been a sustained attempt, co-ordinated through EMHAG, to ensure that the special needs of ethnic minority groups are responded to where possible by MIH. However, prior to the establishment of EMHAG Merseyside CRC had obtained co-operation from MIH to set up Ujamaa House, a hostel which provides housing for young single people. The management committee of this project includes representatives from MCRC, MIH and other black organisations. Although there have been persistent problems in providing and managing adequate accommodation this initiative has shown the useful role that direct involvement from black groups in special needs housing can play.

The survey of housing needs in the Chinese community was particularly important in identifying inadequate provision for Chinese elderly.[58] This led to the development of a number of units of one-bed accommodation in the South City area, although the debate in the Ethnic Minorities Liaison Committee where the survey was presented showed early signs of the hostility to race-related initiatives by the Labour group on the City Council. When the report was presented in March 1982 the question of special provision was opposed on principle by the Labour group and a proposal from MIH to acquire property for Chinese tenants

was only agreed with the support of both Liberal and Conservative members, with Labour members abstaining. Special provision is also being made for the black elderly but the extremely low level of black tenants in MIH's sheltered accommodation schemes has been a longstanding cause for concern. Assistance has been given to the Somali Organisation in the establishment of a small community centre, to the Ockenden Venture for Vietnamese refugees and to the Liverpool Muslim Society, in conjunction with LHT, for small units of accommodation relevant to their housing needs.

(iii) Anti-Racism

Racism amongst tenants and racism amongst MIH staff and in the organisation have been directly tackled by two main initiatives, firstly the development of a racial harassment policy and secondly the development of race training. These issues will be considered separately.

The persistent problem of racial harassment identified through the 1970's in MCRC casework led to pressure on MIH through EMHAG to establish a racial harassment policy. The Commission for Racial Equality's report 'Racial Harassment in Local Authority Housing Estates' published in 1981 and the report by MCRC's caseworker on the failure of police, housing agencies and social services to take the racial element of such cases seriously were useful in publicising the issue and as a basis for the review and negotiation of policy and procedures.[59] These reports, the serious nature of cases that could potentially lead to murder and

pressure by MCRC and black housing workers led to the establishment of a racial harassment policy by MIH in 1983. The policy and procedure adopted is as follows:

"Racial Harassment

Abstract of Accepted Practice

Definition

That recommended by the Commission for Racial Equality where the victim or victims believe themselves to be the target for racial harassment then their views should be respected.

Responsibility

Regional/Area Directors are responsible for resolving all cases of racial harassment reported to their offices.

Assistance to Responsible Teams

A black member of staff should be consulted to offer advice and assistance. It is desirable to have a black housing assistant in every team to fulfill this function. This function has been included in the job description of the Special Needs Officer. In the short term, teams should consult the Housing Assistant with special responsibility for the ethnic minorities.

Procedure

i. Housing management staff with the assistance outlined above should attempt to resolve the problem. Any action in response should be taken swiftly to reassure the victim and make clear our opposition to such incidents. Such action would include any repairs and the removal of graffiti etc.

ii. The agreement of the victim must be given before any reports are made to outside agencies. In cases where there is evidence of a criminal offence particularly including damage to property teams should inform the police.

The team should also inform local councillors, Social Services, Merseyside Community Relations Council, other appropriate authorities and local voluntary agencies, e.g. victim support groups.

iii. When accepted for rehousing, victims should be given a high priority when a suitable tenancy comes available. Where overriding priority is not given the housing manager will submit a detailed report to the special needs officer for presentation at the next Ethnic Minorities Housing Advisory Group meeting.

iv. Where a racially harassed applicant requests an area with a closed waiting list the case may be considered if a suitable tenancy is likely to become available within a reasonable time. Such cases can

be put forward to TSM with the approval of the Area or Regional Director after consultation with the Housing Manager, Housing Assistant and the Housing Assistant with special responsibility for ethnic minorities.

v. Where the perpetrator is a tenant of the association the Housing Manager should be prepared to issue Notices to Seek Possession under Ground 2, Schedule 4 (1) of the Housing Act 1980.

Report and Monitoring

A full record of each incident and the action taken should be kept and a copy forwarded to the Special Needs Officer.

This record will contain all developments concerning each particular case. It will be used to produce bi-annual reports for the consideration of EMHAG and Directors in June and December."

Over the last two years MIH has rehoused over 30 racial harassment cases, and although this may seem a small figure the seriousness of the cases warrants considerable attention to be given. The progressive policy in MIH has had to overcome some resentment on the part of staff who have claimed that "you only have to shout racial harassment and you get moved". But despite such attitudes the policy is being implemented fairly effectively. There have been no court cases taken under the grounds of nuisance to evict the perpetrators of racial harassment in Liverpool, unlike Newham where a similar case was won

in December 1984.[60] This has been primarily due to the fact that when faced with the statement on racial harassment which has been included in all tenancy agreements the tenants have changed their behaviour and desisted from further harassment. There have also been moves to set up a network of contacts between other housing associations and housing departments to facilitate reciprocal nominations and speed up moves by racially harassed households to areas of their choice, usually areas where they can find support from family or friends. This network should also involve other agencies e.g. CRC, Social Services, the Police, Tenants Groups, so that case conferences can give speedy resolution to the problems identified. This action may lead to a transfer, the removal of racist grafiti etc. but it does not tackle the underlying problem of tenants' popular racism. The objective of creating an anti-racist atmosphere on housing estates has still to be grappled with, and in MIH wider publicity about equal opportunities and racial harassment policy combined with work with tenants' groups are two areas that staff have identified as being pointers towards that wider objective. To achieve and generate the necessary commitment on the part of staff to such action has been one objective of race training in MIH.

The general objective of race training must be to stimulate a process of changed behaviour i.e. action to further anti-racist and equal opportunity objectives, exactly how that can be achieved most effectively is a source of much contention. This whole area has seen massive expansion and growth since the late 1970's and racism awareness training is now much vaunted and much criticised as either a ticket of good practice or as a tokenistic excuse for direct action. It can of

course operate, as any intermediate reform discussed so far, to either benefit or to further disadvantage black people, this applies to monitoring where the information can be collected and analysed as a defence of existing policies, in racial harassment policies like that of the City Council where no priority is given in transfers or the equal opportunity statement without a policy. Therefore, what is required is evalution in terms of the overall objectives of racial equality, racial justice and democracy. In terms of training this requires the establishment of clear achievable objectives, consideration of the specific organisational, ideological and political contexts within which the training is taking place, the development of adequate methods, tools and resources to implement those objectives and the evaluation of resulting changes in attitudes and action. The recommendations of the Housing Training Project of the City University set out in 'Housing Work in Multi-Racial Areas' provided a useful starting point for the discussion over the first race training-course in MIH in 1981. The starting point for effective training is that commitment must be made by the organisation to clear, unequivocal equal opportunity policies, and support for the policies should be generated by senior and middle management to reinforce positive attitudes and challenge negative ones. Without this commitment policy implementation will not be effective. The first training course for both senior management and staff dealing with the public was arranged before a policy was adopted and one of the objectives was to achieve this. For the staff the main objective was to provide knowledge about the housing problems and special needs of black people and skills in cross-cultural communication and in record-keeping and monitoring. The course did function to continue the long process of

shifting attitudes and in placing race on the agenda in MIH as a policy statement was adopted and staff were sensitized to the issues raised. But, not all staff attended the course, some of those who did had a 'cavalier' and hostile attitude to race issues which obstructed the learning of relevant knowledge and skills to improve the delivery of housing services, furthermore, employment and recruitment was not considered as a key issue. The issue of staff training was raised again by EMHAG in 1984 with the demand for a course dealing with interviewing skills. When MCRC was approached the whole question of policy, practice and attitudes in MIH was raised and given the limited impact of previous training and the persistence of racial inequality in jobs and services in MIH a full programme of racism awareness training was proposed for all staff. The outline of the programme eventually agreed was as follows:

Merseyside Improved Houses. Race Awareness Training

Course Outline

Aims

1) To establish equality of opportunity and eliminate racism in the provision of employment and in the provision of services in M.I.H.

2) To show the responsibilities of M.I.H. staff under their equal opportunity policy.

Objectives

1) To ensure that participants have an opportunity to explore personal racism and establish their commitment to anti-racism.

2) To enable participants to identify and define racism and racist practices in the operation of their organisation.

3) To enable participants to discuss effective strategies and action to challenge such practices.

1) Management Committee and Directors (1 course)

9.00-12.30	Racism Awareness and Personal Attitudes
1.30- 2.30	Race Relations Act/CRE Code of Practice
2.30- 6.00	Racism and Action-Planning in MIH

2) Staff dealing with the public (8 courses)

Day 1	Racism Awareness and Personal Attitudes
Day 2	Race Relations Legislation, Facts of Racial Inequality and Racism and Action in Employment in MIH.
Day 3	Racism and Action Planning in MIH: Housing Services, Staff and Tenants.

3) Office-based staff (4 courses)

Day 1	Racism Awareness and Personal Attitudes
Day 2	MIH Policy, legislation, facts of inequality, racism and action in MIH.

The production of a racism awareness training package at MCRC had occurred through the process of testing out materials and approaches over a two-year period. A statement of definitions and principles used by MCRC, a model workshop programme and forms of evaluation used are presented overleaf.

"Race Awareness Training : Definition and Principles

The use of experiential learning approaches for increasing awareness of racism in institutions and individuals, with the intention of stimulating a process of changed behaviour by the individual and the groups or institutions of which he/she is a part.

Main Principals and Assumptions

We live in and are a part of a racist society.

Racism is racial prejudice allied to power to implement, and improve, prejudiced assumptions.

In Britain racism is a white problem which whites must confront for themselves.

The individual is racist, because his/her society is racist; but the individual is not personally guilty.

Guilt blocks change; awareness and the power of personal choice make change likely.

Trust must be created and positive support given as the individual begins to perceive the damaging aspects of racism in him/herself.

Racism hurts both the oppressed and the oppressor.

Personal awareness on its own has little value; racism awareness training is complementary to, and stimulates motivation for a more sustained programme of action and change by the organisation or group of which the individual participants are a part.

Race Awareness Training : Workshop Programme

1. Introduce workshop objectives and assumptions.
2. Establish participants' expectations/hopes.
3. Understanding feelings of oppression/powerlessness.
4. Exploring childhood images of Black people - how white people learn to be racist.
5. The word Black - racism in the English language, using the word Black, what it means.
6. Defining racism - racial prejudice allied to institutional power - racism is a white problem
7. Exploring personal examples of action or collusion with incidents of racism.
8. Identifying examples of personal intentional/unintentional racism and institutional intentional/unintentional racism.
9. Discussion of actions necessary to challenge racism.
10. Role and contents of Race Relations Act/CRE Code of Practice.
11. Identifying all the ways racism operates in participants' institution.
12. Planning action to tackle racism in,

    a) Power b) Employment c) Services d) Staff/Clients
13. Course round-up and initial evaluation of workshop impact by participants and trainers.
14. Feedback sheet to be returned later.

Race Awareness Training : Evaluation

Initial Evaluation - verbal discussion - end of workshop.

Feedback Sheet - monitor written comments re. did participants find it useful etc.

Action-Planning - collate actions/initiatives agreed at workshop and check implementation.

Trainers Evaluation - regular development meetings of trainers involved."

The training programme has so far received very positive feedback from participants who in the main found the course achieved its objectives, was of the right length and was useful. It has clearly established a prevailing attitude of anti-racism in the organisation but it has also produced and exposed the passive racism of some staff whose attitudes were not open to change. This white backlash raises the question of how such staff who retain responsibility for recruitment and/or service delivery should be tackled. Bradford Council have suggested that this responsibility should be taken away in employment and this is a position I would support. Apart from attitudes it has identified a number of aspects of policy, procedure and practice which operate in MIH in a racist way, most of which are mentioned previously. But, the translation of verbal commitment to challenge these mechanisms into action has yet to occur, although a review of allocations policy and the waiting list system has begun at the middle management level taking on board the issues raised on the course.

In conclusion, Merseyside Improved Houses has taken a number of

steps to tackle racism and racial inequality in its organisation. Much remains to be done and in the process of working towards racial equality the role of external pressure by black organisations, specialist race staff, internally generated research, actively anti-racist management and staff members and race training can all be identified as crucial sources of pressure for change in the organisation. On the other hand the tendency to marginalise specialist race staff and external black organisations given the autocratic and hierarchical structure of MIH raises worrying questions as to the extent to which MIH will go on to seriously pursue racial equality objectives in the future. It is the effectiveness and impact of these two sources of pressure on MIH that will determine the transformation of verbal commitment and initial reforms into structural changes in racial inequality and in this process the struggle for greater accountability and democratic representation in MIH by black organisations provides the key to ensuring that changes in racial inequality in jobs and services are not lost in future years.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND THE LIVERPOOL CITY COUNCIL

The negotiation and implementation of race-related reforms in the local authority's Housing Department is waged on quite a different terrain to that of housing associations. The organisational and management ideology in MIH of responsiveness to community needs, its charitable status as a housing association and its practice of attempting to involve, or at least reduce the distance between, tenants and the association's staff contrast greatly with the local authority's position of "manager of urban decline", where district housing offices resemble embattled fortresses surrounded by the backlog of failed experiments in public housing (high-rise blocks, decaying tenements, and damp, dangerous new-build estates) which combined with a largely untrained housing staff helped to ensure an initially hostile and defensive response to charges of racial discrimination and disadvantage. The question of record-keeping provided the major sticking point in the Housing Directors' report to his Housing Committee in 1977 in response to the 1976 Race Relations Act, yet due to the well-directed pressures of the members of the Ethnic Minorities Liaison Committee particularly those from the CRC and CRE, the Housing Department were the first local authority Department to carry out monitoring exercises of black employees in housing. The appointment of the CRO (Housing) in 1978 and initial research work on the black elderly led to more consistent lobbying of Housing Department officials and councillors to acknowledge the issue of racial disadvantage in housing. This was furthered by the development of the Ethnic Minorities Liaison Committee in January

1979. The great lack of knowledge about the issues involved, the relevant legislation, the needs of the black community and interventions made in other local areas, which hampered discussion and the development of policy, led to the early proposal for a training course in Race and Housing for councillors, officials and some housing association representatives. Support for this initiative from the Housing Department's Personnel Officer and the collaborative work on the course organisation between the CRO (Housing), the CRE's Housing Officer and University researchers led to the first course being held in March 1980. The sessions were well-attended and the dominant 'no problem here' ideology on race was challenged in the ensuing discussions. The routinised view of their work by housing officials together with their 'low power' orientation in a situation of tight resources, with poorly-paid, badly-trained staff and perceived strict policy guidelines meant that the entrenched colour-blindness was well articulated and hard to shift. The housing association staff, on the other hand showed a much more flexible and responsive attitude to the issues presented. The Labour councillors tried to emphasise the general importance of housing need as the overriding criterion for rehousing and as a result tended to deny the importance of meeting ethnic needs or of tackling the issue of racial disadvantage, whereas the Liberal councillors proved more responsive. These in-depth reactions to the issue of positive action on race were played out in full over the various demands presented to the Ethnic Minorities Liaison Committee.

The question of record-keeping and monitoring was first successfully broached in the Liaison Committee and demands to identify

the ethnic origin of the Council's labour force, in particular those working in the Housing Department were made. The opposition to record-keeping remained and after tense discussions in the Committee and with the support of the Housing Personnel Officer this information was collected in July 1980. It was not released to the black representatives until the following September due to the reticence of senior administrative staff and purported trade union opposition. When released the figures as expected showed a minute number of black workers in the Housing Department, about 1%, with almost half those employed as manual labourers and none above the AP.3 grade in management. Figures were also made available due to pressure from this Committee, for all local authority departments which were used to argue for the equal opportunity policy. These figures, combined with the impact of research reports and pressure in the Committee and during the training course, provide support for the next demand to be made the appointment of a specialist race relations adviser in housing at a senior level, equivalent to the grade of District Housing Manager. The appointment of a new Housing Manager from Hackney in November 1980 who supported the development of race-related initiatives in housing and the shift in local authority policy in December facilitated the funding of this post, despite continued cutbacks in local authority expenditure and threats of widespread redundancies. This post was advertised in May 1981 and the former CRO (Housing) was appointed. A vital input that was made by Merseyside CRC representatives in relation to this post was the demand for a senior level position to overcome the possible hiving-off of responsibility and isolation of the officer, and the provision of a

detailed job description to ensure that the criteria used in recruitment were clearly identified. The securing of this initiative, the first specialist race post funded in the local authority, must be put down to the sustained work of this Committee and an uneven development of political/research activity across the terrain of the local state. But, the direct low-profile negotiations between organisational representatives and councillors and officials although not related to a grass-roots housing campaign was related to the wider equal opportunity campaign which set the overall tone of discussions and provided a solid platform from which demands could be made.

In attempting to gain wider support for the work of the committee the section in the Area Profile of Racial Disadvantage in Liverpool on Housing and Race was circulated to all District Housing Managers by the Housing Manager who supported the recommendations. The response was almost entirely negative, although it was accepted that,

"there is <u>covert</u> racialism within the Housing Department"[61]

by one District Manager, but this acceptance was used as a defence against record-keeping as it was said it may lead to discrimination by individual officers. The combined opposition of housing managers and Labour councillors to monitoring was clearly seen when the allocation study in Part Two of this thesis was presented to the City Council in October 1983. The recommendations requested were set out in detail for the City Council to consider.

"a) Monitoring

i) Arrangements should be made after consultation with ethnic minority groups to record the ethnic origin of all persons applying for housing and being rehoused by the Council.

ii) These records should be analysed at quarterly intervals in relation to the quality of accommodation offered (measured in terms of property type, lettings potential and new-build), the quality of accommodation allocated if different from that above, and also in relation to the area of allocations (measured in terms of district and estates or sub-areas of districts). Also the monitoring of records should show the relative proportion of black households in each rehousing category for each District.

iii) These results should then be reported on a quarterly basis to the Race Relations Liaison Committee.

iv) The co-ordination of the record-keeping and monitoring system should be the responsibility of the Community Relations Officer (Housing).

Monitoring is currently under discussion by the City Council and the black community in Liverpool. Therefore the most significant advantages for proposing this are listed below.

1) It enables the Council to be factually informed in order to accept or refute allegations of racial discrimination.

2) It highlights patterns of discrimination which might have occurred unintentionally, but nevertheless left particular racial groups disadvantaged.

3. It assists in the identification of particular needs which may require different responses in service provision.

4. It provides a basis for policy formulation and planning programmes.

5. It provides the basis from which the Council can monitor the effects of its policies on different racial groups and also assess whether or not its recently adopted Equal Opportunities policy is being complied with and successfully implemented.

The essential elements of a code of practice under which monitoring should be carried out are set out below.

1. Information is to be gathered on racial origins as this is the vital factor in determining unfair treatment.

2. All information gathered on individuals should remain confidential.

3. The reasons for requiring the information should always be explained to the applicants or tenants.

4. Whenever possible, the information should be gathered through a process of self-classification - i.e. individuals assign themselves to

racial groups of their own choosing, the relevant categories to be agreed in consultation with local ethnic minority groups.

In this study of race and council housing allocations, over 1,500 households in Liverpool were asked to classify the ethnic origin of all members including children. Given a clear explanation of the aim of the question and training for interviews the response was unproblematic as less than 1% of these households objected to this exercise.

It is important to note that ethnic monitoring of housing applications has been carried out by both Merseyside Improved Houses and Liverpool Housing Trust for almost two years. Ethnic monitoring has been successfully implemented by these organisations through close consultation with community relations agencies.

b) Allocations Procedures

1. Comprehensive and detailed information should be made available to all applicants/tenants on the Council's housing services, stock and the implications of the allocations policy for waiting time, in order for them to express a full and informed choice. Translations of these materials should be made available to ethnic minority groups where appropriate.

2. Preference areas recorded for applicants should be structured in greater detail e.g. sub-areas of Housing Management districts.

3. The role of housing visitors should be changed from information collectors and 'assessors' to an emphasis on information giving.

4. Subjective references to housekeeping standards, domestic conditions and similar areas should be abolished and removed from tenancy files.

5. Arrangements should be made for a review of the procedures and practices operated and the criteria used in assessing which applicant/tenant will be offered which available property to ensure that they are clearly defined, reliable, relevant to housing needs and applied equally to all housing applicants/tenants.

6. Arrangements should be made for a review of the liaison procedures between the Housing Department and other agencies, e.g. Social Services, Medical Officer of Health, community associations and tenants' groups.

7. A review should be conducted of the special housing needs of ethnic minority groups and the responses to these by the Housing Department.

c) Training

1. Arrangements should be made to provide guidance, information and training to all staff concerned with visiting housing applicants/tenants, with allocations and with contact with the public applying for accommodation, with respect to the Race Relations Act, 1976, and also with respect to:

- Ensuring that applicants/tenants are equally informed of the options available to them and consulted about their preferences and other special needs.

- Completing the record of information which will be used by allocations officers.

- Deciding who between a number of competing cases should be offered available accommodation.

- Developing cross-cultural communication skills and awareness of the special housing needs of the black population.

- Developing an awareness of personal and institutional racism and a commitment to opposing it.

- Effectively implementing the ethnic monitoring system.

2. Arrangements should be made to provide an intensive and detailed induction training package that includes, where relevant, the above components and which provides an opportunity for the implications of the Council's equal opportunity policy to be thoroughly reviewed and understood by all new employees.

d) Staffing

The role and effect of Council employees has been seen to be a crucial determinant in the provision of housing services. This underlines the importance of training, but it also underlines the need for specialist staff to co-ordinate and implement the recommendations set out above with the objective of establishing equality of opportunity in the delivery of housing services. This staffing requirement is of particular importance due to the remarkably low level of black staff in the Housing Department. In September 1982 only 6 out of 754 officers were black employees in the Department, and only 31 out of 2,112 manual workers were black employees: overall the level of black employment was 1.3%.

This is markedly below the City Council's agreed target of 5% - 7% black employees and figures have shown no significant improvement since the equal opportunity policy was adopted nearly three years ago in December 1980. In order to carry out monitoring and training additional staffing resources will be required, for which Section 11 funds are likely to be available. A number of equivalent posts have already been approved under Section 11 for other local authorities.

1. Monitoring/Research Officer (Race Relations)

   This officer will assist in the implementation of ethnic monitoring, collate data produced by these sources and ensure that confidentiality is maintained within the Department. This officer will also produce statistical reports to facilitate the effective use

of ethnic records and in conjunction with the Community Relations Officer (Housing) initiate exercises to identify special needs or racial disadvantage in housing.

2. Information/Training Officer (Race Relations)

This officer will develop and maintain an effective race relations input to all induction and in-service training courses in housing and develop public and staff information resources to assist in the provision of equal opportunity in housing services.

3. Specialist Housing Management Officers/Trainees

Two initiatives have already been proposed to the Council with the objective of rectifying the overwhelming lack of black officers in the Housing Department (6 out of 754 i.e. 0.8% in September 1982). The Black Housing Management Trainee Project is being established and the appointment of four Specialist H.A.L.O.s has been proposed for Section 11 funding; both these initiatives are crucial in enabling the Housing Department to progress towards racial equality in employment and service delivery and therefore these proposals should be given the Council's full support.

4. Racial Harassment Officer

The co-ordination and work involved in ensuring that cases of racial harassment are effectively dealt with requires an officer to be available solely to carry out this function. The most crucial

areas of concern in relation to the Council's policy on racial harassment is that effective implementation is secured. The creation of this post would go some way to ensuring that this policy-area is adequately resourced."

These recommendations were agreed in the Race Relations Liaison Committee and passed for discussion through the Allocations Sub-Committee and the Housing Committee where these recommendations were opposed. The main recommendation was monitoring and in arguing this through with the Labour chairman of the Allocations Sub-Committee the reply after pressure was that this initiative was to be opposed because "its not Labour Party policy". The allocations policy has been revised but with no consideration for the issues raised here for review. Training has not been carried out in a systematic fashion as recommended although this is the initiative that is most likely to be implemented as it involves giving away little in terms of resources and because it can be used to argue that real action is taking place. But with no facts on which to further policy, with no policy and procedure review to eliminate racist mechanisms and with no specialist race staff to co-ordinate the implementation of anti-racist programmes such training could be little more than tokenistic. The proposal to employ four ethnic minority Housing Assistant Liaison Officers funded under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 was agreed by the Race Relations Liaison Committee and it has since been overturned in line with local Labour Party policy that opposes positive action to tackle racial inequality in its wider than legal sense. The specialist race staff to co-

ordinate monitoring, training and harassment policy were opposed and overtaken by the proposals to set up a central race relations unit in the Chief Executives' Department. Lastly the proposals to accept placements from Merseyside Skill Training the locally-run positive action scheme was initially opposed in 1983 and then accepted in summer 1984 as it was argued that the Housing Department would not pay a penny towards the scheme and also that the Department would also be paid for providing some of the specialised training, this is discussed in the next section. Finally, it is interesting to note that when the allocations study was published by the Commission for Racial Equality in December 1984 the sympathetic Housing Manager who chaired the study steering group was suspended ostensibly because of conflicts between his views and those of the Union and the Militant Tendency over interviewing for new District Housing Manager posts, it is nevertheless ironic in this context.

In terms of special needs provision the local Labour Party's line is equally dogmatic. The Council agreed in principle in 1982 to fund a sheltered accommodation scheme aimed at the black elderly after the production of clear evidence of racial inequality in the provision of such accommodation (out of 1,143 units there are only 7 black elders). This was an initiative followed through by the Race Relations Adviser in Housing who put in a successful bid under Inner City Partnership for funding and obtained agreement that the Department of Environment would contribute £1.2 million to the scheme (75%). After much discussion with Asian, Chinese, Somali and Caribbean community groups a design was approved and the scheme went to tender in February 1984.

But since then the City has pulled out of the scheme and has not included it in its capital spending programme for 1984/1985. This was not justified in any way to black groups and indicates the council's low priority or no priority for special needs provision in the face of clear evidence of racial inequality.

There has been, however, initial success in establishing a policy to tackle racial harassment in the local authority. A campaign to achieve this objective was organised by Merseyside CRC that particularly drew on the casework of the organisation to argue for and expose the failure of the housing department to respond effectively to such cases. But it was agreed in 1983 that the Council's policy would include the following aspects:

"a) District Housing Managers will deal with all cases of racial harassment in their District.

b) The Police, Merseyside CRC and the Community Relations Officer (CRO Housing) will be informed and the District Managers will keep records on all cases identified.

c) Amendment of the tenancy agreement will be made to insert a clause that places an obligation on tenants not to harass their neighbours on the grounds of colour or race and that those responsible for harassment will have action taken against them which in the last resort means eviction.

d) All cases will be reported to the Allocations and Services Sub-Committee.

e) The establishment of support groups where appropriate for victims of racial harassment.

f) Production of an information leaflet for tenants and staff as to the implications of the Council's policy on racial harassment.

g) Training of District Office staff in race relations and housing.

h) A review of the policy and procedures adapted to take place between all parties on production of a twice yearly report on all cases of racial harassment by the CRO (Housing)."

The full implementation of all these items should establish a most effective response to the issue of racial harassment. But in practice it has been found that an area of concern which leads to disadvantage for the victims of racial harassment is the question of transfers. The report by the Housing Department that responded to this issue (DH/117/82/MAN) stated that:

"The current operation of the transfer system is sufficiently flexible to include racial harassment as a reason for transfer.

There is usually a promise that such a transfer would be to similar property" (Housing and Building Committee, 18/3/82. p.2).

Given this area of discretion it is important that this policy should not have the effect of forcing black tenants to remain in a situation of continued exposure to the damage of racist activities. Furthermore, tenants rehoused as transfers for this reason should have the opportunity of rehousing in similar quality accommodation to avoid compounding racial disadvantage. Also, the argument that black families should only be offered Liverpool 8 or Falkner/Granby, because they may be subject to racial harassment elsewhere must be rejected. Firstly, racial harassment occurs in these areas and secondly, this constitutes discrimination as it pre-empts tenants' choice and perpetuates differential allocation.

Lastly, as regards transfers the criterion that such cases can only move to 'like' quality accommodation operates to disadvantage those black households who are in poor quality housing. There are therefore a number of issues being fought through to achieve effective implementation of this policy, and there will come a stage when the Council takes some white tenants to court for eviction and it is here that the depth of the support for this policy will be seen. In this process monitoring of the policy is crucial to ensure appropriate policy development, but yet again the council has refused to set up a Racial Harassment Working Party to take on this important role.

In conclusion, then the City Council has adopted on intentionally racist policy of blocking action to tackle racial inequality in housing and this policy is shot through with contradictions as, for example, monitoring is national Labour Party Policy and it has been implemented recently in employment in the council. The constructive discussion of anti-racist programmes that was facilitated by the Race Relations Liaison Committee has now, however, been overshadowed. The appointment of a black Militant Tendency supporter as the Principal Race Relations Adviser in the Central Race Relations Unit in October 1984 has led to a rupture between the City and black organisations. The Race Committee has been suspended and a boycott of the council by those organisations means that after four years engaged inside the state that section of the community is now back on the streets. The real struggle is now being waged within the Labour Party and the trade unions to achieve democratic support for anti-racist policies.

POSITIVE ACTION AND MERSEYSIDE SKILL TRAINING

Positive action is widely misconceived as being a reverse form of discrimination. The Race Relations Act 1976 allows a number of exceptions to unlawful racial discrimination but, confusingly, still uses the term 'discriminatory' to describe some of them. The Home Office guide to the Act gives a less than clear explanation of exactly what is and is not unlawful. In the absence of further Government guidance some people believe, wrongly, that positive action not only discriminates against whites but also insults blacks by affording them access to training and employment purely on the basis of their ethnic origin, regardless of merit.

Experience in the USA has shown that outlawing racial discrimination is not sufficient to ensure equal life chances for black and white people.[62] Racial discrimination has contributed to patterns of disadvantage which continue from one generation to the next if no corrective action is taken. In Britain, past discrimination has led, for example, to blacks being largely absent from supervisory and management grades in employment. Merely eliminating further discrimination will not put blacks on an equal footing with white workmates.

In recognition of this, the White Paper which preceded the 1976 Act said that 'it would be wrong to adhere so blindly to the principle of formal legal equality as to ignore the handicaps preventing many black

and brown workers from obtaining equal employment opportunities'. The purpose of making specific provision for positive action in the Act was to provide a tool to remove barriers to equality of opportunity which would remain after overt discrimination had disappeared.

This was in line with the concept of affirmative action developed in the USA. In a review of the American experience, Little and Robbins have described how a distinction has been drawn there between 'preferential treatment with quotas', found to be unacceptable to public opinion, and 'compensatory programmes with goals - making allowances and providing extra help for overcoming past deprivations', which are acceptable, although prone to criticism on moral grounds and subject to legal ambiguity.[63]

The measures in the 1976 Act are intended to enable black people as groups to develop their potential and catch up with whites. The Act does not permit quotas or discrimination against an individual - black or white - at the point of selection or promotion.

Section 5 (2) (d) provides that being a member of a particular racial group may be a genuine occupational qualification for a job. A Chinese restaurant, for example, can advertise for a Chinese waiter.

Section 35 provides for measures to meet the special needs of racial groups in education, training or welfare. An example is statutory funding for a community-run day centre for elderly Asians.

Section 37 and 38 allows training bodies and employers to provide training or encouragement to apply for opportunities for members of a particular racial group in areas of work where they have been under-represented for at least 12 months.

In 1981 after the riots in July the Task Force was set up under Michael Heseltine to develop initiatives to tackle inner-city problems. A regular forum was established between black organisations and Michael Heseltine in the summer of 1981 and it was in this forum that the proposal for a Black Housing Management Trainee Scheme was first presented. This researcher, the race adviser in Liverpool Housing Trust and the Housing Assistant with special respnsibility for ethnic minorities in MIH together provided the outline for this proposal. The problems of under-representation of black staff in MIH, LHT and the City Housing Department were first established through investigation and 12 black staff out of a total of 1,281 were identified i.e. approximately 1%. To tackle this issue the proposal was made to establish a scheme that provided 12 months training and a guarantee of subsequent employment for about 15 black Housing Management trainees to be placed in the Council and in housing associations. This was one of the very few initiatives that came out of this consultation process aimed at directly tackling racial inequality and it did receive Task Force support. In 1983 Merseyside Skill Training Ltd. resolved to establish itself as a charitable company limited by Guarantee, with the objective of providing professional, administrative and technical training for black people over 19 years old, particularly Liverpool born blacks and Chinese, to enable

them to compete for employment opportunities.

In the first instance the emphasis was to be on training for skilled jobs in the management and administration of rented housing. In the Summer of 1983 representatives from local housing associations, Merseyside Community Relations Council, Merseyside Ethnic Minorities Association, Millbank College of Further Education, The North West Housing Associations' Group Training Scheme and Liverpool City Council Housing Department came together to constitute the Board of MST Ltd. The Board of Management was deliberately organised to include representatives from all agencies who would need to work together to establish a successful first scheme.

The scheme consisted of one year training placements for 13 black adults over the age of 19 to learn housing management skills. Eight local housing associations undertook to accept one or more trainees. Trainees work alongside the Associations' own housing officers, learning 'on the job' and to be supervised by a housing manager. Associations undertook to ensure that trainees would gain working experience of all aspects of housing management.

The trainees attended Millbank College for Further Education on day-release to study a BEC General Course with a specially designed and validated housing module. Additionally, the trainees received a further 18 days specialist training in the work of housing associations from the North West Housing Associations' Group Training Scheme. Manpower

Services Commission provided the trainees' wages and paid the costs of Millbank College and NWHAGTS. Funding for the Scheme's full-time Co-ordinator has been provided by the Commission for Racial Equality and the Gulbenkian Foundation. In order to enable the scheme to discriminate in favour of black people, permission under Section 37 (3) (b) of the Race Relations Act 1976 was granted to Merseyside Skill Training by the Department of Employment. This scheme was only the seventh in the country to be given such permission.

Of the thirteen trainees who commenced on 10th October 1983 nine stayed with the Scheme. All but one of these completed their BEC General Examinations and passed. Most placement associations have been eager to express their satisfaction with the Scheme and their enthusiasm to accept a second generation of trainees. MST has been receiving enquiries from black people who would like to be trainees on the course, and the indications are that the scheme has a high reptuation with the black community.

By October 1984 the nine trainees had been taken on by housing associations either in permanent jobs or for further training, on these grounds the course has been successful.

MERSEYSIDE SKILL TRAINING - TRAINEES' ACHIEVEMENTS 1983/4

Name	Ethnic Origin	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Education CSE	O	A	Qualifications	Job Experience	MST Course	Job Results Expected
V. Adams	Black British	F	20	S						Left to get married	
J. Cummings	Black British	F		S	3	4			Shop Assistant	Left to take Clerical Post at RAC	
M. Desson	Black British	M	23	S	6	1			Youth Aide/ Trainee Panel Beater	COMPLETED	Permanent job in placement Housing Association
G. Eyo	Black British	F	24	S	-	-			Packer	COMPLETED	1-Yr traineeship in placement Housing Association
M. Freeman	Black British	M	20	S	3	-		Cert. intro to Management Cert. Data Prog. & Checkbox Prog.	TV Maintenance Painting/Dec'tng.	COMPLETED	Permanent job in placement Housing Association
T. Idowu	Black British	F	22	S	6	-			Nursery Assistant Clerical Assistant	COMPLETED	Permanent job in placement Housing Association
D. Jones	Black British	M	27	S	2	-			Petty Officer	COMPLETED	Permanent job in London Housing Association
M. Julius	Black British	M	20	S	-	7	3			Dismissed due to Poor attendance	
V. Nurse	Black British	F	19	S	-	5	1			COMPLETED	Permanent job in placement Housing Association
S. Shah	Asian	F	23	S	4	3	-	RSA Stage 1 Sec. Duties	Nursery Assistant Assistant Case-Worker	COMPLETED	1-Yr traineeship in placement Housing Association
W. Snow	Black British	M	30	M	1	2	-		Cleaning Super-visor, Clerical Assistant	COMPLETED	Permanent job in local Housing Association
V. Speare	Black British	M	29	S	-	-				Left due to financial difficulties	
G. Springer	Black British	M	29	S	-	-			Woodcutter	COMPLETED	Permanent job in placement Housing Association

The City Council was asked to take MST placements in 1983 but due to the failure of the City to provide funding to top-up the MSC TOPS allowance of £38 per week per trainee to NALGO's minimum salary requirement of £52 per week the placements fell through. As a result MST looked to other sources of funding for this 'topping-up' money, given the City's ambivalent position the funding for 1984/85 was provided by the County Council. So, in November 1984 15 trainees were successfully placed in housing offices throughout the City Council Housing Department with the County funding that should have been City Council provision. This was due to the less dogmatic and more supportive approach of the County Council towards positive action. It is hoped that during the year negotiations between MST and the City will secure permanent jobs for those trainees successfully completing the course. This would increase the proportion of black workers in the Housing Department to about 2.5%. MST is hoping also for placements to be continued in the City and with housing associations in 1985/86 and thereby achieve the 8% minimum target for black workers in this area of employment by October 1988. To achieve the elimination of racial inequality in this way would be remarkable, and it may also have a significant impact on attitudes and the atmosphere in the housing department and possibly also in the union. But, to secure this process requires sustained resources for MST from MSC and other sources of funding, the continued support of NALGO which is vital in the transformation of placements into real jobs, the effective counselling and support for black trainees from application to the scheme to promotion through housing management and the continued support of the

Director of Housing and the Housing Committee for the scheme which at present appears unlikely. Nevertheless, there is real scope for progress to be made in tackling racial inequality through positive action schemes of this type and as such they provide a model for good practice in the future.

Conclusion

It has been established that there is considerable scope within the local state for race-related intervention to be taken. This Part has been particularly concerned to evaluate the political and policy oriented action that has been taken with the objective of achieving racial equality in housing in Liverpool. This entailed a sustained series of initiatives to alter racist patterns of housing allocations and management structures within the Council and the two largest local Housing Associations.

These initiatives attempted to introduce comprehensive and fundamental changes in terms of the development of policy principles and policy implementation. They have therefore involved a struggle for equality of opportunity or right to access, i.e. to employment and to council and housing association accommodation. The campaigns have also been centred around rights of fair treatment and racially just provision, e.g. freedom from harrassment and victimisation, elimination of differential racial allocation of housing and jobs, and recognition of the validity of special ethnic needs. Finally, the campaigns have taken on aspects of the struggle for local democratisation, in that they have attempted to involve the black communities in formal structures, (council sub-committees or service advisory groups), to develop and monitor the equal opportunity and housing policies.

The process of gaining access to decision-making and policy development by external black and community organizations through the

extending of local democratisation in a representative form is one of the most important means of effective policy change in the field of equal opportunities and anti-racism. This is a source of policy change that is frequently ignored in the academic literature in favour of an emphasis on the role of enlightened local government officers or civil servants, or committed central or local elected politicians.[64] The attempts to shift the most oppressive aspect of institutional racism i.e. racial inequality of power is the central issue here. It has been shown that the problems of establishing and using effectively points of access to power and decisions over policy have been a key factor in the failure to effectively transform hollow good intentions into progress towards racial justice in jobs and services. In Liverpool Housing Trust the Equal Opportunities Working Party folded after two years and the Monitoring Group faced a constant battle over its location in the organisations' structure, its informal status and its ineffectivity. In Merseyside Improved Houses the Ethnic Minorities Housing Advisory Group has faced tremendous problems in the context of the autocratic structure of the organisation and the tendency to marginalise its effect due to the retention of power by the clique of Directors. In Liverpool City Council the recent abolition of the Race Relation Liaison Committee, the Ethnic Minorities Housing Liaison Committee, the Anti-Racist Campaign Working Party and the refusal to formally establish a Racial Harassment Working Party, a Race and Education Working Party and a Race and Town Planning Working Party shows that the dismantling of points of access to policy-making by black organisations has been systematically taking place. Here again the retention of power by a tiny coterie of Labour councillors has enabled progress towards racial equality to be blocked and then reversed.

In reviewing the development of equal opportunity strategies in the areas of service-delivery and employment in housing an overall conclusion can be drawn that there appears to be greater scope for progress to be made in housing associations rather than in local authority housing departments. But, given the difference in scale and the dependence particularly in allocations on local authorities developing such strategies in councils must be a top priority. This is backed by the analysis of racial inequality in the local state which established the necessity and scope for local intervention. It is interesting to note that the much better response to racial harassment by LHT and MIH compared to the City shows that these institutions may be used successfully in the meeting of immediate needs such as families under racial attack. These needs cannot wait for the long process of political struggle that is required in the Labour Party and the trade unions to succeed in establishing a good response to this vital issue.

In this context the development of positive-action schemes directly accountable to black organisations that can operate through external organisational pressure to achieve advances towards racial equality can be of crucial significance. In looking at most areas of career development this approach enables redress to be made to remove racial inequality over possibly a five year period. This, however, is dependent on the balance of forces operating on a particular institution during this process.

Merseyside CRC has played a central role in developing the race and housing campaign. This stemmed from the appointment to the CRC

of a housing specialist on a project initiated by the Commission of Racial Equality and funded by the EEC. The use of national agencies and resources here to help promote local change and the impact of staffing resources have been identified as significant components of an effective campaign.

It has been through the establishment of alliances between the CRC, other black organisations, local action-researchers, anti-racist professional trades-unionists and church representatives, that has been the base of effective pressure in the local campaigns. The process of building these alliances has been very piece-meal and ad hoc however and its construction is of crucial significance and clearly there is scope here for much greater work and further research.

The role of research itself has also been a key factor in policy change and research-based intervention has been shown to be a necessary and effective element in the process of struggle discussed here. The allocation studies in LHT, MIH and the City Council have served to unravel and identify racist mechanisms and without this policy formulation cannot take place. Even in the City Council where the allocation study has been so far ignored it provides the basis for the formal investigation of the delivery of council housing by the Commission for Racial Equality that has been pressed for locally given the local authorities' intransigence.

The prime source of resistance to eliminating racial inequality has been seen to be the racist ideologies held by those small groups of individuals who held power in local institutions. Therefore, the target

for the race and housing campaign has been the shifting of both the racist ideologies themselves through rational, moral, legal and political pressure. But, given the intransigence of individual decision-makers and the desire to retain power and privilege the development of local alliances to support racial minority representatives' access to such sites of power has been seen to be a more effective means of tackling racial inequalities. This is not to say, however, that ideologies held by white councillors and professionals do not provide a significant source of resistance when access has been gained by black community representatives and other individuals.

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CONCLUSION

It is clear that racism, seen as a structure of oppression through which racial inequalities in British society are maintained, is an integral part of our history, culture and consciousness. Part One of this thesis has been concerned with a detailed empirical investigation of the specific conditions of existence of white racism and black settlement in order to ground the analysis of racial inequality in housing in Liverpool in Part Two, and to establish the context for the discussion of anti-racist interventions in housing that follows in Part Three. Racism has been seen to be a complex social force that operates in many different forms being dependant on the specific historical conditions prevailing at a particular conjuncture. It is therefore not open to simple mechanistic explanations and requires careful study and research.

The reconstruction of the hidden history of white racism and black settlement in Liverpool has only recently received widespread attention in the literature but as Little and Banton have observed an historical dimension is essential to understand and analyse contemporary race relations situations.[1] The contribution to knowledge presented here has attempted to fill the gap that exists in documenting key aspects of Liverpool's history which have particular relevance for other areas of Britain given the long-standing nature of the local black community. An important consideration here is that there is no inevitable tendency for racism to decline where black people are in the

main, an historical part of the total community. There is a more powerful tendency in racist ideology which is towards complacency, colour-blindness and the ignoring of real social divisions and this indeed was the prevailing view in Liverpool amongst the politicians, professionals and the media in the 1960's and 1970's i.e. 'no problems here'. In reality, however, most institutional areas, popular racist attitudes, discriminatory policies and practices and deeper racial inequalities were all a day-to-day part of social life. This illustrates the power of racism and its complexity as a social force.

This force has particular effects in housing in Liverpool where the contemporary legacy of the history of race and racism has entrenched racial inequalities in the location and quality of housing conditions amongst the black population. It has thus been established in Part Two that council housing allocations have increased the concentration of black people in poor-quality stock and that racial harassment is a persistent problem.

In allocations, within rehousing categories when such factors as family size, household type, previous housing conditions and medical need have been discounted black households have been allocated lower quality housing, and have been concentrated in certain districts in the south end of the city irrespective of choice of area. The explanation for this process has been found to rest with acts of racial discrimination by housing officers and the racial stereotyping of both black and white

applicants and tenants. The recent investigation of Hackney's council housing by the Commission for Racial Equality has independently come to very similar conclusions which are that Section 20(1) (b) and Section 1 (1) (a) of the Race Relations Act, 1976, have been contravened by:

> "refusing or deliberately omitting to provide various West Indian, Asian and African persons with housing accommodation of the like quality to that offered to white persons in similar need of housing accommodation."[2]

This was further substantiated in the Liverpool study by statements from almost a quarter of black households in the South City district which alone indicate that there is need for a clear policy response by the City Council. Apart from this direct discrimination there have been a number of aspects of council housing policy and practice that have been seen to contribute to racial inequality. Clearance and improvement policies, the priorities given in the allocations policy, nominations to housing associations, lack of information about stock and vacancies, access to sheltered accommodation, identification of medical need, assessment of house-keeping standards and provision of information and advice have all been shown to be either indirectly discriminatory and/or providing scope for racial prejudice to affect actions and thereby ensure the provision of an inferior housing service to black households. Furthermore the implementation of a potentially progressive racial harassment policy by councillors and many officers who believe it provides unjustified special

means for black households to receive a quick transfer, has not served to ease the problems facing black households on white council estates. There is therefore a vital need to continue detailed research in this area in the form of close monitoring of allocations and housing officer's decisions given that those who hold power over service-delivery seem intent on abusing it. Also the effective use of the existing legislation through a formal investigation by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) is required to force the City Council to face up to their responsibilities in this field. But the lack of resources to back up the CRE's work does make this option look unlikely in the near future. Therefore, the development of locally-based policy-orientated campaign work must be seen to be the prime source for change. In the unravelling of the mechanisms, decisions, administrative practices, rules, guidelines and attitudes, that maintain racial inequality in housing the scope for political intervention at the local level has been established. The process of research-based politicisation of the issue of racial inequality has been explained in detail in Part Three through involvement and evaluation of policy initiatives to tackle racism in three key housing institutions locally. The introduction of equal opportunity policies may seem somewhat hollow and insignificant in itself and can prove to be, under certain circumstances. Nevertheless, they are often the result of considerable pressure, sometimes consistent and conscious, sometimes spontaneous, which has ultimately won over public and private bodies to the principle of equal opportunity. The introduction of such policies do at least acknowledge, however grudgingly conceded, that there is a problem of inequality and that its source lies within the institution itself.

The eradication of racial inequality in the council housing sector is crucially dependent on the forces that affect the politicisation of the race issue locally. The forces, that have been identified here, which support and promote action to tackle racial inequality include pressure from below by local black and community organisations for sustained structural and policy change. Other forms of pressure include riots and street disturbances, resource-based demands by community groups and other defensive anti-racist campaigns which have been seen to have only a transient and marginal effect. Research has been a crucial factor in putting race on the policy agenda and in targetting mechanisms which produce racial inequality. Also the formation of alliances between local groups, black staff and specialist race staff alongside sympathetic councillors and professionals has been a crucial factor. But overall this last group has been the major source of opposition and resistance to the development and implementation of effective equal opportunity strategies. Existing policies and legislation provide the terrain within which negotiation and struggle take place and they may serve to facilitate change by, for example, prioritising housing need and other objective criteria or they may serve to obscure and legitimise actions which are racially discriminatory. The implementation of a strategy that aims for racial equality, or equality of outcome, given that some political and/or senior management commitment has been secured, is

dependent on a further set of forces. Henderson and Karn in their recent award-winning investigation of council house allocations in Birmingham have argued that given the fact that the judgements of housing department employees are based on their views of 'respectability' (where racism is connected to other attitudes of class and family status), tackling racial discrimination alone is unrealistic.[3] This is misjudged however in that it ignores the effects on housing department attitudes of firstly employing more black staff, secondly the operation of a tight equal opportunity strategy involving monitoring, timetables and targets and thirdly the effect of racism awareness training and a clearly operated code of conduct and disciplinary procedure with respect to racist incidents. The key issue here, i.e. employing more black staff, which has been the objective of the Black Housing Management Trainee Scheme, must not be underestimated. To attain a minimum of racial equality in employment in the Housing Department in Liverpool approximately 250 black workers would have to be appointed, this may indeed have a significant effect. Also, such councils as Lambeth have shown that real progress can be made towards racial equality in council housing allocations over three or four years given political commitment and an explicit strategy.[4] The third issue of trying to shift the attitudes and stereotypes of white staff is less reliable, less effective and much more difficult to evaluate and although necessary it can take many years to change the attitudes and atmosphere about the race issue in a predominantly white organisation.

In this context black workers groups, such as in Camden

Council, and newly emerging in Liverpool are a important force for change in what may be a prevailing attitude of hostility to anti-racism and positive action. Therefore the development and organisation of black workers must be an important objective in the struggle for racial equality alongside the building of alliances between such groups and black organisations and community relations agencies outside. To ignore the operation of such sources of pressure in considering the ending of racial discrimination in housing allocations is clearly misplaced and is a common weakness in the literature on race and public housing. The commitment of researchers in race to the consideration of the political context and effects of their research is therefore vital to produce adequate knowledge of the issues under analysis, as has been established in this study.

The analysis of race-relations interventions in housing in Liverpool, then, has been derived from the raw data gained from political involvement in local anti-racist organisations and involvement in various committees, working parties, conferences and other educational and promotional forums. In this context the constant process of political calculation and assessment of the forces and counter forces in the local struggle for racial equality in housing has been an integral part of the research process. This has enabled the specification of the conditions, operation and limits of the local politics of race and it has been seen to be essential to understand the process by which the objective of racial equality and justice will be achieved.

In conclusion, it has been argued that an historical and political dimension is crucial to the analysis of contemporary aspects of racism and racial inequality. A-historical and a-political accounts of racism can only lead to further mystification of the operation of this structure of oppression. The processes which generate racial inequalities are complex and need to be carefully examined and disentangled as they take different forms in different economic, social, political, geographical and historical settings. The role of the researcher will therefore vary from one organisational context to another which in turn will be contingent on policy frameworks and the politicisation of the race issue both at the local level and beyond. It is clear that the struggle for racial equality will not be won easily. In this process little assistance will be provided if researchers reproduce conventional modes of thinking and practice and fail to take responsibility for the impact of the products of their research.

Notes

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