BLACKS AND ASIANS IN THE BRITISH MEDIA:
A STUDY OF DISCRIMINATION

BY

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ABSTRACT

This research investigated black journalists and the part played, if any, by racial discrimination in their under-representation in training and employment in the white British media. In-depth interviews were carried out with 100 non-white working journalists, mainly but not entirely working and living in London. Respondents gave their own views and experiences and these were balanced by data from white media managers regarding the employment and training of black people.

The investigation of black journalists was achieved firstly by looking at where they went to school, whether they had state or private education and whether the qualifications they achieved were sufficient to gain them access to journalism training and jobs. Secondly, the study examined the experiences of the group's efforts to get into the white media and the possible part played by discrimination to keep them out. Because of the under-representation of black people in media training and jobs, the 1980s saw the setting up of black-only journalism courses. The investigation recorded the views of respondents on these courses so as to get some indication as to their advantages and disadvantages.

To provide a background for the investigation of black people in the British media, the study looked at the historical relationship between Britain and people from its former

colonies. It did so by looking briefly at European expansion and the concept of race and racism before and after the second world war. Post-war race relations were also examined through various reports since the 1960s, which showed that racial discrimination was widespread in Britain. In view of this, the research examined the laws relating to discrimination and whether the law is being complied with. Race and education and the educational under-achievement of African-Caribbean children since the 1960s was also examined to see what part, if any, discrimination plays.

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PREFACE

My interest in race and the media which eventually led to this study began in the early 1980s when I decided to change my occupation to journalism. After obtaining a degree in English, I applied to several newspapers and colleges of journalism in order to get training but was unsuccessful. Eventually I was given informal training by a local newspaper in the East End of London where I learnt to write news stories and features. I stayed there for two years and later found a job as a press officer before becoming a freelance journalist. I put the difficulties I had obtaining training down to the fact that I was a woman and mature. Although I did not and still do not accept sexism and ageism, I knew both existed and that I was probably a victim.

In 1985 I became actively involved in the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) and later joined the union's Race Relations Working Party (RRWP), now replaced by the Black Members' Council. The RRWP was a body set up by the union's national Executive in 1974 to fight media racism inside and outside the union. The RRWP was made up of seven members, five of whom were elected at the NUJ's Annual Delegate Meeting and two were selected by the union's national executive. My involvement with this group made me conscious of the racism within society generally and the media in particular. I began to wonder whether my past difficulties obtaining training and jobs in the media were not due to racism with sexism and ageism taking

second place. My interest in the media grew and I began to look more closely at the numbers of black people in television and newspapers, what they did as well as how they were portrayed.

At the time of my involvement with the RRWP several conferences and seminars on race and the media were held throughout the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. These meetings were jointly sponsored by the RRWP and the London branch of the Commission for Racial Equality. They were attended by editors and managers from local newspapers, television and radio stations who were invited to speak. The audience was generally made up of the local black community and some were leaders or representatives of black organisations. It was at these gatherings that I first became aware of the deep division between the black community and the media. It was not unusual to see white editors and members of the public shouting at each other and at times I believe the row could have easily led to physical violence if the groups had not been seated separately.

At these conferences and seminars the black audience without exception would accuse the media of 'racism', providing as evidence newspaper cuttings of stories they saw as biased. White editors were frequently accused of 'lying' in their stories on race. Another point of confrontation between audience and media representatives was the under-employment of black people as journalists. It was usually pointed out to

editors that although many newspapers, radio and television stations operated in the inner-city areas of London, Birmingham and Manchester which had significant black populations, they did not employ black reporters. The black audience would argue that if more black journalists were employed this would make some difference to race reporting.

Editors and representatives from the media usually dismissed claims of racism; they saw their organisation and the media in general as fair and objective in their reporting on ever subject. Moreover, they would continue to report on anything they considered as news, whether it was about black people or not. They also made the point that most news stories were negative and that they did not treat race stories any differently - as one editor stated, 'a story is a story regardless'. These replies were often met with disbelief by the black audience who would continue to argue that the media seldom or never wrote positive stories on race. On one occasion an editor retaliated: 'I am not going to be told by amateurs how to report news' and his colleagues agreed. On the question of the training and employment of young black people as journalists the usual answers were that black people did not apply for either jobs or training and, secondly, the editors believed that this was due to blacks - especially African-Caribbeans - not having the right educational qualifications or journalistic experience. The question was then asked by the audience, how did editors know that black people did not apply for jobs or training - did they ask

applicants their racial origin? It was pointed out that while it might be easy to recognise the names of Asians and Africans, it is more difficult to recognise an African-Caribbean or mixed-raced applicant. No editor or representative of the media at any conference I attended monitored their applicants for jobs or training and most said they had no intention of doing so.

It soon became obvious that media representatives at these meetings had no idea how many black people if any had applied for jobs or training. Editors also admitted that they rarely advertised jobs or training places and if they did, the advertisement would be placed in their own papers rather than in the black press. The editors resented the idea that they should advertise in the black press. One said that if black people did not read his paper to see when there were vacancies he could not be blamed. The notion of 'Positive Action', where a black applicant with equal qualifications is given preference to a white applicant if the organisation has no or very few black employees, was seen by editors at these meetings as reverse racism. They insisted that jobs must be given to the best applicant who, to judge from the make-up of their staff, was usually white, male and middle class.

At the end of these emotional gatherings many young black people who may not have had a chance to speak would come forward to members of the RRWP telling us of their experiences trying to get jobs or training in the media. They explained

that they had at least one degree and some had two but that they still faced enormous difficulties getting journalism training and jobs in the white media. There were also those who said that they had received recognised journalism training but still could not find employment in the mainstream media. Others stated that they were sometimes called for interview but employers, seeing they were black, invariably did not give them the job. No member of the RRWP at that time knew whether these complaints were genuine or not, or, the extent of racial discrimination in the media. It was at this point that I decided to begin this study.

INTRODUCTION

This study examines black journalists as a group - their education, socio-economic background and their experiences as journalists. It also examines the under-representation of black journalists in the white media. The term 'black' is used to cover non-whites from the following ethnic groups: African, African-Caribbean and Asian. This usage recognizes the fact that members of these groups, whether their family origins are in Africa, the Caribbean, the Indian sub-continent, or the Far East, are all vulnerable to prejudice and discrimination based on skin colour. However, we are aware of the differences between these groups and have discussed them separately in areas such as education and social class.

Concern regarding race and the media began in the 1950s and was highlighted during and after the Notting Hill and Nottingham race riots of 1958. It was argued then that press reporting of these disturbances was biased against black people and that the socio-economic circumstances which lay behind the riots were not fully reported, if reported at all. Before these riots however, the reverse was the case. The media played down conflict and prejudice against black immigrants for, as Peter Braham stated, 'the media gave little or no airing to opinions which were very widely shared among the general public' because 'to focus on racial problems at all would merely serve to stir them up'(Braham 1982, 279). Since then it could be argued that the relationship between media and black people has largely deteriorated.

The controversy concerning race and the media led to a small number of academic researches including Hartman and Husband's 1974 'Racism and the Media', Chas Critcher's 1975 'Race in the Provincial Press', Barry Troyna's 1981 'Public Awareness And The Media' and Teun A. Van Dijk's 1991 'Racism and the Press'. These studies focused upon race reporting, the product of journalists rather than journalists themselves. Only Troyna (1981) mentioned black employment in the white media when he recommended that 'editors and the National Council for the Training of Journalists should actively encourage ethnic minority school leavers and graduates to enter journalism. This will not only help to provide equality of opportunity but will also contribute to the more informed and sensitive reporting of race issues'(Troyna 1981, 86). There were few researches into journalists as a group, such as Jeremy Tunstall's (1970) 'Journalists at Work' and Oliver Boyd Barrett's (1970) 'Journalist's Recruitment and Training' but these studies dealt with white journalists only.

The lack of academic interest in the under-representation of black journalists in the white media may be due to the small numbers of black people employed in this position. In 1988 the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) estimated that 350 of its 28,000 members were black. However, the 1980s have seen a rise in the numbers of black people wanting to take up journalism and with this rise came a number of criticisms against the white media for not giving black people the opportunities to do so. Groups such as the National Union of Journalists' Race

Relations Party (RRWP) and the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) began voicing their concern regarding the under-representation of black journalists in the white media.

Since the mid-1980s the RRWP took up the issue of black under-representation in the white media by organising conferences and seminars throughout Britain to which they invited editors of local newspapers, radio and television stations, as well as the local black communities to discuss the issue of black under-representation in the media. These conferences were usually well attended and explosive in nature. Representatives of the black community accused local white editors of racism both in their reporting of race stories and in their employment practices. Editors rejected the accusation that they were biased in their reporting of race. On the question of black journalists' under-representation, editors stated at these meetings that black people did not apply for training or jobs and that this was due to black people, especially African-Caribbeans, not having the necessary qualifications. However when questioned, editors stated that they had no way of telling whether black people had applied for jobs or training in their paper, radio or television station because they were not involved in ethnic monitoring and did not see the need for it. When it was suggested that they should operate 'Positive Action' in employment and training, whereby a black person with the same qualifications is taken on in instead of a white person in an occupation where there are no or few blacks, editors saw this

as reverse racism. Another important point which emerged from these gatherings was that white editors did not advertise vacancies for training places or employment in the ethnic media and that, like ethnic monitoring, they did not see the need for it. The general feeling from these meetings was that most editors were unwilling to introduce equal opportunities policy in their establishments. However, no one knew for certain how representative were the views of these editors who attended these meetings.

It was because of these uncertainties as to why there was an under-representation of black journalists in the white media that this study began. We could find no empirical studies of black journalists as a group and their under-representation in the white media. We found however some newspaper articles, reports from black journalists' conferences and the 1983 report by the 'Black Media Workers Association'. All these have been referred to in this study. This research is then an attempt to look systematically at black journalists as a group and their distinguishing features. It aims to find out who they are, their background and experiences in the media and how they managed to enter an occupation which in the main is closed to black people.

While the study is not representative of all black journalists, it is hoped that it will provide an insight into those black people who work as journalists. It might be asked why the study looked only at black journalists and not also at

a matched white sample. When the study began it was decided to study black journalists only as a group, firstly, because no substantive research had been carried out on black journalists as a group and their under-representation in the white media. Secondly, it was thought that trying to match a white sample of journalists with a black sample would come up against intractable problems because the cultural background and social norms of the two groups are very different. There is also the factor of colour prejudice and its consequences which black people in general experience and which white people do not. Like would not then be compared with like. It is for these reasons that this study has concentrated on black journalists only.

One hundred black journalists were interviewed. They were taken from national and provincial newspapers, magazines, public relations, radio and television. The interviews were conducted in the manner described in the next section. The thesis contains an analysis of the data yielded by these interviews, setting them in the wider context of race and ethnic minority relations in Britain today.

METHODOLOGY

There were 100 respondents to this survey. Ninety-five were face-to-face interviews and five people returned a questionnaire. Respondents were not selected because of age, gender, class, nor as African-Caribbeans or Asians. The only criterion necessary was that they be 'black' as defined earlier in the introduction and working as journalists. Respondents were asked a series of mainly open-ended questions which are reproduced in the Appendix . Questions were divided into six sections. The first consisted of questions based on personal details and was designed to collect information regarding age, gender and social background of respondents. The second section deals with the 'educational history' of respondents. As journalism is an occupation which demands high educational qualifications, it was important to acquire information regarding respondents' educational qualifications, as this might have an important bearing on their under-representation in the white media. Respondents were also questioned on where they went to school, in Britain or abroad, and whether their school was private or state. It was also important in this section to obtain respondent's personal experiences at school. This was to see whether, as many reports suggested, black children, especially those of African and Caribbean origin, face discrimination at school.

Questions on journalism training were in the third section of the questionnaire. These questions were designed to obtain information on the numbers of respondents who had recognised

journalism training and whether they were trained in a mainstream journalism course as opposed to a 'black-only' journalism course. It was also important to know how many respondents there were without journalism training and why. This information might give an insight as to why there is an under-representation of black people in white journalism courses. The next section deals with employment and work experience. Questions here were designed to obtain information on respondents' job title, the area of the media they were working in, their careers and promotion and whether respondents had ever had any difficulties getting jobs in the white media. Information on the black media was also sought in order to ascertain the position of those black journalists working for the black media. It was also important to ask respondents why they worked for the black media as opposed to the white media.

The next part of the questionnaire was based on 'race'. Here information was sought regarding respondents' views and experiences to do with such topics as race reporting, the portrayal of black people in the white media and black-only journalism courses. The final section of the questionnaire deals with unions and media unions in particular. Respondents' views and experiences were sought on unions and their relationship with black people and, in particular, the equal opportunities record of media unions. The information gained from these questions would then be put into the larger background of equal opportunities.

Two other questionnaires were designed (see Appendix) and these were sent separately to directors of journalism courses, editors and other media employers. The questions asked were to gain information on the numbers of black journalists or black trainee journalists media managers had employed in the last five years. If they had taken on only a few or none at all they were asked why. In all 100 questionnaires were sent out to media managers in selected areas which had a large black population. Managers contacted represented all areas of the media, such as national and provincial newspapers, television (national and regional), radio (national and local) and magazines. Those representing 'books' and public relations were not contacted because the survey had no respondents working in books and only three working in public relations.

The interviews with the 100 black journalists took place between 1988 and 1989. At the time of the study there were no known lists of black journalists. The CRE and the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) were both approached but neither had such a list. The NUJ could give only an estimated number of its black members which was 350 of its 28,000 members. Black journalists were located by writing to the five black members of the NUJ Race Relations Working Party outlining the research. However, before any interviews took place a detailed questionnaire was drawn up and it was agreed that because there were no known lists of black journalists, the method to be employed of locating respondents would be that of 'networking'. At the first five interviews and subsequently

respondents were asked to nominate the names and addresses of any African, African-Caribbean or Asian journalists they knew who might be willing to take part in the research. About 70 respondents were located in this way. Others were contacted by looking through black newspapers and magazines for names of journalists. Some respondents were also located because they were seen on television and then written to. In all 220 journalists were contacted, 115 of whom agreed to take part. Ninety-two did not reply and 13 replied but stated that they did not wish to be interviewed; of these, only two gave reasons. They replied by 'phone stating that they did not want to take part in the study because they feared if they did they would lose their jobs. Both journalists worked in mainstream television. One was very distressed that we had even tried to contact her. She feared her letter might have been opened by her employers and that she might lose her job.

Of the 115 people who agreed to be interviewed, 15 dropped out. Two said they could not take part because they would be working outside Britain at the time of the proposed interview and 13 because they feared if they took part in the study their employer might find out and they might either be sacked or demoted. This was despite the assurances given by the researcher that their identity and places of work would remain confidential. Of the 100 respondents to this survey 92 per cent insisted upon anonymity before agreeing to be interviewed. As a result, in this thesis no names or clues are given which might identify any individual journalist with what

has been said. One journalist did not mind being interviewed if her editor approved. In this way she would not get into any trouble. The editor was sent a letter regarding the aims of the research. He agreed but stated that he did not see his journalists as black or white, male or female - they were just journalists.

Respondents came mainly from London and the South East. The research in no way sought respondents from any given area as respondents were taken from wherever they were working. However, as the 'networking' gained momentum it soon became obvious that the reason why most respondents came from London was due to the fact that most black journalists were employed in the London area. Eighty out the 100 respondents lived and worked in London and the South East. 10 came from the Midlands, two from Bristol, two from Wales, four from the North of England, one from Scotland and one from Northern Ireland. The response rate for those originally contacted was 45 per cent. Given the lack of knowledge about the numbers of black journalists at present working in the United Kingdom, it is very difficult to say how representative this sample is. However, those interviewed comprised a significant minority of black journalists identified in 1988 and 1989. The 100 respondents were distributed as follows:

PRINT JOURNALISM	33 per cent
BROADCASTING	60 per cent
MAGAZINES	4 per cent
PHOTOGRAPHY	3 per cent

MEN	44 per cent
WOMEN	56 per cent

AFRICAN-CARIBBEAN	70 per cent
SOUTH ASIANS	28 per cent
CHINESE	2 per cent

The data resulting from the one hundred interviews was transcribed and in total came to approximately 600 pages. This very large and rich source of qualitative data has been mined for material on each of the topics treated in the thesis. Extensive use has been made of quotations from the journalists themselves to give an impression of their experiences and views. Some frequency distributions have been made by counting by hand but at an early stage a decision was taken not to computerise the data. This entailed limitations but the analysis made here is primarily qualitative.

Interviews were carried out in London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Bristol, Cardiff, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Only 20 per cent of all interviews took place at respondents' places of work, the rest were undertaken at mutually convenient

locations such as restaurants, coffee bars, pubs and, in some instances, respondent's homes. Most respondents were reluctant to be interviewed at their place of work in case their employer or other members of staff became suspicious.

Interviews lasted between one and four hours, depending on how much time respondents could spare. The same questions were asked of all respondents but length of answers differed. A tape recorder as well as a written record was used at all face-to-face interviews. Respondents were asked prior to interview whether they minded the use of a tape recorder and no one objected. An in-depth questionnaire was used (see Appendix).

THESIS OUTLINE

In the chapters that follow black journalists are examined as a group and their experiences in the British media and the reason or reasons for their under-representation in the white media. The thesis looks particularly at the question of 'racism' and the part it plays in the under-representation of black people in the media. Two-thirds of this survey contains interview material from respondents.

The first chapter examines race and racism during and after European expansion. It examines the socio-economic conditions of black post-war immigration and the effects of racism and the part it played in restricting the hopes and ambitions of immigrants. Chapter two examines discrimination and the law and what effect, if any, the 1976 Race Relation Act had on discrimination in Britain. Chapter three looks at race and education and the part racial discrimination plays in the educational under-achievement of especially African-Caribbean children. It does so by examining several reports beginning in the 1960s. Chapter four examines journalists' education and training, while chapter five examines the educational attainments of respondents, the schools they attended and their experiences in these schools. It compares the qualifications of respondents to those of journalists in general and asks whether black journalists are equally qualified. A comparison was made between the educational achievements of African-Caribbean respondents and the majority

of African-Caribbean school-leavers and the reasons for both African-Caribbean and Asian respondents educational achievement was assessed.

Chapter six deals with journalistic training and black people. It traces the difficulties faced by many respondents seeking training in the white media and examines the reasons for respondents' difficulties getting white media training. In so doing the chapter looks at the various types of institutional racism which black people face in trying to get training and jobs for white-collar occupations such as journalism. The second half of the chapter looks at 'black only courses' which began in the early 1980s as a means of redressing the under-representation of black people in white journalism training.

Chapter seven looks at black journalists' employment in the white media. It does so in two ways, firstly through the employment experiences of respondents and secondly through its data from white media employers and the media unions. It examines various ways black journalists gain media jobs. For example, one news editor stated that 'nothing short of hustling by black and Asian journalists will force national papers to employ more non-whites'. This chapter also compares black employment in the media with that of other white-collar occupations such as teaching and law and that of black journalists in the American media.

Chapter eight examines how the white media reports on 'race'. It also looks at the history of the black media in Britain. A history of the black press is recorded from its earliest times late in the nineteenth century until the present day. Most of the early history of the black press is concerned with the African-Caribbean publications as they started earlier than the Asian press. The chapter looks at the reason or reasons for the existence of black media in the UK and the part the black media plays in the employment and training of black journalists who cannot get into the white media.

Chapter nine deals with the relationship between black people and trade unions and in particular the media unions. It looks at unions' equal opportunity policies and asks to what extent they are put into practice. The focus is largely on the policies of the National Union of Journalists and its black group, the Race Relations Working Party, from 1974 until 1990 when the RRWP was replaced by the 'Black Member's Council.' Respondent's views and experiences of media unions are used to examine these issues.

Chapter ten compares black women journalists and men in terms of education, parental expectations, journalism training and jobs. In this section women respondents talked about their educational experiences, getting journalism training and jobs and some of the difficulties they encountered because they are women. For example, they discussed the issue of being a partner or parent, or both, and what effect this may have had

upon their careers, a problem male journalists, black or white, do not usually have to contemplate. Media images of women are also discussed and in particular the image of black women in the media.

The main findings of the research are summarised and drawn together in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 1

RACE AND RACISM

INTRODUCTION

The under-representation of black people in journalism courses and jobs has recently forced itself into the race relations debate. Black journalists' groups and the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) have called upon media managers and trainers to provide equality of opportunity for blacks to enter journalism in greater numbers. They have argued that this is essential if the media is to represent the multi-racial, multi-cultural society that Britain has become. It will be argued in this research that media reluctance to accept black people in journalism courses and jobs is a reflection of the structural racism within British society which has its roots in Britain's historical heritage.

The colour discrimination found in Britain has been conceptualized in terms of LLoyd Warner's race relations theory of a 'caste barrier' which operates in white society against black people. While the notion of 'caste' implies similarities which do not always apply to the Hindu caste system with its laws against eating together, intermarriage, or other intimate association, Warner's basic idea is that there is a barrier based on colour. Warner suggests that the best way to understand black people's relationships with the

stratification system is to imagine that at the bottom of the system there is a barrier far more impenetrable than those which divide the various classes. When those below this barrier begin to acquire characteristics which should place them higher up in the stratification system, the effect was not to break the barrier but to tip it diagonally. In other words, the opportunity exists for an individual black person to move into the middle class or upper class but he/she, despite having the qualifications to do so, will not be seen as equal to a white person in the same position. These black people will still be confined within the barrier and are unlikely to mix with upper and middle-class whites (1).

This 'barrier', it can be asserted, is part of British society. For although Britain, unlike South Africa in the past, does not have an officially segregated system based on colour or ethnic lines, nor a legal or customary tradition of segregation as was found in the American South, black people in general still face barriers in society which relegate them to low- paid, low- status jobs and poor housing. It will be argued that this colour barrier has its roots in Britain's colonial past but was transported to the 'motherland' when large numbers of black immigrants came to Britain in the 1950s and '60s. To understand the 'colour barrier' in Britain and its reflection in the media we have to examine the emergence of race and British racism.

(1) See W. Lloyd Warner (1936) 'American Class and Caste' where he argues that America's Deep South consisted of two social stratification systems, a 'caste' and 'class' structure.

EUROPEAN EXPANSION AND RACE

The conceptualization of race as a biological entity began during European expansion and colonization (2). However before this time Europeans already had some concepts of what the 'other' was like both in appearance and character. Although the African colour and lack of attire stimulated the interest of European travellers, Africans were not yet seen as commodities. However, by the fifteenth century when the centre of economic and political power in Europe had consolidated into emergent states, the representation of the African took on new meaning (Kierman 1972, Wallerstein 1974). One important reason for this change was the need for raw materials by the European states (3). Travel and exploration became interdependent elements in an attempt by the feudal ruling classes to resolve a major economic crisis (Fox-Genovese 1983). With this and the development of printing in the sixteenth century, the physical and cultural differences of the African took on more significance. It was at this time, it can be argued, that the media of the day in the form of books began perpetuating negative images of the African.

(2) For example 'race' as a concept and the inequality that it entailed was given a 'massive' boost by slavery which was thought to prove the existence of natural inequality (Cashmore and Troyna 1983, 26).

(3) In England there was a growing demand for sugar even among the poor and for rum punch which also promoted sugar. Ships left London, Bristol and Liverpool loaded with goods and sailed for the African Coast where commodities were exchanged for slaves who were then shipped across the Atlantic. See A.G.Hopkins (1973) 'An Economic History of West Africa'.

Although these books were not written by one person or organised as newspapers are today, they, nevertheless, carried what could be seen as racist images and notions. They stressed the physical differences of the African and the differences in his culture, precisely those aspects of African life that were most repellent to the West and tended to submerge the indication of a common humanity (Curtin 1965, 23). The positive qualities of Africans, which were represented in the preceding centuries by Greco-Roman societies, were ignored by many European writers and travellers of the sixteenth century and after. Miles argues that the negative portrayal of the African 'served to define and legitimate what was considered to be the positive qualities of both author and reader' (Miles 1989, 21). It also helped to established a 'colour barrier' which still exists in British society today.

Reports from this period of European expansion edited by Richard Hakluyt and first published in 1598 are an example of the negative portrayal of black people and their culture which are still alluded to in modern day media (4). One contributor, John Hawkins, described the people of Dominica as cannibals; another, James Lancaster, saw the inhabitants of Good Hope as 'black savages very brutish'(Haklyut 1972, pp. 105, 107, 361).

(4) See Richard Hakluyt, 'The Principal navigation, voiages, traffiques and discoueries of the English Nation (George Bishop 1598-1600), 11. ii. 25; cf. Hakluyt (1903-5), V1. 184; Europeans in West Africa, ed. Blake, 11. 367 for European reaction to the Africans.

Despite these descriptions, not all representations of non-whites in the time of European expansion were negative. Columbus, for instance, distinguished between 'canibales and indios'; the latter he represented as exhibiting kindness and deference and as showing no evidence of bestiality (Saunders 1978, 93-94). Similarly, Francis Drake described the population of the Island of Batjam as follows:

'The people of this island are comely in body and stature and of a civil behaviour, just in dealing and courteous to strangers' (Hakluyt 1972, 236).

However, the general portrayal of blacks during this period was negative and the ground, it could be said , was laid for modern day British racism. Another extension to the negative view of blacks during this period was their portrayal as heathens who exhibit potent sexuality (5), a stereotyped image often reflected in the modern media. The physical and cultural differences between Africans and Europeans became much easier to understand when viewed from a religious standpoint. African blackness was explained as the curse of Ham. George Best (6) in 1578 explained how God punished Ham for his disobedience and willed

'A sonne should be borne, whose name was Chus, who not only it selfe but all his posterite after him, should be so blacke and lothsome that it might remaine a spectacle of disobedience to all the worlde and of this blacke and cursed Chus came al these blacke moores which are in Africa' (in Hakluyt 1903, Vol.11, 264).

(5) See Jordan (1968) 'White over Black' on the history of slavery.

(6) See George Best (1578) 'A true discourse of the late voyages of discouerie for the finding of a passage to Cathaya by the northwest'.

Added to this is the earlier Christian conception of blackness being

'heavily charged with meaning long before the English met people whose skin was black. Blackness in England traditionally stood for death, mourning, baseness, evil, sin and danger'(Fryer 1984, 134).

Against the backdrop of these developments the idea of race was developed and taken up by scientific enquirers. There are various arguments as to when the idea of 'race' emerged; Fryer (1984) argues that it emerged orally in the seventeenth century and was put into written form in the eighteenth, while Jordan argues that the pseudo-scientific ideology of race did not emerge until the first decade of the nineteenth century and Banton says it emerged in the sixteenth century.

The idea of race took on a new meaning with the development of science in the eighteenth century and after.

'Race increasingly came to refer to a biological type of human being and science purported to demonstrate not only the number and characteristics of each "race" but also a hierarchial relationship between them and subsequently and more narrowly to the social world' (Banton 1987, 11).

This scientific discourse did not replace the earlier concept of the 'other' in terms of ideas about savagery and barbarism. Instead it complemented the idea of differences in race and culture. However, this scientific idea clashed with religious ideology which stated that all men were descendants of Adam and Eve. It seems one way of resolving the problem was to say that blackness was the result of human sin and damnation by God. Another was to say that blackness was caused by environmental factors. But by the late eighteenth century this idea was overturned as it was shown that physical features and

skin colour did not change when members of races moved to different geographical locations. However, the Christian idea of the great chain of being where God had created all living things and had organised them into a hierarchy of existence, was used to order the natural and social world. This central idea of hierarchy in the Great Chain of Being permitted the ranking of the different groups of human beings identified by European thought. Consequently, the African was both different and lower on the scale relative to the European (Miles 1989).

Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, which proved that Europeans were related to Africans and that all human beings were related to apes, caused profound controversy. Fryer stated that it , 'pulled the rug from under the polygenists' feet and made the whole long debate between monogenists and polygenists irrelevant'(1984, 179). However Darwinism furnished a new rationale for almost all the old beliefs about racial superiority and inferiority (1984, 179). Darwin's basic idea of natural selection, or survival of the fittest, was used to argue that some 'races' of people survived because they were better suited to the environment. Thus there was a gradual evolution towards perfectibility. Darwin's cousin, Sir Francis Galton (7), founder of the 'science' of eugenics,

(7) See Francis Galton (1869) 'Heredity genius; an inquiry into its laws and consequences', where the author claims that black people are intellectually inferior to whites.
'the acceptance by a man of Galton's intellect and eminence of the thesis that different races could be distinguished and compared with one another, and his use of a mock statistical technique to this end, must have assisted considerably the propagation of racist theories'(Banton 1967, 41).

stated that the average intelligence of the negro race was some two grades below whites and that a great number of blacks were half-witted. Miles, argue that those who preached the scientific notion of race considered themselves to be members of a race but they also identified a hierarchy of 'races' within Europe. (Miles 1989,36). For example, efforts were made in the late nineteenth century to identify the different races of which Britain was composed using hair and eye colour and skull measurements (Beddoe 1885). Within Europe the representation of the 'other' as an inferior 'race' focused amongst others on the Irish (Curtis 1968) and Jews (Mosse 1978). In a book entitled 'The Racial Elements of European History' first published in 1927, Gunther identified the 'Nordic Race' as especially creative and with a need for conquest, a special aptitude for military science and a low crime rate, and he feared social decay in Europe as a result of the running dry of the blood of the Nordic 'race'(Gunther 1970, 198). Such pseudo-scientific ideas of race which began in the nineteenth century contributed to the Nazi theory of Aryan superiority and Jewish inferiority.

It was not until the 1950's when New Commonwealth citizens began to arrive in Britain in significant numbers, reaching a peak in 1962, that the black presence in Britain began to cause concern at the social, economic, political and legal level. Although Britain had relatively small pockets of black settlement which had been built up around seaport cities such as Cardiff, Liverpool and London since the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries (8), the relationships that the British had with black people took place thousands of miles away, as instanced by the many leading British families who were absentee West Indian planters and gained much of their wealth from that distant source (Walvin 1973, Fryer 1984).

To understand racism in modern British society and its reflection in the media it is important to look firstly at the structure of colonial society. It is argued that the media during its reporting of Black uprisings in Britain rarely if ever referred to the violence of slavery (9). It might be that white reporters cannot see the linkage or they might think that slavery and colonialism has nothing to do with black/white relationships in the 1990's. However, it could well be argued that the violence of slavery and colonization has had a direct impact on black immigrants and their children in British society and that the shock of slavery is still being felt. For instance, Elkins suggests that there were six shocks involved for the African in the business of being captured and sold into slavery. There was the shock of

(8) For example, the GLC's 1986 research 'A History of The Black Presence in London' argues that although the black presence in London before 1945 was limited, the assumption that blacks dated back only to post-war Britain 'is a dangerous myth' that all too readily finds expression in a racist society. In fact black people have been in Britain since the sixteenth century.

(9) For example, see Paul Gordon & David Rosenberg (1989) 'Daily Racism: The Press and Black People', on media reporting of race.

capture, the march to the sea, being sold, the middle passage, the shock of resale and the shock of the seasoning period. But these shocks refer only to the survivors because two-thirds of those captured died before actually becoming slaves (Elkins 1963).

Rex explains the position of the colonised as follows:

'When a conquered people are incorporated by another society, rarely is it the case that they are incorporated on terms of absolute equality. From the start there is a distinction far more fundamental than any class distinction between the conquerors and the conquered. If the conquered retain any visible sign of their own distinct cultural practices, there will be no possibility of mobility from one group to another' (Rex 1970, 36).

On his theory of colonial legacy, Rex states that New Commonwealth workers cannot be readily placed within the overall stratification system of the metropolitan societies as they occupy the unique position of being an unintegrated 'grouping' in what he sees as a relatively stable and integrated social order although further complicated by issues of class struggles and political conflict. For Rex, the unintegrated position of New Commonwealth workers is based on two closely related factors. Firstly, the social structure of Empire and the class formations which occur within it and, secondly, generalized myths, beliefs and stereotypes held about New Commonwealth workers. Both these factors are seen by Rex to determine the conditions under which New Commonwealth workers enter the metropolitan formation and the subsequent rigidity of their structural location within that formation. Rex then explains the position of the colonial worker in metropolitan society. He argues that New Commonwealth workers

are faced with barriers erected in order to keep them outside the stratified set of positions in advanced capitalist society. These are identified by Rex as class, status and power. He argues that the first problem emerges for the immigrant when the host society refuses to treat the immigrant as a citizen, as belonging within the normal stratification system. The second barrier is the establishment of a number of ill-defined, new poor roles (1983, 108). New Commonwealth workers then find that their position within the labour market has been defined prior to their entry and that they are taking on the role of replacement workers: finding that they are left with jobs and houses not acceptable to the vast majority of metropolitan working class (Rex 1983, 109).

This caste-like barrier, Rex argues, serves to put New Commonwealth immigrants into a position below that of the indigenous population of the metropolitan society. For, despite the class struggle within the metropolitan society, the various classes:

'unite in the exploitation of and in defence against any threat from segments or groups within or from colonial society'(1979, 13).

'What seems to happen is that colour is taken as the indication that a man is only entitled to colonial status, and this means that he has to be placed outside the normal stratification system. The stratification system thus becomes extended to take account of additional social positions marked by a degree of rightlessness not to be found amongst the incorporated workers'(1979, 8).

However Rex is not putting forward the argument that

'racist beliefs are simply an archaic survival and that they have nothing to do with the economic and political basis of society'(1979, 287).

He believes rather that the structure of Britain's economic and political existence was based on the British Empire of the past 400 years and as such, is unlikely to change just because many of the colonies have received independence since 1945, nor that this would overcome

'the fearful sense of threat and competition when British men and women faced the people of Empire.'

Rex argues in support of Myrdal's notion of the 'Cumulative Principle' in which the existence of racist beliefs, once they are established, are seen as leading to discrimination and this discrimination is seen as producing the condition which will further justify these beliefs. In so saying he argues that:

'the British image of the West Indian, Indian or Pakistani is not now simply that of a colonial savage but additionally of a man in the ghetto, or a young man in trouble with the police' (1979, 287).

Yet there are those who see the position of New Commonwealth workers not as a separate entity from the main stratification system but as part of the general working class (10). Hall et al from a Marxist standpoint see 'race' and 'racism' as inextricably linked with class relations, structure and production. They explain the way in which different structures work together: 'so as to reproduce the class relations of the whole society in a specific form on an extended scale'(Hall et al 1978, 346). For them, race represents a structural feature

(10) Castle and Kosack (1973), for example, argue that black immigrants have brought about a split in the working class of Western Europe and that immigrants though a part of the working class form 'the lowest stratum' of that class.

within each structure and thus at the level of social reproduction serves to reproduce the working class (of which blacks form a fraction) in a racially stratified and internally antagonistic form. Hall et al state,

'We are concerned with the structures which, working within the dominant logic of capital, produce and reproduce the social conditions of the black working class, shape the social universe and the productive world of that class and assign its members and agents to positions of structural subordination within it'(Hall et al 1978, 346).

The key structural forces which Hall et al refer to are the education system, employment, housing and race. All four structural forces, they argue, combine so as to reproduce a specific historical form (1978, 346). In their analysis of these four structures Hall et al first define the function each structure serves within modern capitalism. Secondly, they attempt to illustrate the linkages that exist between them and these structures. Thirdly, they highlight the cumulative results which the combination of these structures has in reproducing the conditions of production and reproduction of a racially divided and fragmented working class.

Hall et al take a complete look at the structural forces and emphasize the linkages that exists between them, rather than viewing then as individual and independent entities. In their theoretical analysis of the various processes which enable the combination of structures to be fully operative, less attention is given to acts of individual institutions. It is instead the structure and its wider implications for class determination which matter in their analysis. As they stated,

'But the measuring of discrimination tends to suggest that black men and women are really in no different a position with respect to the key structures of British society than their white counterparts, with the exception of those regrettably large numbers who encounter discriminatory practices in housing, education, employment or everyday social life. We believe this gives a false picture, for it treats racism and discriminatory practices as individual exceptions to an otherwise satisfactory "rule". Instead, we want to examine what the regular and routine structures are and what their effects have been'(Hall et al 1978, 340).

Some have argued (for example, Miles 1982 and 1989) that the term 'race' should not be used in sociological discourse. Miles and Phizacklea state that 'race' for them has no reality other than as a social construction. However it might be argued that for black people in Britain, and particularly those trying to get into white-collar occupations such as the media, 'race' and 'racism' do exist.

The difficulty with the Marxist perspective when dealing with race arises, in part, as a result of what Marxists, as Katznelson (1973) suggests, regard as the deflection of class consciousness and conflict. Marxists thus defend their position by arguing that anyone who assumes that race exists is playing the racialist card. Katznelson explains that

'These Marxist sentiments are noble but not rooted in reality. Colour has been a mark of oppression related to, yet independent of class'(Katznelson 1973, 6).

The notion of playing the 'racialist' game emerges in Robert Miles books, first 'Racism and Migrant Labour' (1982) and later in 'Racism' (1989). Miles stated that:

'Concepts serve to filter action and belief into categories which are then deemed to stand in some sort of causal relationship to each other. This process is not restricted to academic discourse but is, as Gramsci so cogently observed, evident in the everyday world of "common sense". In this sense everyone is a philosopher or intellectual. Hence I acknowledge that the world of everyday political discourse identifies a race/ race relations situation/ problem. What I wish to question is the way in which common sense discourse has come to structure and determine academic discourse so that it too admits to the existence of "races" and relations between "races" with the consequence that a distinct field of study is deemed to exist - that is the sociology of race relations. In other words, I shall argue that the notions of "race" and "race relations" have no descriptive or explanatory utility and should not therefore be carried into academic discourse from the everyday world. Indeed - I would go further and argue that their continued academic utilisation serves their continued utilization in the everyday world'(1982, 3).

In a later publication, 'Racism', Miles explained:

'In Europe, North America and Australasia the idea of race is now usually (although not exclusively) employed to differentiate collectivities distinguished by skin colour, so that "races" are either black or white but never "big-eared" and "small-eared". The fact that only physical characteristics are signified to define "races" in specific circumstances indicates that we are investigating not a given, natural division of the world's population, but the application of the historical record which demonstrates that populations now defined as "white" have in the past been defined as distinct "races". Thus the use of the word "race" to label the group so distinguished by such features is an aspect of the social construction of reality: races are socially imagined rather than biological realities'(1989, 71).

Put simply, Miles' argument rejects the concept of race and race relations in academic discourse, believing, as he says, the term is imagined rather than real. He believes that it would be better to analyze the position of black people into one which functions in relation to the economy rather than race or skin colour. In other words, 'race' does not exist and the term 'race' is used as a commonsense word rather than as a valid scientific term and the use of the word wrongly assumes the existence, on the human level, of racial differences

corresponding to genus and species in plants and animals. Modern science has established above all that the various races belong to a single unique species , homo-sapiens, whose individuals share a single gene pool (11).

Secondly, Miles argues that if the term 'race' is to be used at all it should not be confined to skin colour and physical characteristics alone. He argues that both the Irish and the Jews, who are white, have been also considered a race in Europe (Miles 1989). However, what theorists have to contend with is that in commonsense discourse race has meaning whether it exists as a social or ideological construct or not. 'Race' also has consequences, as Sivanandan points out:

'It is action which gives meaning to a word. It is in the act that the word is made flesh. In the beginning it was the act not the word.. You cannot do away with racism by using different terminology.. What is material, however, is neither the term nor the group differences it implies, but the differential power exercised by some groups over others by virtue of, and on the basis of these differences - which in turn engenders the belief that such differences are material' (1982, 163-164).

This thesis will argue that race, skin colour and culture may serve and have served to justify social inequalities which make race, although not biologically valid, a reality.

(11) For example, Montagu (1964) argues that there is no scientific justification for using the term 'race ' for as far as the biological and genetic sciences are concerned 'races' do not exist.

It is on the basic of this that the analysis of the concept of race has to be understood. Individuals or groups in society in order to make sense of their world might call upon certain social constructs and 'race' and skin colour might be two pointers. If 'race' as a term is to be taken out of academic discourse, as Miles suggests, there would still need to be close analysis of the black-white relationship and to identify the structures which lie behind it. These structures do not however exist in a vacuum. They emerge from specific social formations which themselves were generated from various historical situations. When a colour barrier has been constructed in any society, 'race ' as a social concept has powerful implications.

The concept of race is a reality in many societies and it has powerful social and political implications. Race, as a role sign, varies from one culture to another, as Banton explains,

'In Europe and America complexion tends to be the primary basis of distinction, but in a community in the Amazon basin where there was considerable Indian as well as Negro mixture, an anthropologist found that people regarded the thickness of lips, the height of the cheek bones and even skin colour as unreliable criteria, preferring to give more attention to a person's hair as his deciding trait'(Wagley 1952, 122).

In countries such as Brazil and the West Indies the way a person dresses is more important than skin colour and racial traits. For example, wearing a collar in these countries is a sign of high status and without one the person could be regulated to a lower social status. (Dingwall 1946, 184-185).

However, in most societies which use race as a role sign such is the pressure exerted by the dominant group to conform that there is

'little opportunity for people to manipulate their claim to racial status' [for] 'race roles, like sex roles, are usually ascribed at birth and cannot be varied for the individual in a racially divided society, an individual in such a society is usually forced to play his racial role'(Banton 1967, 58-9).

Thus, in racially divided countries, such as Britain and the United States , the black person is seen and treated as a subordinate with the 'colour barrier' relegating he/she to certain jobs and housing. Even certain behaviour is ascribed to black people (12). Gunnar Myrdal argues that white Southerners in the United States are so accustomed to seeing blacks in certain roles that they are recognised by the way they carry themselves or do things. Myrdal explains that a black man behaving like a white man, walking with confidence and assurance, would be treated as a white man, while a white woman associated with black people would be treated like a black person because Southerners could not believe that a real white woman would want to associate with blacks (Myrdal 1944, 683-684).

(12) See Banton's 'Racial Consciousness' (1988) where he argues that white societies like the United States have established a comprehensive system of racial classification in order to enjoy special privileges. They use a system to classify people of 'wholly European descent as white and wholly African descent as black. However, American society had to find place too for people of black white unions, Chinese and American Indians in their hierarchical structure.'

The theory of 'race', when put into practice, means that humans are divided into groups depending on skin colour, physical features and culture. Banton argues that:

'these outward differences serve as signs telling others the sort of privileges and facilities to which the person in question is conventionally entitled' (1967, 57).

The term 'racism' is an even more recent concept than the term 'race' and has several definitions. The 1982 Oxford English Dictionary defined 'racism' as the theory that distinctive human characteristics and abilities are determined by race.

Banton, in 1970, defines racism as

'The doctrine that a man's behaviour is determined by stable inherited characters deriving from separate racial stocks having distinctive attributes and usually considered to stand to one another in relations of superiority and inferiority' (Banton 1970, 18).

Van den Berghe defines racism as being associated with 'organic', genetically transmitted differences (whether real or imagined) between human groups'. Van den Berghe's definition of racism, like Banton's, is limited to scientific ideas developed during the nineteenth century. Banton in a later work, changed his view on his earlier scientific explanation of racism. However, there are other writers who still reduce racism to scientific ideas (eg. Eysenck) although this has been discredited. Others have opposed this biological definition preferring to see 'racism' as part of the economic and class structure. Cox argues that

'racial exploitation and race prejudice developed among Europeans with the rise of capitalism and nationalism and that because of the world-wide ramifications of capitalism all racial antagonism can be traced to policies and attitudes of the leading capitalistic people, the white people of Europe and North America'(Cox 1970, 322).

It might be argued, however, that although race prejudice may have started because of the need for expansion by capitalism in Europe and North America, prejudice and 'the colour barrier' have come to be shared by individuals and groups, such as working-class whites, who may not gain from racism but who still act and believe that black people are inferior. This position might be seen as part of British and American history and culture. Hall et al explain that

"Racism is not simply the discriminatory attitudes of the personnel with whom blacks come into contact. It is the specific mechanism which reproduces the black labour force, from one generation to another, in places and positions which are race specific. The outcome of this complex process is that blacks are ascribed to a position within the class relations of contemporary capitalism which is at one and the same time, roughly coterminous with the position of the white working class (of which black labour is a fraction) and yet segmentally differentiated from it. In these terms ethnic relations are continually overdetermined by class relations' (Hall 1978, 389).

Katz defines 'racism' in terms of 'a white problem in that its development and perpetuation rests with white people' (1978,10). Katz goes on to argue that racism,

'..is deeply embedded in white people from an early age on both a conscious and an unconscious level and which deludes whites into a false state of superiority that has left them in a pathological and schizophrenic state' (1978, 14-15).

Wellman too defines 'racism' as a white problem arguing that a situation becomes racist

'when it defends, protects, or enhances social organisation based on racial disadvantage. Racism is determined by the consequences of a sentiment not its surface qualities .. white racism is what people do to protect the special benefits they gain by virtue of skin colour'(Wellman 1977, 76).

This research defines racism as an ideology or action which is used to defend and protect the special benefits gained by one race over another, whether intentional or unintentional. This accords with Wellman's definition that it is what white people do to protect the special benefits they gain by virtue of skin colour.

Miles, however, condemns this notion that racism is the prerogative of white people and is the consequence of any action which sustains the subordination of black people. He asks how one can conceptualize and explain, for example,

'the continued situation of economic disadvantage of sections of the black population in American cities where black people occupy positions of power in the political administration' (Miles 1989, 55).

It might be suggested, however, that there are not sufficient blacks in power to change the system of colour discrimination which has been an integral part of American society for hundreds of years.

As has been argued earlier in this chapter, the coming of the New Commonwealth immigrants to Britain in the 1950s and '60s brought the problem of racism to the 'motherland'. The ground for continued disadvantage was already laid during slavery and colonization and coming to Britain did not change the British perception of black people as inferior. This resulted in a 'colour barrier' which still prevents blacks from being equals to whites by virtue of skin colour. Colour prejudice in Britain is then a reality although, as Sivanandan argues,

'Racism does not stand still; it changes shape, size, contours, purpose and function with changes in the economy, the social structure, the system and, above all, the challenges, the resistances to that system.'

For, as he continues, New Commonwealth workers were not invited to Britain because the state held egalitarian principles but because

'war-torn Britain needed all the labour it could lay its hands on. It had stockpiled, through exploitation, whole reserves of cheap labour in the colonies and it was inevitable that the countries in which they were stockpiled should supply Britain with the labour it needed for its factories and services'(Sivanandan 1983, 2).

The jobs offered to blacks were not white-collar occupations such as journalism but 'shit work' (according to Pryce 1979) which whites did not want. However, Miles and Phizacklea point out the advantage of New Commonwealth immigrants (unlike, for example, immigrants from Greece and Turkey to Germany) sharing with citizens of the United Kingdom before the 1960s the right to live and work in Britain. Consequently, when there was a problem of labour shortage after the second world war

'It was much easier for Commonwealth citizens to come to Britain to sell their labour power than for, say, Southern Europeans who were legally aliens and were obliged to obtain work permits' (1980, 14).

Subsequently, as Miles and Phizacklea explain, rights of residence and access to employment have gradually been removed. They argue that since the 1971 Immigration Act, Britain has a contracted labour system similar to that pertaining in the rest of the European Union (EU).

Yet, despite the provisions of the Act, Britain is still unable to deport on a significant scale the vast majority of black workers who arrived during the 1950s and 1960s.

Miles and Phizacklea explain,

'Thus by virtue of the legal status of Commonwealth citizens prior to legislative changes of the 1960s migrant labour from the New Commonwealth, given its specificity as a fraction of the working class, is reproducing itself as part of the working class not as migrant labour, but as black indigenous labour'(1980, 16).

Although black labour is part of the working class, it would be fair to argue that the colour line in Britain makes their position somewhat worse than that of the white working class. The media might be seen as perpetuating the 'colour barrier' through its negative portrayal of black immigrants and their children and its practices (intentional or unintentional) which keep its journalists' training courses and jobs virtually white. It might be, however, that the under-representation of black people in journalism training and jobs is a result of black people being a part of the working class with occupations such as journalism usually being attractive to the middle class. We will examine this point in another chapter.

The arrival of five hundred Jamaicans on the S.S.Empire Windrush was 'welcomed' not only by the state but by the media (13). It is the only time that black people were not seen as 'problems' (Cashmore & Troyna 1983, 47). However, the new arrivals were soon to experience the racism of British society which had its roots in Britain's historical past, carried down in its culture and perpetuated by the media (14). Nicholas Dean recorded,

'Disappointment and disillusionment of many kinds were the everyday experience of the 1950s settlers. It cannot be denied that the West Indians in particular had totally unrealistic expectations. The anti-imperialistic tradition notwithstanding, their ideas about Britain were largely derived from a colonial education system in which Britain was revered as the "mother country". They took their British citizenship seriously, and many regarded themselves not as strangers but as kinds of Englishmen; everything taught in school encouraged this belief'(Dean 1970, 285).

Black immigrants were shocked to find that although most of Britain's white population had never met a black person it already had nineteenth century racist notions about them. Fryer argues that

'prejudice against black people was widespread. More than two-thirds of Britain's population held a low opinion of black people or disapproved of them. They saw them as heathens who practised head-hunting, cannibalism, infanticide, polygamy and black magic. They saw them as uncivilized backward people inherently inferior to Europeans living in primitive mud huts in the bush .. They believed that black men had stronger sexual urges than white men'(Fryer 1984, 374-375).

(13) See Fryer (1984) 'Staying Power' on post-war immigration and the welcome given to the 500 Jamaicans who arrived in the S.S. Empire Windrush in 1948.

(14) See Cashmore & Troyna 'Introduction to Race Relations' where they argue that the period between 1948-1957 was interesting because blacks were not seen as a social problem but this quickly changed at the end of this period.

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These beliefs and myths might be seen as a direct result of nineteenth century views that have been perpetuated not only by capitalists but by individuals and powerful organisations such as the media. In other words, it has become a part of British society.

As to this ingrained psychology of race, it can be asked whether the racial discrimination seen in the media, for example, through its minimal admission of black people to journalism training and jobs, is due to in-born prejudice against people with darker skin, or do people become conscious of differences in skin colour and culture through society, including the media? In 1963, the then-Ministry of Education issued a pamphlet stating that young children were quite unconscious of colour differences and played happily together. However, it has been argued by some that young children from an early age are conscious of racial differences (15) and that they 'imitate, copy and absorb the attitudes and behaviour of their parents and other individuals important to them'. Parents in their turn may be 'conforming unconsciously to whatever attitudes are held generally by the people among whom they work or live.' They may be treating a particular out-group like immigrants, as scapegoats or as an excuse when lamenting their own ills'(Pushkin and Veness 1973, 23).

(15) For example Clark and Clark (1939) found that black American children and Maori children of New Zealand not only identified different races but identified themselves with whites rather than blacks. See also Milner (1975) who also had the same result.

Frances Aboud (1988) disagrees with the suggestion that parents are wholly to blame for their children's prejudice. She argues that 'pre-seven children do not adopt their parents attitudes and are often more prejudiced than their parents' and although children seven and over are influenced by their parents, there are other factors which shape children's attitudes to race (1988, 128). Lasker, in 1929 in 'Race Attitudes in Children' concluded that there was recognition of racial differences in individuals by the child from about five years old (quoted in 'The development of racial awareness and prejudice in children' 1973, 24). While Clark and Clark in their 1947 study of African-American children in nursery and primary schools, found the children well able to identify a doll that looked like a white or black child.

The proportions of them choosing correctly were as high as 77 per cent at age three and rose consistently year by year to reach 100 per cent at age seven. Mary Goodman 1952 and Stevenson and Stewart 1958 all had similar results in their studies of children and racial awareness.

So does early awareness of racial differences by children lead to prejudice? Pushkin's (1967) London study of 172 white children aged between three and seven found that in a tea party dolls test 33 per cent of children aged three showed unfavourable attitudes to black people, peaking with 82 per cent at age six. However, there was a fall to 69 per cent at age seven. Clark (1955) concluded in his study that

'The child's first awareness of racial differences is found to be associated with some rudimentary evaluation of these differences .. the child cannot learn what racial group he belongs to without being involved in a larger pattern of emotions, conflicts and desires which are part of his growing knowledge of what society thinks about his race'(quoted in Pushkin and Veness 1973, 27).

But can children's ethnic preference be regarded as prejudice for life for it could be argued that children who show unfavourable attitudes to black people might change as they become adults? This is difficult to demonstrate because children's discriminatory attitudes have their origin with parents and society at large and even if parents display tolerance, children, as Clark observed, are exposed to prejudice from other people such as teachers, the media and others which might lead to the child adopting prejudice.

So are some cultures and/or personalities more prejudiced than others and could this be one reason why there is an under-representation of black people in white-collar occupations such as journalism, teaching and law? Adorno's 'The Authoritarian Personality', published in 1950 argued that a certain personality type was more prone to prejudice than others. Adorno found that a person who was prejudiced against a particular group is almost always prejudiced against numerous others and that prejudice does not confine itself to 'racial ', or ethnic minorities. Any group - be it social, economic, national, religious, or ideological - that is seen as different from the prejudiced person's own is likely to be the object of the same pattern of negative opinions and

hostility. The authoritarian personality, Adorno explained, is closely associated with all kinds of prejudice such as anti-semitism, colour discrimination, jingoistic nationalism, religious bigotry and ideological fanaticism. Such personality types have an attitude towards a particular group developed not through a rational process or out of experience with members of that group but instead from a way of thinking about groups and group relations in general. This way of thinking tends to see all people as divided categorically into homogenous groups or classes and to infer the essential nature of a person from a knowledge of what group he or she belongs to. Such groups are then arranged into hierarchies with the strong at the top and the weak at the bottom. To solve most moral questions they assume that the good is what good people do in contrast to bad people and that good people belong to the same group as themselves. 'The Authoritarian Personality', however stresses that not all prejudiced persons display all of these tendencies in the same degree but that they form a pattern in the prejudiced personality (Adorno 1950).

The problem with this theory is that it implies a kind of biologically determined prejudice whereby some people are born with a prejudiced personality while others are not. While it can be accepted that there are individuals with authoritarian personality like those described by Adorno, such views may not have been biologically determined but might have developed through 'the presence of cultural prescription of an ethnocentric kind'(Ritchie 1973, 326).

When black people entered Britain in large numbers during the 1960s they found that the 'cultural prescription' was against them gaining equality or acceptance with whites. It was not that those who objected to them were born racists. Their objection came from the fact that historically and culturally black people had been presented and seen as inferior (16). Ruth Glass and Harold Pollins wrote in 1960,

'Coloured people are feared as competitive intruders: they are thought of as promoters of crime and carriers of disease; they are resented when they are poor; they are envied when they are resourceful and thrifty. They are looked down upon; they are patronised; occasionally they are treated just like everyone else' (1960, 120).

Crude Marxist structuralists would see this reaction against black immigrants as a capitalist plot to divide the working class. However, others argue that individual and group interaction is more important. The reaction of one group to another is based on various expectations.

Eisenstadt, writing from a socio-psychological perspective, explains that every migratory movement is

'motivated by the migrants' feeling of some kind of insecurity and inadequacy in its original social setting ... and for this reason immigrants tend to develop certain definite expectations in regard to the role they will fulfil in their new country ... These provide him with his initial and predisposing attitudes towards his new country, and serve as a background for more concrete expectations concerning the part he is to play there' (Eisenstadt 1954, 1-10).

(16) Pilkington (1984) argued that although there is a tendency for groups with different cultures to negatively stereotype other groups, especially if there is a degree of competition among them, inequality arises only when one group is in the position to impose its definition on others. This domination, he states, began with European expansion but since the Second World War, we have witnessed a new phenomenon.

Alfred Schutz also put forward a psychological explanation for group conflict. He explained that due to the differences of culture and customs, the host group is to the stranger,

'not a shelter but a field of adventure, not a matter of course but a questionable topic of investigation. It is for the stranger a problematic situation and one hard to master'(1944, 507).

The host group, Schutz argued, is doubtful of the loyalty of the stranger, especially 'where the stranger proves unwilling or unable to substitute the new cultural pattern entirely for that of the home group'. Schutz concludes that if the newcomer adopts the culture of the host group 'the stranger is a stranger no more and his specific problems have been solved' (1944, 507).

This theory that group conflict ceases when the stranger becomes a stranger no more is questionable. For example, black and white conflict still exist in the United States after 400 years and also in Britain, despite the fact that there are three generations of British-born blacks. Although the black-white conflict in America, and to some extent in Britain, has changed, the main problem of colour discrimination remains.

Lawrence Bobo (1988) argues that African-Americans have shifted the struggle over acquiring basic civil rights to struggles over redistributing educational, economic, political and social resources. However, while there is white support for the principle of racial justice, there is limited commitment because whites fail to 'translate support for concrete policy change'(Bobo 1988, 91).

The main criticism of these psychological theories is that they put little or no emphasis on the conflict which is produced because of skin colour. For example, white groups which came from Europe and emigrated to the United States might have suffered discrimination because of their language and culture but they can relax in the knowledge that after one or two generations they will be absorbed into white society. This cannot be said of American Indians or African-Americans who have lived in America for hundreds of years or for non-white immigrants . The situation is identical in British society where skin colour is used as a role sign designating where individuals and groups are likely to be placed in society's hierarchical structure. So if the stranger is black and comes into a racially divided society such as Britain with an historical legacy based on white superiority and black inferiority, it is difficult to see how black immigrants will be accepted purely by changing their culture, as they would also need to change skin colour. As Rex stated,

'the coloured colonial worker in Britain or the negro immigrant to the Northern American cities is not a man who is simply living temporarily in the urban immigrant colony. In the second generation his children find that there is no way up for them' (Rex 1970, 109).

In other words, the 'colour barrier' prevents black immigrants and their children from moving up the main stratification system of metropolitan society.

The under-representation of black people in media training and jobs can be seen as one aspect of this institutional racism in Britain. Like 'race 'and 'racism', the concept of

institutional racism is a recent phenomenon (17). It became popular in America during the 1960s with Carmicheal and Hamilton who were influential theoreticians of the black power movement and rapidly which gained acceptance as a useful descriptive concept. Unfortunately, as John Solomos argues, the term is a 'catch-phrase' used to cover all situations of racial discrimination (1983, 3). Jenny Williams is also dissatisfied with the concept and argues that the terminology, has now become so widespread and simplistic that it needs unpacking into its constituent parts in order 'to improve the political usefulness and reform potential of anti-racist policies'(Williams 1985, 323). She believes that the term 'institutional racism' is used as a 'political condensation symbol', an umbrella for widely differing 'ideologies, practices and material forms of dominance' and the differences between the actions of individuals, groups, classes or genders becomes blurred. She argues that although there is a link between, say, anti-racism, feminist critiques and social class, this 'remains at the level of theoretical politics rather than practice'. The usage of institutional racism creates 'the illusion that there is a single solution' (1985, 342-344).

(17) See Carmicheal and Hamilton (1968) 'Black Power, The Politics of Liberation in America' for a definition of racism. They distinguished between overt and individual racism and covert and institutional racism.

What is being argued here is that institutional racism is generally unintended but is established in the laws, customs and practices of the country so as to systematically reflect and produce racial inequalities or the 'colour barrier' in Britain. These practices have historical origins and, as was stated earlier in this chapter, these started with European expansion. Although the laws which perpetuate racial discrimination were made before large numbers of black immigrants came to Britain and were made with class in mind rather than race, they nevertheless affects black people doubly because of their race and class.

There are many definitions of 'institutional racism'. Jones (1972) defines it as a racist consequence which occurs in the laws, customs and practices of a country which systematically reproduces racial inequality and that it does not matter whether individuals carry out these actions intentionally or unintentionally (Jones 1972, 131). Blauner (1972), unlike Jones, sees 'Institutional racism as unintentional'. He argues that various strata of social life interact to produce and maintain an overall pattern of racial discrimination through what he calls 'the chain of unwilling actions'(Blauner 1972, 131).

The main controversy regarding institutional racism is thus whether it involves intentional or unintentional action. The most important point about institutional racism for our purposes is what effect it has on black people in Britain and

the United States. It must also be remembered that institutions are administered by individuals and so we cannot disassociate 'institutional racism' from individual racism. Some however, argue that these definitions are too simplistic. Ann Dummett, for example, in her book 'A Portrait of British Racism' begins her discussion of institutional racism by stating that it is important to distinguish firstly, the institution which is to some degree racist by some general unspoken agreement; for example, the firm which employs Indians who are only to be found in the unskilled jobs, none of these Indian workers has ever been made foreman and is unlikely to be. There are no instructions stating these facts because instructions are not necessary; it is taken for granted that the men will not accept anyone with a black face in a position of foreman or any supervisory position.

Dummett then outlines a form of institutional racism which is the result of a system built without racial consideration being taken into account (Dummett 1984). She gives the example of an employer who has a small workshop and employs a small number of skilled men. The entire firm is white and the thought of black employees has never crossed the employer's mind. The men do skilled work and they belong to a trade union whose rules on apprenticeship prevent anyone becoming an apprentice after his seventeenth birthday. The rule about age limits on apprenticeships and educational requirements was devised long before there was any possibility of there being black teenagers around in the town. The boys can only gain

apprenticeship if they have reached a certain standard of education well in advance of their seventeenth birthday. Here Dummett states that no policy of racial discrimination exists in this firm but institutional racism is at work. This situation arises as a result of the fact that, under these conditions, large numbers of black teenagers are unable to enter this firm as apprentices as, firstly many have been wrongly placed in ESN schools and secondly, they have been in low streams of secondary schools and have never taken CSEs or 'O' level, let alone the relevant subjects. Thirdly, some black teenagers may have been delayed in school because of difficulties with English and are therefore in remedial and special language classes for a vital period of that time which again delayed their hope of taking examinations until it is too late for apprenticeship. Thus in this respect, although racist attitudes were not evident in the firm's actions and possibly not in the education system, the firm was guilty of institutional racism.

Sheila Allen's conceptualization of institutional racism focuses on the way in which racism as defined in 'action terms' becomes institutionalized in society. She states,

'Beliefs and practices can be seen as creating institutional frameworks in which men relate. Our task is to explain systematically the forces which create these institutions and to understand the consequences of them. In this way racism, as a social myth, a coherent doctrine, a common-sense practice, or a means of obtaining rewards, can be related to situations and social processes. By analysing the patterning of these relations we are examining the institutionalized forms of racism'(1973, 100).

Allen's conceptualization of institutional racism considers three inter-related influences. She suggests that the problem of black people in Britain can be viewed as part of a long established relationship between powerless and powerful groups, with black people belonging to the relatively deprived socio-economic groups. She argues that black people share similar problems to other immigrant groups in areas such as employment, education and housing but colour is an additional factor against them. Allen, like John Rex (1979), refers to the colonial-metropolitan configuration and argues that contradictions between paternalistic tolerance and stereotyped inferiority on the one hand and the ideology of equal citizenship between black and white on the other were highlighted once black people began to arrive in Britain in the late Forties and early Fifties. An important feature of the colonial-metropolitan configuration was the fact that migrant labour was used to meet the needs of the economy, in that they were allocated to the poorly paid, low status jobs indigenous workers did not want. She states that this represented

'Extensions of policies of labour transfer pursued within the British Empire over long periods of time. This form of labour transfer has varied from slavery, through contract and indentured labour, to nominally free migration, according to the current political and social ideologies and the relative power position of the migrants and those using the labour. Ideological underpinnings have developed in each case to justify the exploitations of the labour of the groups concerned and their social position'(1973, 102.).

Allen's argument is that a combination of all three influences has, over the past four decades, resulted in the institutionalization of racism which has now become a legitimised part of British social structure. She uses immigration legislation as examples of this. She states,

'Racist consequences accrue to institutional laws, customs, or practices. The institution is racist whether or not the individuals maintaining those practices have racist intentions' (1973, 102).

Allen argues that the majority of white people accepted the control of black immigrants since the 1960s when the Government stressed the point that there was a need for immigration control on the premise that small numbers of immigrants made for better race relations. Successive governments created the view via immigration legislation that colour problems and conflict were associated. Allen concludes,

'The raising of colour consciousness which accompanied the stringent control of Commonwealth immigrants .. the discussion about immigrants involving a definition of black people as problem creating has had far reaching consequences for the black minorities (1973, 104-105).

Institutional racism involves law, politics, housing, education and the media, all areas where the majority of black people find barriers which keep them outside the main stratification system. One question which such a situation might raise is who benefits from institutional racism. Wellman argues that racism is a 'culturally sanctioned belief which, regardless of intentions, defends the advantages of whites', resulting from the subordination of minorities (in Williams 1985, 326). While whites in general may be said to gain from colour discrimination, there are some who gain more than

others. Baron suggested that a number of small white groups benefit economically and psychologically (Baron 1969). While Blauner described the advantage gained by the labour market as the allocation of social honour, home ownership and the status of neighbourhoods, he continues by arguing that one of the functions of institutional racism is to limit the mobility of blacks:

'One role of colour is to serve as a visible badge of group membership that facilitates the blockage of mobility (Blauner 1972, 37).

One way in which Institutional racism is maintained, argue Carmicheal and Hamilton, is the lack of mobility and opportunity it gives blacks. They see this as the 'core problem within the ghetto' and a 'vicious circle created by a lack of decent housing, decent jobs and adequate education' (1969, 156). Carmicheal and Hamilton also suggest that institutional racism may be another name for colonialism (1967) while Blauner argues that entry into the ghetto was forced and involuntary as a result of conquest and slavery, that the colonisers destroyed or transformed indigenous values and life styles, that the colonised were administered by representatives of the dominant group, and that racism was the principle justification for social domination. White ethnics in America, he argued, may be exploited but they are not colonised (Blauner 1972).

SUMMARY

Although race as a biological entity has generally been rejected, race as a social construct is a reality and the experiences of the majority of black people in Britain and America are evidence of this. Several theories have been put forward regarding the present black-white conflict. Those who expound the psychological theory of race believe discrimination is practised by certain individuals in society who have defective or prejudiced characters, not just against racial or ethnic minorities but numerous other groups. However, this indicates a biologically determined prejudice leaving no room for prejudice based on economic and social factors. There are also those who believe that racial discrimination is due to a natural conflict between different groups. The idea is that once the immigrant adopts the host culture conflict will cease. This is probably the case for most white immigrants to Britain and the United States because after one or two generations they are usually absorbed into society. However, for the black person this is not so, as is evident in the United States where black people have lived for 400 years and in Britain where three generations of black people have been born but where colour discrimination continues. For black people in these societies adopting the host culture is not enough for skin colour is used as a role sign designating what an individual or group is entitled to.

Racism, it has been argued, began with European expansion but

has been maintained and perpetuated in areas such as education, law, politics, housing, employment and the media. While individual racism is important because these institutions are run by individuals, institutional racism is far more effective and helps to maintain and perpetuate the 'colour barrier'. Although the policies governing society's institutions were not built with black people in mind, they affect black people doubly because of skin colour and class. However, as has been argued, the root of colour discrimination, as seen in British and American societies, lies in European expansion when the African people and their cultures were negatively portrayed and when blackness was seen as evil and monstrous. Slavery and colonisation have had a direct impact on black-white relations. Slavery severed the Africans from their culture and social systems and so the Africans became dependent upon white masters who saw them as inferiors. It is therefore not surprising that when black immigrants came to Britain in the 1950s and '60s they were offered low-paid, low-status jobs which whites did not want. While it is true to say that the position of black people in Britain and America is better than it was during slavery, black people in general still encounter colour discrimination in employment, especially in white-collar occupations such as journalism, and in housing, education and other spheres of life. The 'colour barrier' is thus still firmly in place keeping blacks at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

CHAPTER 2

DISCRIMINATION

INTRODUCTION

It has been argued in chapter one that the reluctance seen in the media to accept black people on journalism courses and jobs is part of a broader colour discrimination in British society. The discrimination found in societies such as Britain and the United States of America creates a 'colour barrier' which prevents black people, whatever their personal characteristics, from entering the main stratification system (Lloyd Warner 1934). This colour barrier, it has been argued, began essentially during European expansion and has continued ever since though it has changed in nature over 400 years. In order to understand the racism in British society which is perpetuated by the media and which continues to put up barriers against black immigrants and their children, it is important to examine the anti-discriminatory laws.

The arrival of significant numbers of New Commonwealth citizens to Britain, reaching a peak in 1962, helped create an atmosphere in which colour discrimination would increase in Britain. For although the coloured presence in Britain dated back from Roman times (1), there were only relatively small pockets of black settlement built up around seaport cities

(1) See J. Walvin (1984) 'Passage to Britain : Immigration in British History and politics.

such as Cardiff, Liverpool and London. The black-white relationship before this period had principally taken part thousands of miles away in the colonies. Before the movement of black immigrants to the 'motherland', Britons were able to view their 'dark- skinned brothers' over there in the colonies as citizens of the New Commonwealth and as such the 'problem' was far away. However, Britain was not oblivious to the fact that New Commonwealth workers would be faced with problems of prejudice and discrimination on their arrival just as the small pockets of black settlement which were newly established in seaport cities during the First World War had been subjected to considerable discrimination and hostility (2).

DIRECT DISCRIMINATION

The 1968 and 1976 Race Relations Act was introduced to reduce or eliminate direct colour discrimination which was widespread in Britain even in the early days of black immigration. History can explain why was there such widespread discrimination when most whites had no personal experience of black people for it can be argued that prejudice arose from blacks being seen as inferior by Europeans and that this was a direct result of slavery and colonization. There might also be other reasons for the prejudice black immigrants and their children faced in the 1950s and '60s. Prejudice might have been due to group conflict because black immigrants were not

(2) See Layton-Henry 1984, 122.

only different in skin colour but had different culture and languages from the host country. According to Schutz, this conflict is capable of occurring amongst any group and is not necessarily confined to black-white relationships. Schutz's theory is that once the 'stranger' learns the culture and language of the host nation, he/she becomes a stranger no more and prejudice disappears (Schutz 1944). However, colour prejudice was so widespread in Britain that it was necessary to enact anti-discrimination laws.

The 1968 and 1976 Race Relations Acts define discrimination as treating a person less favourably on racial grounds than they would otherwise be treated (1976 Race Relations Act, Section 1 (1) A). 'On racial ground' means if someone is treated less favourably because of skin colour, race, nationality - including citizenship - or ethnic or national origins. In order to prove direct discrimination, it is important that the complainants show that the treatment they received was less favourable than the treatment which was, or would have been accorded to another person and if so, whether the less favourable treatment was on the grounds of race skin colour, nationality or ethnic origins. However, the law states that it is not necessary for the victim of discrimination to prove that the alleged discriminator openly expressed the intention to discriminate on racial grounds. It is possible to infer a discriminatory motive from all the circumstances in which the treatment was given (3).

(3) See the 1976 Race Relations Act (3), 3.4.

The law on direct discrimination is clear regarding what it sees as unacceptable behaviour and what it wishes to suppress. It sees as a deliberate wrong the unfair treatment of one individual against another based on race, ethnic origin, skin colour and nationality. Moreover, the discriminator does not have to act with malice, it is the behaviour rather than the attitude which is taken into account by the courts and tribunals. The discriminator cannot escape judgement by claiming that he/she discriminated because someone else asked them to do so. If he/she did discriminate that person has to take the responsibility for their action according to the law.

The concept of direct discrimination is a legal approach to equal opportunities. It sees acts of discrimination as 'isolated intentional wrongs' and gives an individualistic and typically middle-class impression of a person who is being denied opportunities because of his 'skin colour or race' (Lustgarten 1980, 7). At the centre of this concept is the liberal notion of formal equality for equals before the law, a Western concept which can be traced back to Aristotle. Equality before the law in this case means that the only way to deny an equal her/his rightful place is to say that their race or skin colour make them unequal. This form of overt racism is legally and, usually, socially unacceptable. However, this concept of direct discrimination is highly individualistic so that the only important question a tribunal or court must decide is 'the legality of the defendant's treatment of the particular complainant'(Lustgarten 1980, 8).

Each case is treated individually and the process is viewed in law as a private grievance by one individual against another. Therefore the wider implications of racial discrimination are not taken into account and 'colour blindness' becomes a central value. Thus the social structure and power relationships which determine the position of racial minorities remain hidden from the law (Lustgarten 1980). Because this concept of discrimination ignores the wider social ramifications and is centred around the individual it can encourage employers or housing authorities, for example, not to view the law very seriously believing it does not apply to them save in individual cases, whilst at the same time the overall situation of non-whites in Britain deteriorates. This concept of discrimination deals with middle class individuals who have the means to assert their equality before the law. It does not necessarily benefit the majority of non-whites in Britain and the United States who have neither the educational and professional qualifications nor the experience necessary to meet the criteria for white-collar jobs.

The British concept of direct discrimination came from the United States (4) but it became apparent after the 1964 Civil

(4) See Bindman who suggests that there are three ways in which equal opportunities policies can be made to be more effective. Firstly, vigorous enforcement of the law against discrimination, secondly by making the adoption of suitable policies a legal requirement and by government using its commercial powers to stimulate equal opportunities policies. He also compares U.S. policies with British policies and concluded that equal opportunities policies in America is more effective.

Rights Act, which outlawed employment discrimination, that unless the discrimination law was broadened it would have a minimal effect on breaking the cycle of racial discrimination. In Griggs v. Duke Power Company, the supreme court interpretation of the United States 1964 Civil Rights Act made it unlawful for an employer to use a practice or procedure that disproportionately affects black people unless this is a matter of 'business necessity'(5). This ambiguous wording was translated into, 'the specific and complex language of the British definition'. The underlying theory is that in a society where inequalities in the distribution of benefits are justifiable 'the opportunities for attaining those benefits ought to be determined on a proportional basic of group's entitlement' (Hepple 1992, 23). However, this is not a simple redistributive principle because the 'colour barrier' means that non-white groups do not have an equal start. In the Griggs v. Duke Power Co., the United States Supreme Court concept of discrimination was based on the disproportionately adverse effect of discrimination not simply intentional inferior treatment. This idea was eventually taken up by the British Government and was included in the 1976 Race Relations Act.

(5) The Civil Rights Act (1991) has reverse later decisions and reaffirmed that the burden is on the employer to prove that a practice is job related for the position in question and consistent with business necessity.

INDIRECT DISCRIMINATION

Indirect discrimination was added to the 1976 Race Relations Act in order to broaden the law. The concept shifts the emphasis from the respondent's purposes to the impact of her/his practice upon members of racially disadvantaged groups. This change of perspective was influenced by the realization in the United States that the social effects of discrimination are not simply a matter of intentional acts by individuals but are historically deep seated and fundamental. The concept of indirect discrimination recognises that certain fundamental laws and practices within the structure of society indirectly discriminate against non-whites and that the law should tackle this (6). The legal definition of discrimination is seen as the substantive inequality of racial groups. However, like direct discrimination, the emphasis is still on racial differences. The inequality of wealth, class, status and power is not part of the law on discrimination, although the experiences of black people may be that these differences between the white majority and the black minority in effect discriminate against them.

Despite this, the laws on indirect discrimination, even within its limited framework, do attempt to eliminate policies which 'bar' racial minorities from entering certain employment such as journalism, teaching and law, or from gaining promotion in

(6) See Pollard (1974) 'Employment Discrimination: The American Response', Runnymede Trust.

them. This broader concept of the law means that anyone, regardless of race, can be considered. The result is that whites with poor qualifications who in the past have been indirectly discriminated against because of their lack of qualifications will gain. It seems probable that more whites than blacks will gain because numerically there are more disadvantaged whites in Britain and the United States than blacks (Lustgarten 1980, 9).

One example of poor whites gaining from the laws of indirect discrimination was found in the City University of New York in 1970 when the University broadened its admission policies, hoping to attract more black and Hispanic students. A report on the project in 1978 found that a large proportion of those students admitted to the college were in fact white ethnic minorities who, like blacks and Hispanics, had in the past been denied admission (New York Times 1978). This illustrates the point that there is a considerable overlap between social and racial disadvantage.

In Britain, the main concept of indirect discrimination is ultimately concerned with the economic and social position of racial groups and any action which has a greater adverse effect upon minorities is considered unlawful. This is a result of the law recognizing the need for protecting groups which have historically been discriminated against because of skin colour. Until colour discrimination can be significantly reduced all non-whites share a common interest in the

enhancement of the group's economic and social position the reason being that each individual within the group will be ascribed with the undesirable traits which supposedly mark the group (Lustgarten 1980). For example, young African-Caribbean men have been synonymously portrayed in the British tabloid newspapers with crime, while Asians are similarly associated with illegal immigration, arranged marriages and religious fanaticism (7). Nevertheless, it is hoped that when enough members of non-white groups achieve success and status in the eyes of the majority that this will encourage other members of the group to do likewise.

While the concept of indirect discrimination does recognise the wrong suffered by the group, it does not recognise group rights whereby someone or a group can make a claim of discrimination on behalf of an ethnic group. However, indirect discrimination extends the law of discrimination in areas which have previously not been covered. For example, under earlier legislation an employer who had a colour-blind attitude could say that he treats everyone equally but in fact there are few blacks if any in his employment because they could not satisfy his employment criteria. Under the 1976 Race Relations Act such an employer could have his employment practices reviewed with a special emphasis upon what

(7) See 'Black People and the Media' (1988) for media stereotypes of black people and images of race, where professor Arnold Gibson argues that negative images of black people presented by the media is deliberate and 'stems from roots which are essentially economic'.

effect his employment criteria have on the employment of ethnic minorities in his firm.

Other areas where the law can be effective are to be seen in the case of residency. For instance, if a local council decides that council accommodation cannot be given to anyone unless they live in the council's area for ten years because a number of immigrants have recently moved into the area , this would be an act of indirect discrimination. Although this criteria will affect some whites, it was intentionally designed to keep blacks out. The Act recognises that this kind of intentional indirect discrimination is sometimes difficult to prove.

Another form of indirect discrimination which the law recognises is those actions which perpetuate the effect of past formal discrimination. This kind of discrimination is deep rooted and maintains the 'colour barrier' which keeps non-whites in an 'inferior position in terms of seniority or jobs transfer rights'(Lustgarten 1980, 13). It has been argued that employers and some trades unions operated overt discrimination and that these policies were carried out through certain tacit arrangements. These arrangements effectively denied black people employment or promotion in certain industries. The tacit arrangements are more likely to arise in the context of experience requirements and seniority rights. These requirements can be challenged by the law of indirect discrimination, but this is not necessarily easy to

prove (8). Overall, indirect discrimination enlarges the social and legal concept of racial discrimination although it cannot and does not pretend to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination. However, to understand why it was necessary for the law to be broadened it is important to examine the reports on racial disadvantage since the passage of the various Acts.

REPORTS ON RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The first Race Relations Act in 1965 outlawed racial discrimination in certain places of public resort and set up a Race Relations Board to receive complaints of discrimination and if necessary to act as a conciliator. However, in view of the substantial racial discrimination in other fields, a second Act was passed in 1968, outlawing racial discrimination in employment, housing and commercial services. If the Race Relations Board was unable to conciliate the two sides in a dispute, it was empowered to take the case to court. The Act also set up a new body, the Community Relations Commission, to promote harmonious community relations.

(8) See B.A. Hepple (1992) ' Have Twenty-Five Years of Race Relations Acts in Britain Been a Failure'. The author looks at the difficulties in using the law to combat racial discrimination.

During the period 1962 and 1974 three studies were carried out to quantify the level of racial discrimination in England. The first was that of W.W.Daniels' PEP Report published in 1967 called 'Racial Discrimination In England'. It stated:

'In the sectors we studied different aspects of employment, housing and the provision of services, there is racial discrimination varying in extent from the massive to the substantial. The experiences of white immigrants, such as Hungarians and Cypriots, compared to black or brown immigrants, such as West Indians and Asians, leave no doubt that the majority component in the discrimination is colour' (1967, 209).

Discrimination, the report emphasised ,was based on colour because the experiences of white immigrants were less severe. It found that there were differences between the levels of discrimination Asian and West Indians encountered. For while the main motives against Asians were cultural, those against West Indians were 'physical and racial'. This distinction was most apparent in white-collar jobs, such as clerical, supervisory, technical and sales. Some employers, the report found, recognised that an Indian, for instance, could be educated and cultivated and would be accepted in a white-collar occupation by white colleagues and customers but this would not be the same for West Indians. As a result, the only black people found by the report in white-collar positions were Asians. The report concluded that second-generation Asians would face less discrimination than West Indians (Daniels 1967, 209). While this was a logical conclusion to reach in view of the report's evidence, the report did not take into account the changing nature of society and that of discrimination.

Looking at the reasons given for racial discrimination, it is interesting to note the reasons why the discriminator put up barriers against black people. Many employers and landlords pointed out that while they themselves would readily accept black people, they did not employ blacks or rent them houses or flats because white employees, clients, customers and neighbours would not accept blacks. In other words, it was not employers or landlords who were racists but everybody else. The report was not clear whether such arguments represented an accurate assessment of the real situation or whether they reflected a conscious or unconscious tendency for the discriminator to project his own feelings. The report found that 'some employers had experienced resistance from their white British staff' (9) but this had tended to die away following firmness on the part of employers and familiarity on the part of the staff (1967, 211).

Other reasons given to the report for discrimination were that black people were less qualified than whites, that they made worse tenants and that they were higher risks as motorists. The report made it clear that it saw such comments as excuses for the continuation of racial discrimination. While it is the employer or landlord's job to distinguished between good and

(9) See Daniels (1968) report 'Racial Discrimination in England', where he found some employers setting up separate 'lavatories and canteens for coloured and white employees in the face of refusals from white employees to share with coloureds'. The report also found that those employers who gave black workers the opportunity to do jobs such as clerical and technical were 'pleasantly' surprised that they did the jobs so well (218-219).

bad tenants, employees and motorists, it is unhelpful to stereotype all black people based on the 'characteristics of the less able'. Racial discrimination was also found in the public sector where some local authorities were reluctant to have large numbers of black tenants in any one part of a housing estate because they feared 'trouble' and the forming of separate black communities.

The report concluded that some form of colour bar existed in Britain - 'one more covert and insidious than operated in some other societies'(1967, 217). This colour bar would, it believed, affect immigrant children. They were likely to face increasing difficulty in finding positions consistent with their abilities especially if they were qualified. The report concluded that:

'As long as coloured people tend to be employed in a limited range of jobs largely at the lowest end of the scale, a consistent set of attitudes and prejudices will be attached to them. It will not be until they are employed in the full range of occupations that the diversity and range of their qualities and abilities will be recognized; that is to say that they will be generally recognized as equal citizens rather than a submerged minority fitted only for the menial roles in society'(Daniels 1967, 224).

The main conclusion to this report thus confirmed that there was large-scale discrimination in Britain and that the 1965 Race Relations Act was not sufficient to tackle the problem. A year after the publication of Daniels' report the 1968 Act was introduced outlawing racial discrimination in employment, housing and commercial services. A year later E.J.B.Rose and his associates produced another report on racial

discrimination which found that British attitudes towards 'coloured people' were generally tolerant, especially amongst those who lived near 'coloured people' than those who did not (Rose et al, 1969). However, Rose found that despite this British tolerance, there was extensive racial discrimination against 'coloured people'.

It might be argued here that the colonial practice of divide and rule was in operation, as Rose, like Daniels, found that Indians were best represented in white-collar jobs, but that Pakistanis and West Indians were poorly represented. Yet overall, black immigrants were under-represented in white-collar occupations. West Indian men were over represented in 'wood workers, transport, and engineering in London'(1969, 164). Like the 1967 report, Rose et al found that there was racial discrimination in employment generally and that black immigrants were under represented in occupations which were considered desirable and over-represented in occupations which were considered undesirable (1969, 165). In the area of housing the report found that, while there had been some changes between 1961 and 1966 for the West Indians who were the most disadvantaged in the housing market, changes made were not sufficient to have benefitted them greatly (1969, 147).

The report looked also at education and found that immigrant children were not achieving academically . It indicated that racial discrimination was not the only reason for this under-

achievement; part of the problem, the report found, was due to lack of English and to the children living in socially deprived areas (196,9 286-289).

Rose et al's solution to the race relations problem went further than the previous report. While Daniels believed that the solution was to give better jobs to black people, Rose et al asserted that the solutions lay in the context of a broader attack on inner-city deprivation by a 'whole range of Government departments and agencies'. But 'the key to success would lie in the government having a clear policy' on race relations as distinct from that on immigration (1969, 683). The 1967 and 1969 reports both found that there was substantial racial discrimination in Britain despite the 1965 and 1968 Race Relations Acts. Although both reports show that discrimination was not always on the grounds of skin colour, as immigrants' lack of education and training were also partly to be blamed, evidence from both reports suggest that most cases of discrimination were based on skin colour.

The 1965 and 1968 Race Relation Acts were both designed to reduce racial discrimination in employment and housing after the experience of the 1958 race riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill (10). It was argued that the riots were due to white racism and Rose argued that after the riots the Government could no longer ignore the problem of black/white

(10) See Fryer, P. (1984) 'Staying Power' on the reporting of the 1958 race riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill.

relationship in Britain. The riots, he stated, were to

'blow away the complacency with which the subject of racism was clothed and leave the Government's lack of policy indecently exposed'(1969, 213).

In this context, both these reports indicated that neither the 1965 nor 1968 Acts reduced racial discrimination effectively. The problem might have been that employers did not take the law seriously and believed it did not apply to them. Another important point was that the law as it stood then was too individualistic and so while it helped some individuals, black people as a group were not protected.

It might be suggested that the 1967 and 1969 reports came too soon after the 1965 and 1968 Race Acts to make any significant change. It is important then to look at the next report carried out by the PEP in 1973-4 and published in (1977), titled 'Racial Disadvantage in Britain' . Like the two previous reports, this report found substantial levels of racial discrimination against Asian and West Indians in Britain they were also stated to be more vulnerable to unemployment than whites. It found, too, that West Indians and Asian were concentrated in the lower job levels in a way which cannot be explained by lower academic or job qualifications. Black workers, the report made clear, had lower average earnings than whites, did more shift-work, which did not necessarily help them to earn more, were concentrated within certain older industries and had to make twice as many applications as whites to get a job.

The 1977 PEP report found high levels of discrimination against black people when seeking manual jobs. This discrimination was based on skin colour rather than prejudice against foreigners. Although there was less discrimination in white-collar jobs, 30 per cent of black workers in these occupations were discriminated against compared to 10 per cent of Italians. Most black workers, the report stated, were unaware that their rejection was due to unfair discrimination and that this was particular high for Asian applicants who spoke little English. Some applicants may suspect discrimination but this 'will depend upon circumstances and the behaviour of the employer or whether or not the applicant is conscious of discrimination'(Smith 1977, 127).

Although the report found less discrimination in white-collar occupations,it also emphasised the difficulties black people faced when they tried to acquire more senior and better paid non-manual jobs (11). However, it also felt that this might be partly due to the general competition for such jobs and the fact that middle-class Asians and African-Caribbeans going for such jobs were more aware of racial discrimination. The survey interviewed managers and employers regarding their attitudes to minorities and found that half

(11) According to the Employment Gazette March 1992, ethnic minorities with qualifications above 'A' Level in 1988-90 was twice as likely to be unemployed as whites with the same qualification. Also the percentage of black people in white collar occupations such as journalism, law and teaching is less than 3 per cent.

'avoid committing themselves to over-simplified or prejudiced views, while the other half showed .. views of a kind which were unfavourable to minorities generally and to West Indians in particular'(1977, 170).

Despite this, the report, unlike the previous two (Daniels 1967 and Rose et al 1969), found that both Asians and West Indians suffered similar levels of discrimination.

The 1977 PEP report found that trades unions were also guilty of direct and indirect discrimination against black workers. It stated that

'the minority communities have hardly penetrated the full-time staff of the unions'(1977, 203).

The report commented that such a situation could hardly have existed without racial discrimination on the part of unions.

On housing, the survey found that there was a high level of owner occupation among Asians and West Indians, but that they occupied worse houses than white owner-occupiers. Most shared dwellings; they had fewer housing amenities and a higher proportion of black owner-occupiers lacked basic amenities. Pakistanis were considerably worse off than other minority groups. The report concluded that

'within each job level, the housing amenities of minorities are much poorer than whites'(1977, 234)

and that the gap is so great that class alone did not explain it. Access to council housing, the report stated, was difficult for black people and both direct and indirect discrimination existed in its allocation, for although black people were in greatest need of council accommodation, they benefitted less and when they were re-housed they were generally given 'inferior properties'(Smith 1977, 243).

The report explained that while the 1976 Race Relations Act was

'a far more serious attempt to combat racial discrimination than we have had before and all the indicators are that the new strategy embodied in the Act is the one that has the best chance of success .. Our findings show that a policy to combat racial discrimination, however determined and well organised, will not be enough to ensure equality between racial groups or to remove causes of racial tension. The gap between white and minority groups in terms of jobs, earnings, housing and standards of living is partly the result of racial discrimination over a period of twenty years'(1977, 320).

The report concluded that there was no simple answer to racial discrimination, but a range of policies were needed to be put into action to make any impact. The report suggested that the remedy lay in ensuring that black children did well at school and that young blacks entering the workforce for the first time were fairly treated (1977, 327). The previous report by Rose et al in 1969 also indicated that the educational achievement of black children was an integral part of breaking the cycle of black disadvantage. In a later chapter the question whether black children have yet been allowed to reach their full potential in the British education system is debated.

The 1977 report referred to racial discrimination over a period of 20 years, meaning the period of post-war immigration, but it did not refer to discrimination over 400 years of slavery and colonization. It has been argued here that this is where the roots of racial discrimination lie and as such, were transported to the 'motherland' with the coming of large numbers of black immigrants. Conflict arose firstly because of the historical relationship between Britain and

black people from its colonies but also because of the class and race divisions in metropolitan society. This division results in dominant and subordinate groups, with black people because of their class and colour being seen and treated as inferior by all the various white groups. The result is that blacks find themselves restricted by a 'colour barrier' which puts them outside white society's stratification system (Warner 1936). However, as the report stated, there is no simple answer to such complex social problems. The 1976 Race Relations Act, which broadened the law to take into account unintentional or indirect discrimination, may have gone some way to breaking down the 'colour barrier' in Britain.

To see how effective the 1976 Act has been it is necessary to examine the findings of the third PSI survey which was conducted between 1982-3, some seven years after the Act was passed. The report was published in 1985 and titled 'Black and White in Britain'. It gave a depressing picture of the social situation of black people in Britain. Like previous reports, it explained that black people were more likely than whites to be unemployed and those in work tended to have lower pay and lower status than white workers. While the report took into account the differences in qualifications between white and black, it recorded that this disparity was not in itself sufficient to account for such a large gap between the job levels of black and white for

'there is still a large difference between white and black job levels among those with and without qualifications'(Brown 1985, 294).

The report concluded that

'vigorous positive action needs to be taken to prevent racial inequality from persisting and that particular effort is needed in the private sector of industry because the job levels of black workers relative to those of whites are lower in the private sector than the public, also that non-manual and supervisory jobs in the private sector remain almost exclusively white .. and that removing the barriers that prevent the recruitment of blacks to these jobs is a matter of urgency if inequality in the labour market as a whole is to be tackled'(Brown 1985, 319).

In its survey of housing, the report found much the same as the 1974 PEP report, that there was a mis-match between the types of council accommodation allocated to black people and their needs and that they were usually given worse accommodation than whites. In the area of education, the report observed that although more British-born blacks were acquiring academic and vocational qualifications, substantial numbers were without qualifications, which placed them at a disadvantage when applying for jobs.

There are two other findings by the report which should be noted. Firstly, it found a lack of confidence in the 'protection offered by the police against the serious problem of racial attacks.'
Secondly, the report stated that black people supported integration but also supported the idea of further 'enforcing and extending the laws against discrimination'(Brown 1985, 322).All four reports have indicated that despite the laws against direct and indirect discrimination, colour prejudice still existed. But to what extent does black disadvantage stem from discrimination, direct or indirect? In attempting to

answer this question it is important to look at how black immigrants found a place in the British labour market. It has been argued that black immigrants were recruited to the least desirable jobs or that they took jobs that whites did not want (12). However, it might also be suggested that black immigrants were not relegated to these jobs per se but that they were recruited to these jobs because those were the vacancies which needed to be filled. Black immigrants to Britain were in a similar position to the thousands of South Europeans who emigrated at the same time to Northern and Western Europe and who were engaged in similar jobs. Another factor to note when examining black disadvantage in the labour market is that many black immigrants when they first came to Britain intended to stay for a short time. They had hoped to make enough money and then return home. However, two things changed their view; firstly, the Immigration Acts which meant that black workers were forced to choose between settlement and return (Peach 1968): secondly, black immigrants were faced with the realization that Britain had a 'colour barrier' which would prevent them from moving into better-paid jobs in order to accumulate the finances they would need to return home. What followed was that black people remained in those semi-skilled and unskilled jobs to which they were first recruited . One reason for that was that these jobs were found

(12) See Cashmore and Troyna (1983) 'Introduction to Race Relations' on how black immigrants were located in the 'secondary labour market ' in low status, largely unskilled jobs (p.77). See also Ruth Glass (1960) who argues that many black immigrants in taking these jobs actually took a drop in job status.

in the inner-city areas where most black immigrants lived. As a result, they were geographically isolated from the technologically advanced and innovative industries which have been the growth sector of the British economy (Lustgarten 1980). It also meant that when these older manufacturing industries went into decline black workers were more likely to be unemployed. Other factors of black disadvantage in employment were lack of education, skills and poor English (13).

While racial discrimination is generally the reason why black people earn less than whites, these differences are also partly due to the historical circumstance of black workers who were recruited into mainly semi-skilled and unskilled manual work in older industries which paid lower wages. However, black workers wanting to move out of these industries will have been retarded by racial discrimination (Braham, 1981). The differences between the job levels of black and white workers is an important indication of racial disadvantage as earnings, job security and health are linked to job levels. The PSI Survey found a shift by black people towards non-manual jobs as compared to the PEP report of 1977. There are several reasons for this. Although the 'colour barrier' in Britain generally prevented black workers from moving into non-manual jobs, there is individual job mobility where a highly qualified black individual is able to move into non-

(13) see 'The Wollen and Worsted Industry: an Economic Analysis' edited by G. F. Rainne (1965).

manual work. This can be seen particularly among British blacks who have had opportunities of further and higher education. However, these changes might also be due to the loss of jobs in the manual sector and the different distribution of jobs among younger workers (Brown 1984, 177).

In housing there are also other factors other than direct or indirect discrimination which disadvantage black people. First - and to a certain extent, second generation Asians and West Indians generally have larger families than whites and it might be more difficult for local authorities to give these families adequate housing. Also , the allocation of council houses is carried out within the 'Council's own boundaries and there is little scope for movement of tenants between councils. This means that black people who tend to be in council areas with low-quality housing stock are not able to move into council areas with better housing. The conflict theory is appropriate here because houses are scarce commodities for which blacks and whites compete. The result might be that because black people are seen culturally as inferior they will either be relegated to the worse housing or not given any housing at all.

THEORIES OF DISCRIMINATION

All four reports on racial discrimination (1967, 1969, 1977 and 1985) suggested that despite the laws on direct and indirect discrimination, high levels of colour discrimination

still persisted. It seemed racial discrimination had become 'entrenched and self-sustaining in British society' (Brown 1984, 318). It has been argued that although British racism may have changed over 400 hundred years, this entrenchment of attitudes toward black people began during European expansion and has continued until the present day. Although the socio-economic situation of black immigrants and their children is partly to be blamed for their continuing disadvantage, it can be argued that colour discrimination plays a vital part in black people's disadvantage in British society. Discrimination comes in many forms, but one way of sustaining racial inequality is through more 'covert' and 'subtle' discrimination and such discrimination is difficult to prove (Feagin 1989, Benokraitis and Feagin 1986, Pettigrew 1985).

Workplace discrimination has two primary sources: the preferences of employers and the preferences of majority white employees, supervisors and co-workers. There are two broad approaches to the study of workplace discrimination the rational economic actor theory and group conflict theory. They differ as to the relative importance of employer and employee preferences in the genesis of discrimination.

The rational economic theory of discrimination stresses the preferences and decision-making role of employers, asserting that employer preferences are the primary source of discriminatory behaviour and employers respond in a rational manner to changes in the incentive structure created by

government (Becker 1975, Sowell 1981). In Becker's phrase employers have a taste for discrimination which they indulge at a price because hiring or promoting less qualified majority group members instead of more qualified minority group members increases labour costs. Therefore, as the price or cost of discrimination increases, employers will commensurately reduce their discriminatory behaviour.

Sometimes the source of employer preferences is the objection of white employees to black workers, as the 1977 PEP report indicated. To maintain worker co-operation employers may refuse to hire or promote black workers. According to the rational economic theory, in such a circumstances the decision to discriminate is made on rational grounds with managers balancing the cost of majority worker discontent against the employment of qualified black workers. Proponents of the rational economic actor theory presume that managers will ignore worker preferences when it is too costly to comply with them. According to this approach the Race Relations Act and the CRE should in theory be able to stop employers discriminating because if they are found to discriminate they pay a high price in negative publicity and legal fees. With its focus on employer decision-making, the rational economic actor approach implicity assumes that most discrimination is under the control of employers and occurs at the employer-controlled status transition points of hire and promotion. Therefore discrimination can be suppressed by government.

The group conflict theory of discrimination focuses on broad conflicts between majority group members and minority group members (Stone 1985, Banton 1983, Feagin 1978, Bonacich 1972, Simpson and Yinger 1985). In this theory, conflict is the central point of discrimination. It can occur between minorities and three discrete majority group actors: employers, supervisors and co-workers (14). Therefore discrimination is much less under the control of employers than is asserted by the proponents of the rational employer approach. Indeed, discrimination can occur against the expressed intentions of employers (i.e., supervisors and co-workers may initiate discrimination). This approach assumes that discrimination frequently occurs after a minority is hired or promoted. Such discrimination is often described as subtle because it concerns the quality of interaction at work (Feagin and Feagin 1978, Pettigrew 1985). Examples of subtle discrimination include majority co-workers who refuse to help or train minorities and supervisors who give minorities more criticism and less instruction, help and encouragement. Such discrimination is more difficult to challenge or prove than, say, the selective procedures of an employer.

The group conflict approach anticipates frequent and subtle discrimination during various aspects of the work process - task assignment, training, performance evaluation, interaction

(14) See Stone, J. (1985) 'Racial Conflict in Contemporary Society' for a survey of the main facts and ideas regarding racial conflict in the modern world.

with co-workers and supervisors, as well as discrimination at the point of hiring and promotion. Viewing discrimination as a product of groups in conflict, implies that the greater the differences between majority and minority the greater the amount of conflict. Like the rational economic actor approach, the group conflict approach expects that government efforts to combat discrimination will reduce racial discrimination in employment, but the group conflict theory expects widespread subtle discrimination during the work process. Thus it anticipates only a small reduction in discrimination caused by government sanctions against employers because much of the extant discrimination will involve inter-personal conflict and subtle processes which are difficult for employers and the laws of discrimination to control.

DISCRIMINATION AND THE LAW

Reports since 1967 have consistently shown that there is widespread racial discrimination in Britain and that the 'colour barrier' is being maintained. Although some black individuals are attaining characteristics and qualifications which should place them in white-collar occupations, these are the exception to the rule as black people in Britain are still kept out of the main stratification system because of the 'colour barrier'. The inevitable question is can the law be expected to change 400 years of social attitudes? Bob Hepple argues that the assumption that the law can change what is in

fact a social problem because it is somehow an independent instrument of state power a kind of ' magic belief' is 'false' and not based in reality (Hepple 1992, 19). Similarly, Derrick Bell believes that 'the common thread in all civil rights strategies is eventual failure'(Bell 1987, 248).

The question regarding the success or failure of anti-discriminatory laws must be measured against the aims of such laws . The expressed aim of the White Paper on Racial Discrimination in 1975 was to reduce racial discrimination and break the familiar cycle of cumulative disadvantage. In other words, the Act was designed to help break down the 'colour barrier' which keeps black people out of the main stratification system by denying them jobs, decent housing and education. Looking at the Race Relations Acts in these terms there is no doubt that the Acts have failed. It is important then to examine the Race Relations Act and to see why it has failed to reduce the cycle of racial discrimination in Britain.

Although the British Race Relation legislation was derived from the United States, the

'borrowing was deliberately selective .. for they imported only the expanded concept of discrimination and left behind the essential concomitant procedural and remedial elements'(Lustgarten 1980-p.5).

What was also rejected by the British Government was 'reverse discrimination' or affirmative action which set targets or quotas for hiring minorities within a given period. In Britain such policies are unlawful except in specific circumstances,

where race is a 'genuine occupational qualification' (1968 Race Relations Act (5) 1, A). However, the law does not prevent efforts to help minorities achieve equality. For instance, the CRE encourages employers, trade unions and statutory and approved training bodies to offer special training programmes, assistance and encouragement to non-whites to enable them to gain qualifications which will enhance their opportunities for position's where they are under- represented such as journalism, teaching and law.

The deliberate selectivity of the British Race Relations law can be seen as an attempt by the Government to reduce the effectiveness of the race laws and a lack of concern for the position of black immigrants and their children despite overwhelming evidence that the majority of black people face discrimination in employment, housing and education. The official British Government position on discrimination becomes even more questionable when a comparison is made between the effective action taken by successive British governments on the control of black immigration and that on the control of racial discrimination. There are weaknesses in the 1976 Race Relation Act which prevent it from being effective. Firstly, the law does not require the adoption of an equal opportunities policy even in the narrowest sense and although the law makes indirect discrimination unlawful it does not award compensation to victims. Secondly, the law does not require employers to adopt positive action policies. Many employers, gladly announce themselves as equal opportunities

employers but if they do then employ black people they are found in the lowest-paid, lowest-status jobs (15). Thirdly, the awards to victims of direct discrimination are derisory compared to the United States, thus preventing people from seeking redress and so resulting in many discriminatory actions going unchallenged (16).

The concept of racial equality incorporates two conflicting notions, as pointed out by Leon Mayhew calls these 'equal opportunity' and 'fair-share' approaches (Mayhew 1968, 59-74). Lustgarten, in explaining the difference between the two, states

'equal opportunity is achieved when discrimination is abolished and all forms of barriers are broken down against blacks. However, the concerns of equal opportunity stop with determining whether the factor of race has caused an individual to suffer adverse treatment. The "fair share approach" however is concerned only with "equality of result", this logically leads to the adoption of quotas'(Lustgarten 1980, 6).

The ideas of 'equal opportunity' and 'fair shares' are not as conflicting as it might be perceived. In many instances, especially in Britain, 'equal opportunities' have been adopted mainly as paper policy, and as we have argued in this chapter, for many employers equal opportunities involve only a

(15) See BBC Equal Opportunity Report (1988) and 1992, where 98 per cent of the organisation's ethnic minorities are in low paid, low-status jobs despite the formal adoption of positive action policies.

(16) See the CRE's (1992) 'Second Review of the 1976 Race Relations Act and its recommendations.

statement which they never or rarely go beyond so that these policies are not implemented. Some may argue that the 'fair share' approach, although not perfect, is a practical way of implementing equal opportunities and thus helping to break down the 'colour barrier' which keeps black people in a permanent position of subordination. However, the concept of racial equality law is conflicting because, firstly, equal opportunity deals with the inherent rights of the individual or, as Lustgarten puts it, 'fundamental human connectedness'. The fair share approach by contrast is 'complex and controversial' because it rises out of an historical situation of 'ill treatment of socially distinct groups .. and justice is therefore seen as collective'(Lustgarten 1980, 6). It is this collective justice which is problematic because of the reluctance in white society to accept that black people as a group are entitled to equal rights.

Lustgarten explained that the 'fair share' approach becomes problematic when it

'requires of something desirable to a white person in order to achieve justice. The problem then which confronts policy makers and theorists is to minimise the extent of the conflict, to transcend the limited effectiveness of equal opportunity, while avoiding the injustices of the second' (1980, 7).

The 1976 Act expanded the meaning of discrimination to include not only direct discrimination but indirect discrimination. This inclusion was meant to reduce discrimination in Britain. The concept of direct discrimination as used by the Act is based upon the United States concept as stated in the Civil

Rights Act of 1964. The purpose of indirect discrimination was to go beyond the 'individualistic nature' of direct discrimination (McCrudden 1983, 56) and to tackle the effects of past and present discrimination which were unintentional (17). However, the law's extension to include indirect discrimination seems to have little effect on institutional discrimination or breaking down the 'colour barrier' which prevents most black people from moving into white society's stratification system.

There has been no serious debate raised on the issue of institutional discrimination and the Race Relations law of 1976 has resulted so far in only a minimal reduction of exclusionary practices. McCrudden explains the reasons for this situation. Firstly, he thinks that ethnic minorities are suspicious of the law and courts, for they view the law from a criminal law perspective rather than as a 'potential avenue of redress'. Secondly, he believes that the absence of training of lawyers in anti-discrimination law means that only a few lawyers are sufficiently knowledgeable in the field. There is also very little public interest directed against racial discrimination outside the Commission for Racial Equality. McCrudden argues that the Act is ineffective because there is no British equivalent to 'the National Association for the

(17) For example, even those who criticise the Act would agree that it has broken down some barriers for individuals in jobs and housing and has driven 'underground those overt expressions of discrimination seen before the Act'(See Hepple 1965).

Advancement of Coloured People, the Legal Defence Fund or the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law'(McCrudden 1983, 57). This general lack of interest in race relations law is not simply caused by the absence of a strong black group but is a result of British racism stemming from a deeply held view, which began with European expansion, that black people are inferior and not entitled to equality. The white-black power relationship is an important consideration here in the denial of black people equal rights. The Race Relations Act might be seen simply as a public relations exercise.

The ineffectiveness of the 1968 and 1976 Race Relations Acts can be clearly seen in employment. Although both Acts made racial discrimination in employment unlawful, research since the Acts were passed has shown that 'discrimination was occurring on a massive scale, including tens of thousands of acts of direct discrimination in recruitment alone each year' (Smith and McIntosh 1974, 35).

REVERSE DISCRIMINATION

If the 1976 Race Relations Act is unable to reduce racial inequality in society and break down the 'colour barrier' which keeps black people in a subordinate position, can the 'fair share' approach be a more effective way to tackle the problem? It has been asserted that equal opportunity policy in the United States is more effective than in Britain. This is because the United States has adopted 'affirmative action'

policies which Britain does not have. Equal opportunities policy in Britain is not clearly defined but means in its limited sense means that firms and institutions should refrain from discrimination and it includes ,in theory, giving greater encouragement to members of ethnic minorities to take advantage of opportunities and encourages a fairer and more equal share to black people in society. In the United States however equal opportunity includes all these policies and more. For it means also that preferential treatment may be given in certain circumstances to minorities with a view to redressing the balance between them and more favoured groups (18).

In Britain, however, the Act does not require the adoption of 'positive action equal opportunities policy', though many firms and institutions do adopt the policy which states not to 'discriminate' which avoids them breaking the law. Because the Act is negative, not to discriminate by or against any person who is a member of a racial group means that it is unlawful to give preferential treatment or reverse discrimination in favour of a racial group. The negative nature of the Act thus cannot itself help to reduce racial discrimination and so, while the rights of both black and white have to be considered, the Act had to give some recognition to the fact that the rigid application of the negative principle

(18) See Nickel (1990) who argues that Britain needs strong affirmative action to combat racial discrimination such as that in the United States. He believes that strong affirmative action should include numerical goals and timetables, non-traditional selection procedures and preferential policies (New Community 17, (1) pp. 49-58).

of non-discrimination will, even if it is fully successful, result in only perpetuating existing inequalities. Thus the 1975 White Paper on racial discrimination states:

'The government considers 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'(Racial Discrimination' 1975, para. 57).

But even this section of the law has uncertainties and limitations. Preference can only be given to minorities in training which will lead to necessary qualifications. The law prohibits giving preferential treatment at the stage of job selection. However, employers who wish to give preferential treatment to under-represented groups can do so without breaking the law if they have trained sufficient members of ethnic groups to be recruited into vacancies. But special courses set up for minorities, such as the journalism course at the former-Polytechnic of Central London, are not without critics who argue that this amounts to reverse discrimination. Others argue that black people do not need special courses; what they need is general equality of opportunity in society. The problem is, while racial equality is the objective, it might take another 400 hundred years to achieve it, if ever. In the meantime, special courses for black people in areas where they are under-represented may help to redress the balance and thus tackle the 'colour barrier' in Britain.

The CRE has tried without much success to encourage employers to monitor ethnic minority participation in special programmes and a greater contribution by them to such schemes (CRE 1980).

Employers are also reluctant to make special provisions for ethnic minority training. There might be two reasons for this. Firstly, such programmes need financial support and employers might not be willing to make it available. Secondly, some employers, consciously or unconsciously, may want the continuation of a class and race divided society. The CRE has also tried to get employers to adopt an equal opportunity policy which includes other positive action plans but here too evidence has shown that there has been no widespread adoption of these policies. Only a few employers and local authorities have adopted these policies in employment (19). In its publication, the commission asserts the importance of equality of opportunity regardless of race, not only for employees to have a fair and equal chance of developing their abilities and realize their full potential but also for employers to make full and effective use of their staffs and to improve their industrial relations. However, most employers are reluctant to put into practice even the most elementary policies of equal opportunity, those of record-keeping and monitoring. The Commission has encouraged all firms, apart from small ones who already know the make-up of their staff, to comply with this basic element of equal opportunities. 'Yet only a handful of large private firms are known to have developed policies which include ethnic records and monitoring'(Bindman 1981, 323).

(19) See CRE (1978) 'A Guide For Employers' in which the Commission asserts the vital importance of equality of opportunity regardless of race.

Like other positive action policies designed to aid racial equality and ethnic monitoring, record-keeping has its critics. While some criticisms stem from misunderstanding, many others arise from the fear of equality for blacks. Some argue that statistics might be used against employers to prove allegations of unlawful discrimination, while an employer who claims to be colour-blind may have less risk of having a case proved against her/him, since there is no power to require employers to provide details of the ethnic composition of their workforces where such information is not readily available. There is a fear that racial statistics might incriminate an employer or that the employer might use them to discriminate.

However, there can be no effective equal opportunities polices without knowing the facts. Past and present governments, like private employers, are reluctant to put positive action policies in practice in order to reduce widespread racial discrimination in British society. Bindman observes:

'There is a conspicuous absence of leadership from the government in bringing about equal opportunity policies either in its own employment or in private employment where its influence could be decisive'(Bindman 1981, 323).

An example of government reluctance to racial equality can be seen in the Civil Service. In its 1990 Annual Report the CRE highlighted the need for the Civil Service to provide equality of opportunity for ethnic minority staff. The Commission made

'representations and gave advice to a number of Departments and Civil Service related organisations. These included the registers of Scotland on general policy and

recruitment methods; the Inner London Magistrates Court Service on monitoring and treatment of staff at one of the courts and the Driving Standards Agency on the low recruitment rate of ethnic minority staff.. '(CRE Annual Report 1990).

However, in its 1991 Annual report the Commission stated:

'Although there was a small but welcome increase from 4.3 per cent to 5 per cent in the success rate of ethnic minority candidates in executive officer competitions .. the rate was still much lower than that for white candidates'(CRE 1991, 28-9).

The armed forces is another area of concern for the Commission. In it investigation the Commission found that

'the Armed Forces ethnic monitoring of applicants and recruits indicates there are barriers which deter applicants from ethnic minority communities. In the 15-24 age group ethnic minorities account for some 5.7 per cent of the population of Great Britain but only 1.6 per cent of applicants to the Armed Forces and even fewer recruits.'

Over many years the Commission has recommended that the Ministry of Defence implement a comprehensive ethnic monitoring system in each service and a full equal employment opportunity code of practice. In 1991 the Commission was still waiting for these recommendations to be accepted.

In 1985 the Commission, realizing that the 1976 Race Relations Act had several weaknesses and omissions which prevented it from reducing the levels of racial discrimination effectively in Britain, sent a report to the Home Secretary called 'Review of the Race Relations Act 1976; A Proposal for Change'. It recommended that attention was needed in three main areas:

'The coverage of anti-discrimination provisions of the Act
The framework of achieving equality
The hearing of racial discrimination complaints (CRE 1991)

There was no formal response by the government to these proposals by the Commission. Although some statutory changes

in the law did take place, they have been 'limited in scope and came as a result of case law which has been of general application to discrimination law'(CRE 1991, 81). The Commission carried out its initial review of the Race Relations Act, firstly, because it has a statutory duty to do so but also because, as it states, 'research and formal investigation confirms that the level of racial discrimination remains high and that this is indicated in three main areas of life, employment education and housing'. The Commission believes that 'the law has an important part to play in this and it is essential that the legal framework is adequate, however experience indicates it is not'(CRE 1991, 12).

Research studies carried out by the Policy Studies Institute ('Racial Justice at Work' 1991), the Department of Employment and by Southampton University ('Measure for Measure' 1992) support the Commission's view that racial discrimination is widespread in Britain. Data supplied by 'The Employment Gazette' for March 1992, using evidence obtained in the 1990 Labour Force Survey, found that:

'Among people with higher qualifications (above A-level) the ethnic minority unemployment rate in 1988-1990 was twice that for white people (5 per cent against less than 3 per cent), among others with qualifications. The ratio was almost as high (1.9, reflecting unemployment rates of 12 and just over 6 per cent respectively); among unqualified people, however, the ratio was lower (1.4), although the unemployment rates themselves were higher (17 per cent for ethnic minority groups and 12 per cent for white people'('Employment Gazette', March 1992).

The Commission's own formal investigation of employment suggests also that there is racial discrimination there. For example, the Leicester Beaumont Shopping Centre investigation published in September 1985 found that although

'Asians were adequately represented as applicants for jobs in the shopping centre they were under-represented amongst those selected. In the major stores the success rates for whites was four times that for Asians. The employers could not explain the disparity on non-racial grounds'(CRE 1992, 13).

The Commission also did a formal report, 'Working In Hotels' which looked at hotels in many parts of Britain. It states that there is 'an almost universal disregard of the Commission's Code of Practice for The Elimination of Discrimination in Employment'(CRE 1991). Racial discrimination is also found in training. The Commission, in its report on Chartered accountancy training contracts found:

'That interviewers were often influenced by stereotypes or by subtle, unconscious assumptions and beliefs about applicants from different cultural or racial backgrounds .. consequently interviewers were more likely to misjudge the abilities and skills of black candidates and select people with similar background to their own. The overall result was a higher white success rate'(CRE 1987, 5-6).

In the Commission's formal investigations in training at St. George's Medical school, the Commission found that the school

'had directly discriminated on racial grounds contrary to Section 1 (1) (a) and Section 17 (b) of The Race Relations Act 1976 by refusing or deliberately omitting to accept applications for the admission of persons to the school as students in the following ways: through the operation of the computer programme between 1982 and 1986 and in the selections of students for interview before mid-1982'(CRE 1988, 8).

The school subsequently gave the Commission a written undertaking to monitor its admission procedures and practices.

SECOND REVIEW OF THE RACE RELATIONS ACT 1976

The recommendations of the CRE's first report on the 1976 Race Relations Act were largely ignored by the Government, which further strengthened the argument that both Government and employers are reluctant to break down the 'colour barrier' that prevents black people from obtaining equality of opportunity. The Commission published a second review in 1992 because it was concerned 'that racial discrimination still exists at substantial levels'(CRE 1992, 15). In order to make the 1976 Act more effective the Review called for several changes, some of which are the same as in the first review:

'The coverage of the anti-discrimination provision of the Act;
The framework for achieving equality.
The hearing of racial discrimination complaints.
Whether the Commission should be amalgamated with the Equal Opportunities Commission to form a new Human Rights Commission. Whether action is needed in relations to incitement to racial hatred and racial harassment.
To what extent the law needs to address itself to the questions of religion in the interest of good race relations.'
(CRE 1992, 17)

The Commission, in its task of making the Race Relations Act more effective, called for a new definition of indirect discrimination, one

'Which will require making unlawful any practice, policy or situation, as well as any requirement or condition which is continued, allowed, or introduced and which has an adverse effect on a particular racial group and which cannot be demonstrated to be necessary'(CRE 1992, 29).

The recommendations called for the exemption from the Act of Government and governmental related activities to be brought under the act, such as immigration control, the prison system and police activity. At present the Commission believes that in these areas 'there is a wide freedom to discriminate so far

as the remedies under the Act are concerned'(1992, 31). The Commission believes ethnic monitoring should be a statutory requirement on all employers. It also recommends that legal aid be extended to cover racial discrimination cases in tribunals and that a discrimination division within the industrial tribunal system be established to hear both employment and non-employment race and sex discrimination cases (CRE 1992). Added to this is the new but important recommendation on religion this states:

'We recommend that a specific law against incitement to religious hatred should be introduced and a law against religious discrimination should be given further consideration..'(CRE 1992, 77).

The recommendations laid out by the Commission's second review of the Race Relations Act will, if adopted, clearly help to make the Act more effective thus helping to break down the 'colour barrier' which keeps black people in an inferior position in British society. However, are Government and employers willing to accept a stronger Act which will help to bring about racial equality? Many might say not because past and present British Governments have been reluctant to do so. It might be argued then that the present race relations situation in British society is due mainly, but not entirely, to the historical relationship Britain had with people from its former Commonwealth where blacks were seen and treated as inferiors.

THE AMERICAN RACE LAW

As we have argued earlier in this chapter, positive action policies although encouraged by the CRE have not been generally taken up by either government or private employers. The ineffectiveness of the race law is, as we have stated, partly due to government's reluctance to strengthen the law against racial discrimination (20). This can be contrasted with the United States where the race laws can be more persuasive than in Britain. Firstly, because the prospects of litigation against those who discriminate are much greater and the economic consequences for those successfully sued are vastly greater. The reason why the prospect for successful litigation is greater in America is said to be due to a difference in 'judicial philosophy' (Bindman 1981, 326). In the United States the judges have understood and accepted the importance of ending racial discrimination and have been prepared to interpret the law broadly so as to give the maximum effect. In Britain however, this broad interpretation of the law is not permitted.

The second reason why the race law in the United States is more effective is the heavy damages which may be awarded to victims of both direct and indirect discrimination. In Britain however under the Act no award is made to victims of

(20) See the 1975 White Paper which considered whether the government should take an 'active role to eliminate discriminate' which the government decided was an 'unacceptable burden'(Paragraph 20).

indirect discrimination (21). Another factor which makes the United States Race Law more effective is that the system allows lawyers to take an agreed percentage of whatever damages are awarded as their fee. This means lawyers are always available where there is a prospect of large awards. There is also leadership from the United States government in its policy on contract compliance, as compared to the failure of the British government to implement even the very modest commitment of the White Paper concerning government contracts. The United States Federal government has for many years undertaken strict monitoring to ensure non-discrimination. Every contractor with 50 or more employees and a contract amounting to fifty thousand dollars or more annually must file a report giving detailed analysis of the ethnic origin of the workforce at every level. The breach of these requirements includes cancellation or suspension of the contract and disqualification from receiving further contracts.

Although the United States has a more effective record of equal opportunities policies than Britain, its policy on affirmative action or reverse discrimination has been controversial, especially where it infringes the rights of individuals, which it inevitably does. America's reverse discrimination involves quotas, ratios, goals and timetables. In Britain, reverse discrimination is illegal except in special cases of training and employment. However, in the

(21) See Dworking 'Reverse Discrimination' (1981) and the conflict it creates in the United States .

United States reverse discrimination was developed not as a part of a concept of discrimination 'but as a remedy for past intentional discrimination'(Lustgarten 1981, 15). The intention of reverse discrimination was to help redress the balance of inequality in American society so as to help break down the colour barriers which prevent black people from being part of the society's main stratification system. However, there is a limitation upon how far even American society is prepared to go in allowing reverse discrimination. These programmes operate only in employment and higher education, but not in housing. They have not even been tentatively suggested for matters like the distribution of wealth, or access to health care (Lustgarten 1981). In other words, reverse discrimination in the United States is restricted to certain spheres of society. Some opportunities are given but they are not sufficient to change the power relationship between black and white and to break down the 'colour barrier.'

Reverse discrimination has in the past been subjected to enormous problems in the United States. One argument is that if reverse discrimination is to correct past discrimination 'how does one determine when the effects of past discrimination have been eradicated, so that administrative or judicial orders may cease to operate?'(Lustgarten 1981, 15). Some may argue that past discrimination can never be reversed but the administration, law and resources used to combat racial discrimination should cease only when there is genuine

equality for blacks. One of the problems faced by the laws of reverse discrimination in the United States is that such laws sometimes violate the United States constitution. The Bakke case is one example where a case of reverse discrimination interfered with the constitutional rights of an individual. It also demonstrates the limits of the law in trying to solve what is essentially a social problem. Allan Bakke, an applicant for a medical school place, challenged the validity of a scheme which gave preference to a limited number of ethnic minority candidates to his detriment. The Supreme Court upheld Bakke's claim in that they stopped this particular scheme, but they also declared that a scheme which took into account race should remain a determining eligibility factor.

In another case a man named DeFunis applied to the University of Washington Law School and was rejected although his test scores and college grades were such that he would have been admitted if he had been black, Filipino, Chicano or an American Indian. DeFunis asked the Supreme Court to declare that the Washington practice which required less exacting standards of minority groups violated his rights under the Fourteenth Amendment. Although Defunis was admitted to the school, his case was eventually dismissed and the courts decided that affirmative action policies should continue. For example, a school might stipulate that applicants from all races would be considered together but that the aptitude test for certain minority applicants be graded differently.

Such cases in the United States have highlighted the difficulties American society has in trying to achieve racial equality without violating individual rights under the Constitution. It also puts into focus the deeply held view that blacks are not entitled to equality, a notion tracing back to slavery and colonization. Such questions have caused a split among liberal allies of the black cause; some have argued that affirmative action is the correct way to deal with the serious inequality in American Society, while others have argued that quotas are ineffective and even self-defeating because preferential treatment will reinforce the sense of inferiority that many blacks already have.

SUMMARY

The laws of discrimination were introduced after the 1958 race riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill. The riots provided ample evidence that the majority of black immigrants in Britain faced racial discrimination. Why was there discrimination when most whites in Britain had no personal experience of black people? The historical legacy of Britain's past relationship with blacks from its former colonies was one of white superiority black inferiority partly explains colour discrimination in Britain. The nineteenth century notion that races are hierarchically structured was carried over into the twentieth century and it might be argued that the media as well as other institutions perpetuates this notion directly and indirectly.

However, there are other reasons why black people faced discrimination in the early years of immigration. One was the extent of cultural differences that existed and the fact that many immigrants were not able to speak English. There were also, as is still the case, the class and race divisions in society which lead to dominant and subordinate groups. This meant that blacks were relegated to subordinate positions because of their race and class. The various race relations reports suggest that within this structural framework black-white conflict increases especially in time of recession. Jobs and housing become scarce and both black and white working class groups are in competition for these commodities.

The laws of discrimination were meant to at least reduce discrimination if not to get rid of it altogether. However, according to the CRE and the various race relations reports since the 1960s, the laws have generally been a failure. The question is, can the social/structural problem of colour discrimination be corrected by the law? It seems that while the ideal of the 1976 Race Relations Act represents a genuine attempt to stop discrimination, it is not effective because successive governments have been either unable or unwilling to take actions to make it work. The CRE has twice reviewed the Act and has made recommendations to Government such as making positive action equal opportunities policy a part of the Act. So far the Government has not made any attempt to do so.
Such action would strengthen the Act giving equality to thousands of black people. It might also mean that employers

who now ignore the Act might take it more seriously. But the Government is reluctant to make the Act positive instead of negative because such action might be unpopular with white voters who generally see black people as inferiors and would prefer to maintain the 'colour barrier'. Some politicians might consciously or unconsciously also want to maintain the structural inequality in society from which they benefit directly or indirectly.

The various reports examined in this chapter have indicated that despite laws on racial discrimination since 1965 colour prejudice remains high in Britain. There are several reasons why the law on discrimination in Britain is not effective in bringing down the 'colour barrier'. Firstly, colour discrimination is deeply rooted in British society and has become self-sustaining, beginning, as has been argued, during European expansion. Secondly, the British law, unlike the American, does not require an equal opportunity policy or a positive action plan and, thirdly, the CRE, the official investigator of the law, is financially restricted which affects the numbers of cases it can investigate.

Although the laws on discrimination have undoubtedly helped some individuals and have stopped racist advertisements, their general ineffectiveness has caused the CRE in 1985 and 1992 to call upon the Government to review and strengthen the 1976 Race Relations Act. Since the 1985 review of the Act, the small statutory changes there have been involved specific

areas such as planning, housing and employment. These changes are the result, however, of case-law which has been of general application to discrimination law.

In the chapters that follow an attempt will be made to examine racial discrimination and the British media. Interviews with 100 black journalists and 37 media managers and trainers will be evaluated as to whether the under-representation of black people in media jobs and training is due to direct or indirect discrimination. Direct discrimination is defined as intentional discrimination against an individual because of colour, race, or culture. Indirect discrimination is defined as an unintentional action which disadvantages black people as a group. For example, journalists' training courses will be examined to see if the qualifications required for these courses indirectly discriminate against black people as a group. Recruitment procedures for the media will also be examined for direct and indirect discrimination.

CHAPTER 3

RACE AND EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Reports on racial disadvantage since the 1960s (for example, Daniels 1967, Rose et al 1969, Smith 1977 and Brown 1984) have all indicated that education and better skills would help to break the cycle of black disadvantage. This is especially true if black people are to be accepted into white-collar occupations such as journalism. However, these reports on race and education have shown that black pupils, especially those of West Indian descent, under-achieve in British schools. This fact has created strong controversy and many theories have emerged as to why this is so. In the light of the high educational qualifications required to enter journalism training and jobs this chapter will examine the various theories of black pupils' educational under-achievement and the policies put forward to increase black achievement in British schools.

ASSIMILATION

The racial unrest of 1958 was a watershed in the black-white relationship of post-war Britain. These riots set in motion

what Hall (1978) described as the 'new indigenous racism of the post-war period'(25). It was a 'structured antagonism between colony blacks and sections of the indigenous white working class'(28). Race became an issue and black people a problem to be contained (1). The effect of this new racism was to determine the terms of reference that have since shaped the race and education debate (2), the key concept within this perspective being race and culture (3). From the early 1960s the policies of race relations and race and education were directed towards assimilation (4). There was little or no academic research on race and education, so the 'commonsense' racist assumptions about the inherent inferiority of non-European language, culture, family and lifestyle developed during this period (5).

The problem of the immigrant child's under-achievement was centred around his/her culture and family life, not the British educational system or racial discrimination which has

(1) Carby (1982 p.183) describes in detail the climate of hostility and the early educational response.

(2) Mirza (1988) unpublished Ph.D. thesis 'The career Aspirations and Expectations of Young Black Women: The maintenance of inequality.'

(3) Parekh (DES 1985) on the politics of multi-racial education in Britain and the historical determination of these terms of reference.

(4) Mullard (1982, 121) for an analysis of the stages of racial integration into the U.K.: Assimilation, integration and cultural pluralism.

(5) Lawrence (1982) writes on the 'pathologising' of the black family has come about through the development of a 'commonsense' ideology relating to black life-style.

its roots in Britain's colonial past. The DES in keeping with this concept produced circular 7/65 in 1965. This controversial programme aimed at spreading out the Asian and West Indian presence and instructed local authorities to disperse the immigrant pupil population, a system known as 'bussing'. The idea behind 'bussing' was to spread the problem and avoid any school becoming predominantly immigrant in character. (This mirrored thinking in the United States.) This circular reinforced the view that black pupils, regardless of sex and class, presented a problem to the education system by virtue of their race. The Government position on the matter was made clear in the following circular 8/65 which stated,

'It will be helpful if the parents of non-immigrant children can see that practical measures have been taken to deal with the problems in the school, and that the progress of their own children is not being restricted by the undue pre-occupation of the teaching staff with the linguistic and other difficulties of immigrant children'.

This might be seen as confirmation by the Government of the notion held by the majority that immigrant children caused problems. This notion however is not new but is a product of nineteenth century British colonialism which saw black people and their culture as inferior and was sustained by the whole thrust of successive Immigration Acts since 1962. The 1969 Institute of Race Relations report stated that the effects of bussing was given only 'cursory attention because the .. policy was to prevent the development of all-immigrant schools which were undesirable'. The official policy behind the 'dispersal' of immigrants' children was to prevent change and preserve the normal routine of a school.

The Government's policy on under-achievement of immigrant children in the early 1960s did not fully consider the effects of discrimination, direct or indirect, as a contributory factor to black pupils' under-achievement. They concentrated instead on the notion that under-achievement was due to the children's language, culture and family life. Subscribing to this view, financial support was given by government under Section 11 of the Local Government Act of 1966 whereby the Home Office provided 50 per cent (later 75 per cent) grant to local authorities which needed to provide special provision for substantial numbers of immigrants in their areas. The grant was used mainly for language provision.

The assimilation period was characterised by 'ad hoc responses to the educational needs of immigrant pupils'(Swann 1985, 195), designed, on the one hand, to compensate immigrant children for what the authorities saw as 'deficiencies' (primarily being non-English speaking), while, on the other hand to disrupt the education of the indigenous children as little as possible. The assimilationists believed in the existence of only one culture which was 'white, Christian and English-speaking'(DES 1985, 195-6).

THE INTEGRATION PERIOD

The crude assimilationist approach was later to give way in the mid-1960s to cultural pluralism or multicultural

education. Roy Jenkins announced in 1966 that education should not be 'a flattening process of assimilation but one of equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance'(quoted in Rose et al 1969, 11-25). Even while the official focus was on assimilation there were those working in multi-racial schools who had come to recognise that many inner-city areas were multi-racial and multi-cultural. The assimilationists had failed to recognised the changing nature of British Society. From the mid 1960s what came to be known as the integrationist period came to being. However, the notion of tolerance and cultural diversity put forward by Roy Jenkins was overshadowed by further anti-immigration hostilities revived by Enoch Powell's speeches in 1967 and 1968. Moreover, the general emphasis on education and race was still for the black child to integrate into a culturally homogenous society. It was not on the possible discrimination the black child might encounter in the British education system.

The difference between the assimilationist and the integrationist approach is that the assimilationists believe that given English language fluency the immigrant would disappear into the crowd, but those wanting integration thought that a planned and detailed programme of education was needed to help immigrants integrate into majority society. The integrationists also believed that in order to enable integration, white society should be aware of the historical and cultural factors affecting different minorities. Thus the

emphasis was not on black immigrants as an integral part of society who had come to stay, but as immigrants from another country (6).

The mid-1960s also saw the educational testing of black children. The notion behind this was that educational under-achievement of black children was due to the low intelligence of the black child and black people in general and not to racial discrimination (7). This notion that black people are genetically inferior was developed during the nineteenth century European expansion and carried on into present day society. It is used by some to justify the 'colour barrier' in white society. In this context however, it is used to deny black children equal opportunity to education.

The notion of genetic intellectual inferiority was used by Jensen in Britain and Eysenck in America. Eysenck wrote:

'All evidence to date .. suggests the strong and indeed overwhelming importance of genetic factors in producing the great variety of intellectual differences which we observe in our culture and much of the difference between certain racial groups'(Eysenck 1971 quoted in Swann 1985, 126).

This tradition in academic research emphasising IQ and intellectual ability by race has been influential in the

(6) See Swann (1985) on the Integrationist Period chapter 4, pp. 198-207. See also Carby (1982), who argues that the assimilationist policy laid the ideological basis to protect the indigenous population.

(7) See Mackinstosh and Mascie-Taylor (DES 1985, 126) for a review of scientific racism.

debate on race and education (8), remaining a pervasive undercurrent although being publicly discredited as 'repugnant and insulting to many people'(Parekh, DES 1985, 68). Parekh observes that:

'The low attainment of West Indian children is according to some commentators easily and adequately explained in terms of their genetic intellectual inferiority. This view of Eysenck and others is far more widely held than is often realised' (Parekh, DES 1985, 68).

One of the first academic researches to address the educational performance of the black child was carried out by Houghton in 1966 and was in the education-testing tradition. These tests were possibly intended to prove that there was a biological hierarchy of races, an idea which has its roots in nineteenth century European expansion. The research was carried out in 11 infant schools and focused on the possible racial differences in IQ. The different scores Houghton attempted to explain in cultural and environmental terms. He divided his sample into male and female groupings. He tested 71 matched pairs of white and Jamaican children, 36 girl pairs and 35 boy pairs. The results showed an average IQ score of 90 for the Jamaican children and 92 for English children, not a significant difference. However, the research did indicate that Jamaican girls were performing better than boys in the reasoning tests. Houghton's research was concerned only with measuring the comparative ability and performance of black

(8) Swann (1985). for example, this report still found it important to investigate the issue of genetic differences in IQ.

and white children. It failed to address discrimination, direct and indirect, as possible causes of black pupils' educational under-achievement. Instead, the research study was based on the assumption that differences did exist between black and white children and saw these differences as genetic rather than historical or social.

A more recent study which addressed the issue of IQ differences was carried out by Mascie-Taylor and Mackintosh (DES 1985). This study considered the data from the National Child Development Study (NCDS) and the Child Health and Education Study (CHES) and continued in the tradition of comparing West Indian children with white indigenous children. The report showed that much of the difference between IQ scores of West Indian and white children appeared to be related to social and economic differences and pointed to such factors as parental occupation, income, size of family, degree of over-crowding, and type of neighbourhood (Swann 1985, 71). However, Mascie-Taylor and Mackintosh's study did not investigate what part racial discrimination played in the economic differences between black and white and black pupils educational under-achievement.

In 1968 Alan Little's study also looked at the educational performance of ethnic minority children. The focus of the study was to investigate the differences between ethnic groups, not on how racial discrimination in schools might affect the educational progress of black pupils. The

assumption was that racial origin affected educational achievement. The sample of the study was taken from 52 London primary schools and pupils categorised according to their racial criteria into West Indian, Pakistani, Greek, Indian, Greek Cypriot, Turkish and others. The working party set up by the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) and under the direction of Alan little, was to inquire into the educational performance of immigrant children. They wrote:

'The main object of the study was to examine the problems of and the effect on schools with a high proportion of immigrant pupils'(Little et al 1968, 440).

The terms of reference were clearly defined and the immigrant presence was considered a problem in itself. It stated,

'The overall performance of the immigrant child was found to be significantly lower than that of all authority pupils' (Little 1968, 443).

This under-achievement of immigrant children was attributed to poor language (9), cultural and family differences, the shock of immigration and poor contacts between the home and the school but, like previous reports, there was nothing regarding the effects of discrimination, direct or indirect, on black pupils' learning. The working party found some improvements in the performance of immigrant children with the length of schooling in Britain but found the low attainment of West Indian children as compared with other groups

'somewhat surprising in view of the fact that a greater proportion of West Indians were English speaking and might have been thought to have an advantage on that account' (Little 1968, 444).

(9) For example the NFER Survey (1966) 'Coloured Immigrants Children' stated that the dialect or Creole English is an immature language which is clearly inadequate for expressing the complexities of present day life in Britain (174).

Such a conclusion might be regarded as reinforcing the view that non-European language and culture is inferior and lead to an appraisal of what 'English speaking' meant to the authors. Bagley (1968) sums up the study as one which 'bolsters the ideology that coloured children are intellectually inferior' (quoted in Tomlinson 1983, 29). While poor English and minimal contact between school and home did possibly contribute to the educational under-achievement of immigrant children, other important factors such as racial discrimination, direct and indirect, were not investigated. The emphasis instead was on the black child's culture, language and differences in life style.

Payne's 1969 study continued in this tradition. It studied the mental ability of 7 and 8 year old indigenous and West Indian children to 'investigate the differences that may exist in the performance of the two racial groups'(Payne 1969, 326). Payne's hypothesis was that West Indian children would show significantly poorer performances on the vocabulary test, the non-verbal intelligence and the word reading test, compared with indigenous British children of the same chronological age and socio-economic status. The study concluded:

'as anticipated, significant racial differences were to be found between the two racial groups'(Payne 1969, 326).

However, doubts have been cast on the validity of such research by Troyna. He argued that comparisons between group achievements assume that research is 'comparing like with like'(Troyna 1984, 158) whereas group experiences are so different as to invalidate direct comparisons.

Troyna highlighted racism as a major factor in African-Caribbean under-achievement explaining that racism pervades the worlds of school and employment and that pupils of African-Caribbean descent are well aware of this 'colour barrier' to their post-school success and therefore, may decide that school has little to offer (Troyna 1984). Bagley also agreed that 'black children may have low motivation in the educational and vocational system, and therefore low test motivation, if it is clear to them that conventional education does not bring rewards, but rejection'(Bagley 1975, 44).

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL INADEQUACY

In the early 1970's the Labour Government launched a number of projects aimed at tackling the problem of urban deprivation. Both the Urban Aid Programme and the Educational Priority Projects marked a new era in the discussion of race and under-achievement. The emphasis moved away from racial inferiority towards social and cultural inadequacy. The Government's community educational programmes of the early 1970's were not directed at alleviating racial inequality, but focused on the disadvantaged in general. Class now became the central issue on the research agenda not race. One of the first reports of this decade was carried out by the Education Priority Area (EPA) Action Research projects. These were carried out in London, Birmingham, Liverpool, the West Riding of Yorkshire and Dundee. The report explained that lower scores of West

Indian children were due to social class deprivation, which included larger family size and the use of Creole by West Indian children.

The Coleman Report in the United States was influential in bringing about the shift from the 'commonsense' racist assumption that language and culture were to be blamed for black pupils' educational under-achievement towards social and cultural inadequacy. Coleman blamed poor families, especially black families, for their children's educational under-achievement. He argued that parental influence and pupil self-concept -confidence in their own ability - enables students to succeed despite all the odds. The Coleman Report pointed towards social and psychological factors as the mechanism for producing black under-achievement in schools. The implication of Coleman's report was to give 'impetus to the notion of negative self-esteem and negative ethnic identity that has since dominated the education research on the black child' (Mirza 1988, 19-20).

During this early period, black females were hardly referred to in educational research unless in terms of their contribution to the black child's under-achievement. Carby (1982) comments on how black women were portrayed as being responsible for the educational underachievement of their children:

'Most frequently in educational reports the focus is placed upon the black mother .. it has been around black women that pathological notions of the black family and the responsibility for the failure, or inability, to integrate

have been secured. Commonsense constructions of the .. dominating African-Caribbean wife and mother, who is always out working and therefore never at home have been elaborated into ideologies that justify increased state intervention into school and home. Black children are labelled "disadvantaged" or "disabled" either because their mothers worked or because they did not'(Carby, 1982, 190).

The trend to blame black females in educational research in Britain regarding the black child's under-achievement was influenced by research in the United States . The Moynihan Report of 1965, called 'The Negro Family: The Case For National Action', stressed the detrimental effect of the matriarchal black female within the black family, alleging that there was a social pathology afflicting the negro community which can be traced to the weakness of the family structure and that this weakness was due to 'Matriarchy .. the reverse roles of the husband and wife'(Moynihan 1965, 76).

Other writers have used the pathological explanation for the under-achievement of black pupils while ignoring racial discrimination direct and indirect. Rainwater and Yancey, for example, wrote:

'The negro wife .. can easily become disgusted with the financially dependent husband, and in her rejection of him further alienates the male from the family. Embittered by their experience with men, many negro mothers often act to perpetuate the mother-centred pattern by taking a greater interest in their daughters than their sons'(Rainwater and Yancey 1967, 80).

In this one-sided view , racial discrimination in the United States labour market which affects black male unemployment was overlooked and education was used as an excuse to attack the black family and the black woman in particular.

A more recent study by Gibson (1986) entitled 'Unequal Struggle' reaffirms Moynihan's (1965) and Rainwater and Yancey's (1967) explanation. Gibson, a black man, puts forward the cultural pathologists' argument. He explains that

'a sense of cultural identity is lacking in the people of the Caribbean .. most West Indians .. see themselves as culture-less. This amounts to an identity crisis which has undermined the confidence of West Indian adults and they in turn have found themselves unable to inspire confidence and a sense of identity in the young who badly need it to help them in their development especially in Britain'(Gibson 1986, 19-20) .

Women, who are seen as the centre of family life, are, according to Gibson, responsible for damaging the child's self-esteem in their relationships with men, especially unmarried mothers. However, the effects of racial discrimination on black children's educational under-achievement was not mentioned (10).

CULTURAL DEPRIVATION

An aspect of the race and education debate of the 1970's might be seen as a divide and rule policy where reports compare West Indians' academic performance with that of their Asian counterparts. Bhikhu Parekh (DES 1985) argued that in general, this movement toward comparative analysis had a detrimental effect. He explained that:

'the debate was led astray by two false assumptions, namely that all West Indian children fail and Asian children succeed' (69).

(10) Gibson and Burrows (1986) especially the chapter on 'The Unmarried Mother and Child Rearing' also the chapter on 'A Legacy of Slavery'.

The ILEA studies which began in the 1960s and reported in 1973 and 1975 (11) played a major part in fostering this doubtful assumption. The perception of under-achievement is illustrated by the following explanation offered by Little:

'The two main ethnic groups that we are concerned about in race relations are clearly the Asian Community on the one hand and the West Indian on the other .. there are clear distinctions in how well different groups are functioning in the existing school system..'(Little 1978, 60).

Little describes the two different groups as follows:

'What the Asian child brings to school is in a very real sense an alternative culture, an alternative identity, an alternative sense of and source of personal well-being and personal strength to the majority culture .. they know they are different: they have a different language, a different religion, a different culture and a different set of attitudes, which they think are better. And their response to indifference or to ethnic racial hostility is less to question their own ethnic identity and well being, and to derive a strength from that .. The West Indian is not in that position .. His position represents a variant of the dominant culture, and the dominant culture is rejecting, and therefore there is a danger of community rejection being transferred to self-rejection. There is no religion, no language, no different set of values to fall back on, there is a sense of cultural separateness as a minority'(Little 1978, 62).

This pathological account, which presents 'culture' as an explanation for the differential academic achievements of Asians and West Indians, is grossly simplified. It assumes that Asians and West Indians have no commonality of experience within the education system that could account for under-achievement, such as class and racial discrimination, direct and indirect. It reaffirms the 'divide and rule' philosophy by suggesting that there is a hierarchy of 'superior' and 'inferior' cultures. However, Little's notion

(11) The reports were by Mabey in 1973 Little in 1975 and Tomlinson 1983a.

was not new; his explanations were not dissimilar to the pathological tradition established in the U.S.A. since the mid-1960s by Moynihan. The cultural pathology advocates focused on the differences between groups, by groups and within groups (Mirza 1992). The cultural pathological tradition in educational research also had other implications; it played an important role in influencing multi-cultural policy initiatives in schools (12).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

During the 1970s there was a body of research going on in the field of multi-cultural education. One of the first was by a West Indian, Bernard Coard, and for the first time brought the notion of discrimination into the argument about black pupils' under-achievement. His 1971 publication entitled 'How the West Indian Child is made ESN in the British School System' was a response to the disproportionate numbers of West Indian pupils in ESN institutions. He described the process of the 'self-fulfilling prophecy 'and for the first time implicated the role of teachers in explaining black under-achievement. Coard argued that teachers' expectations and attitudes towards black children cause them to seriously under-estimate the ability of

(12) See Swann (1985). The report suggests that there is still some validity in pursuing a cross-cultural comparison when it recorded: 'wherever the truth may lie, the reason for different school performances of Asian and West Indians seems likely to be deeply within their respective cultures'.

black pupils. The reason he explained was:

'Most teachers absorb the brainwashing that everybody else in society has absorbed, that black people are inferior and less intelligent than white people. Therefore the black child is expected to do less well in school'(Coard 1971, 19).

Coard continues,

'The black child labours under three crucial handicaps: low expectations on his part about his likely performance in a white controlled system of education; low motivation to succeed academically because he feels the cards are stacked against him; and finally low teacher expectations which affect the amount of effort expended on his behalf by the teacher and affect his own image of himself and his abilities. If the system is rigged against you and if everyone expects you to fail the chances are you will'(Coard 1971, 25).

Coard not only introduced the concept of racial discrimination into the race education debate but that of class. He argued that it is not in the interest of the capitalist class to give black children equal educational opportunities because this would mean that in 'one generation there would be no large labour pool .. prepared to do menial and unwanted jobs in the economic system' and that this would be a 'very bad blow to Britain's social order, with its notion about the right place of the black man in relation to the white man in society' (Coard 1971, 35). Coard explained that the best way to maintain the social hierarchy and abundant unskilled labour is to place black children in ESN schools, preparing them for the 'unskilled and ill paid jobs' (Coard 1971, 35). In this analysis the 'colour barrier' would remain and black children would have no opportunity to acquire the educational qualifications needed for white-collar occupations such as journalism, law and teaching. Coard's research gave black parents for the first time an alternative view of ESN and why

their children were being placed in such schools. His work had an important impact on educational research into under-achievement. Many educationalists disagreed with Coard's findings arguing that what he found could not be true. Coard's work, however, gave impetus to the work of the self-concept theories such as Milner (1975 and 1983) who argues that:

'There is overwhelming evidence that minority group children in England have internalised the racial values of the society and the accompanying pecking order. As a consequence they respond to tests in a way that is highly favourably to the dominant white majority and derogatory to their own group' (Milner 1975, 137).

Milner argues that the educational under-achievement of black pupils is due not to direct, or indirect discrimination, in schools but to the fact that black people are constantly receiving unpleasant images of themselves from white society. As a result, black children develop negative self-concepts and poor self-esteem and come to see themselves as failures and are non-achievers. Milner based his research on the 'Dolls Test', asking West Indian and Asian children to choose between black and white dolls. In response to the standard identification question 'which of these dolls look most like you?' Milner's test revealed that 48 per cent of West Indian children and 24 per cent of Asian children maintained that the white figure looked more like them. When asked, 'if you could be one of these dolls, which one would you rather be?' 82 per cent of West Indian children and 65 per cent of Asians indicated the white doll rather than their own group figure. Milner used this test to suggest that there is an identity crisis on the part of black children (1975, 140).

According to Milner, black children are ashamed of their own colour because white society has forced them to accept its own appraisal of them. This however is not shared by most black people of themselves (13). The fact is that despite slavery and colonization people from African-Caribbean descent have held on to many aspects of their African culture and in the case of Asians they have held almost completely to their own way of life. However, Milner conceded in his later book (1983) that black children are now quite clear about their racial identity and view it positively.

In 1978 Little also related the under-achievement of black pupils in London to their self-concept. He suggested that the low social and economic status of black immigrants affected the identity of these groups. The theory of low self-concept was to play an important part in the shaping of multi-cultural education (MCE) policies, debate and practices. MCE falls within the scope of the compensatory education model which attempts to offset educational disadvantage among children through the development of special educational initiatives. The mainstay of the policy initiatives were aimed at alleviating black discontentment by introducing policies which were aimed at enhancing self-esteem such as black studies.

(13) See Sarup (1986) 'The Politics of Multi-cultural Education' where Milner's view on black identity is criticized, also his pathological view of black people.

THE CONCEPT OF MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATION

The concept of multi-cultural education is far from being clearly defined. Swann (1985) explained that, although many have tried to give it meaning, there are widely varying definitions of the concept of multi-cultural education and none have been universally accepted by the educational world. Swann's report found that there were various differences in interpretations as to what changes in teaching practices and policies were actually required for the teaching of multi-cultural education (Swann 1985). The NFER review of research on the issue stated,

'The very lack of a definition of multi-cultural education has permitted not only the widest theoretical interpretations and broadest policy objectives, but also a considerable mis-match between these and educational practices'(DES 1985, 198).

Despite the problems associated with the policies and practices of multi-cultural education, (MCE) many in the West Indian community saw (MCE) as important in an effort to tackle black pupil's disadvantage and thus to help break down the 'colour barrier'(14). They believed that the language issues of West Indians were not catered for and this was seen as a factor in black pupils' over-representation in ESN schools and remedial classes. Black parents were also concerned with the curriculum content of subjects such as history and geography and the need to avoid negative portrayals of black people

(14) For example, Coard (1971) argued that there was bitterness in the black community at the way the school system treats black children. At the time there were a number of black pupils in educationally sub-normal schools and in remedial and lower streams of comprehensive schools.

(Swann 1985, 200). The Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (SCORRI) illustrated the concern of West Indian parents, they stated:

'In educational terms a lot has been said of teaching in a multi-racial school .. but are multi-racial schools to continue to be English schools which let in black children? We believe such schools should reflect the contribution by and participation of all ethnic groups. Through the teaching of geography, history, drama, music literature, West Indians could be seen as contributing to the school curriculum' (SCORRI 1972-73, 1-11).

Black parents who gave evidence to the Select Committee argued that the English school curriculum presented negative images of black people such as the 'Black Sambo' character which they believed was racist and which helped to perpetuate stereotyping (SCORRI 1972-73). At this time there was a call for the inclusion of 'Black Studies' (15) in the curriculum, influenced by what was going on in the United States at the time. As has already been stated in this chapter, it was believed that black pupils' under-achievement was a result of low self-esteem and an inadequate knowledge of their history. The idea was that the addition of 'Black Studies ' in the curriculum would be valuable. It would give black pupils a sense of their history and a sense of worth. The belief was that the black child needed a role model and that the traditional school curriculum omitted all mention of black achievement to world and national history.

(15) Cross and Crispin (1977) 'Ethnic Minorities in the Inner City' describes the hostile reactions to 'black studies' by some white teachers and educationalists.

As part of the negative concept theory, there was a call for more teachers of West Indian descent. It was felt that such teachers would be better able to understand the needs of West Indian pupils and further reinforce a positive black image. However, by the 1970s the debate on under-achievement had moved on to the idea of supplementary and separate black schools. The supplementary schools were community based and where West Indian teachers gave additional help to black pupils . This was to help increase black pupils chances of educational success and thus helping to break the 'colour barrier' in British society. However, the definition of these schools was questioned by writers such as Mel Chevannes and Frank Reeves who argued that the term 'supplementary' is not adequate because 'it is not possible to supplement what does not exist in mainstream' education. Neither can it be termed 'alternative because due to the lack of funding such schools cannot fully provide all the education the black child needs'(1987, 147).

CRITICISMS OF MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATION

Mike Cole, in his essay 'Monocultural, Multi-cultural and Anti-racist Education', questions whether white teachers are morally equipped to enhance the self-concept of their black pupils and states that

'this is a dangerous assumption to make about the capacities of white, middle-class teachers to do good to young blacks; such an approach is patronizing and allows the teacher to avoid examining his/her own racism. It encourages an aura of cultural superiority'(Cole 1989, 144).

Some black people are also critical of the multi-cultural approach which has tended to limit multiculturalism to a number of 'safe sites' - steel bands, curries and religious festivals. As Bhavnani stated:

'Multi-culturalism and a tolerant approach are felt by many black people to be patronizing and offensive. They also feel that such approaches do not confront the basic power relationship which perpetuates racism; the attitude behind much of this work in schools is that if there are maps of Jamaica on the walls, or pictures of Bangladesh with photos of yams or mangoes and projects in progress on saris, all will be well. This type of work is often referred to as the steel band, saris and samosas approach. The racist education system, the racialism of school teachers and white students can safely be ignored within such an approach'(quoted in Cole 1989, 144).

Maureen Stone in her Study 'The Education of the Black Child; The Myth of Multicultural Education', challenges the notion that African-Caribbean pupils under-achieve because they have low self-esteem. On Milner's 'Doll Test', she suggested that if one thinks about how black people are depicted in children's literature and on television it is not surprising that children should respond to black dolls in the way Milner reports. Stone argues that it is usually white researchers that ask black children which dolls they prefer (Stone 1981, 53-56). Stone examined the research into black self-concept and self-esteem which had been undertaken during the 1970's and found it inconclusive and contradictory. She explained that while educational researchers were busy proving that blacks have a low-self image based on white stereotypes, blacks have a different concept of themselves. Black intellectuals express themselves in terms of 'Negritude', radical activists in those of 'Black power' and the poor and

dispossessed Jamaicans as 'Rastafarian' (Stone 1981, 86). These psychological theories ignore the fact that people derive means of sustaining their self-concept from many different sources and do not necessarily rely on negative and hostile views as their source of information.

Stone suggests that the aims of multi-racial education (MRE) are tied in with the cultural deprivation theory which aims to compensate working-class children for being culturally deprived (of middle-class culture) and black children for not being white. MRE, she argued, is patronizing and ethnocentric, which would probably have the effect of encouraging the attitudes it sought to change. She asked if the education system is not able to reflect working-class culture how can it reflect the culture of a small section of that class. Stone warned teachers that their main concern should be basically the teaching and instruction of children to provide skills essential for life in this society (Stone 1981). The implication is that multiracial education does not give black children life skills for this society. It might however be argued that the opposite is true. MRE might give black children the skills they need to understand and oppose racism while also giving them an alternative to the negative portrayal of black people by British society.

Ray Honeyford, a Bradford head-teacher in the mid-1980s, was an ardent critic of multi-cultural education, though his views are not merely about education but are about black people and their culture generally. In January 1984, he explained his views in the 'Salisbury Review', in a article entitled 'Education and Race an alternative view'. Firstly, he described a local community officer in Bradford as a 'half educated volatile Sikh'; he wrote that 'aggressive black intellectuals in the area of multi-racial education know little of the British tradition of understatement, civilized discourse and respect for reason'. He described the religious beliefs of the Asian community as a 'Purdah mentality'. In a later article in 'The Times Educational Supplement (13 April 1984), Honeyford described one parent 'as a figure out of Kipling bearing down on him, his English sounds like a Peter Seller's Indian doctor on an off-day'. Honeyford's racist views have been linked by some to those of Enoch Powell
The seriousness of Honeyford's view must be seen against the fact that he was headmaster of a school with 530 pupils of which 90 per cent were black mainly from Pakistan.

It is perhaps not surprising then to find (considering his views on black people) that of the 27 teachers in his school only two were black. Honeyford, despite the large numbers of black pupils in his school, resisted and criticized the call for multi-cultural education and described the children's country of origin as backward and unable to deal with democracy. Instead of multicultural education, Honeyford

pointed to what he saw as the plight of white children. His principal claim was that indigenous children's educational standards were being lowered because of the dominant presence of a black majority in schools.

Honeyford's views were those of many headteachers in Bradford at the time. Of the 167 headteachers in Bradford, 163 gave 'unqualified support' to Honeyford (Oliver-Foster Carter 1987, 48). Honeyford and the other headteachers who supported him were voicing the generally racist belief in Britain that black people and their cultures are inferior. This notion has its roots in slavery and colonization but is maintained and perpetuated by the race and class division in society. This brings into focus the level of discrimination in Britain and the difficulties black pupils face generally in British schools and why they under-achieve.

However, not everyone in Bradford supported the extreme views of Honeyford. Jenny Woodford, chairperson of the Drummond Parents Action Committee (DPAC), opposed Mr Honeyford in the following terms:

'Firstly, if the headteacher has genuine concerns about the educational welfare of all children in his care then why publish these concerns in a journal which has carried support for the repartition/ deportation of Black British citizens? Secondly, why did the teacher relate the education of children in a Bradford school to the political and socio-economic factors supposedly prevalent in Pakistani ? Thirdly, what connection has the serious problem of the heroin trade to do with middle school children .. likewise the issue of single parent families'.

The DPAC went on to say,

'The notion of multi-cultural education is to us an essential component of our children's education; it recognises in a positive way that Britain is now and has been for many years a multiracial nation .. West Indian, Asian and white parents at the school are grossly offended by what Mr Honeyford has said'('Bradford Telegraph and Argus', 26 November 1985).

SEPARATE SCHOOLS

The notion that role models are important for black pupils to achieve educational achievement led to a new call in the 1970's for independent black schools (16). The idea was that these schools would provide the climate for black pupils to achieve with black teachers as role models. So far, there is only one independent African-Caribbean school in Britain. The John Loughborough Seventh Day Adventist School, opened in North London in 1979 with 50 juniors and 300 secondary pupils. Since it opened it has been a show piece of educational achievement for black children, demonstrating what can be done given the right environment.

'Rewards and incentives, structure and discipline, religious and moral education, regular tests and homework from the earliest age are all part of the mixture that has made John Loughborough a beacon of black achievement'('The Observer' 21/2/88).

(16) The Swann Committee (1985) said they appreciated the reasons put forward for separate schools but believed that such schools were not desirable either for the ethnic community or for the society as a whole (Chapter 6).

The school is maintained by the Seventh Day Adventist Church which contributes £170,000 a year towards its running cost. What the church has done with John Loughborough School is to put its fundamentalist Christian faith into the specific educational needs of its primarily black congregation. Keith Davidson, head-teacher, explained,

'Education with God at the centre helps a person to cope rather than be crushed down by these problems..'

Adventist teachings permeate the whole curriculum and provide what he calls a 'disciplined and clear environment' for learning, for - 'pupils like clarity; they flourish better in a structured environment'(Observer 21/2/88).

The John Loughborough school, like the Black voluntary schools, was the product of growing disenchantment with state schooling and the under-achievement of black children. The school has been the pride of the black community for its educational achievement. Although it was not set up as a black school, only four of its forty-five staff are not black. There has also been a handful of white students. In this the make-up of the school's population reflects the nature of the Seventh Day Adventist congregation in that part of London rather than a black school. However, the head-teacher stresses the importance of 'positive role models' that black teachers provide for black pupils, Jasmin Chambers, the head of the junior school, added that

'black teachers give the children someone they can identify with and aspire to. A black child is able to come to the school and not feel different or apart or awkward'(The Observer' 1988).

Not all children attending the school are Adventist. There are a few Muslims there and Davidson stresses that the school does not want to make pupils become Adventists: 'All we ask is that they have a positive approach to the Adventist faith'. One parent told 'The Observer', 'I don't really care about religion. I am an atheist. What I care about is giving my children a good education'. Another parent, with two children at the school since it opened and whose son is now training as a teacher, put it simply: 'We had seen what was happening to such a lot of black children and didn't want to see another generation wasted'(The Observer 1988).

Despite the achievements of the John Loughborough School, it has been criticised by writers like Reeves and Chevannes who alleged that the school is not in the spirit of the black voluntary Schools movement. These schools are open to any black child who chooses to attend, irrespective of educational attainment or ability to pay. The John Loughborough school, they argued, does not uplift the black community as a whole but 'only a handful of privileged black pupils at the expense of the rest of the black community'(1987, 149). While there is some validity to the criticism of Reeves and Chevannes, the point is that John Loughborough school has proved that, given the right environment and black role models, black pupils can and do achieve, enabling them to move up and out into better jobs such as journalism.

Some West Indian parents' solutions to their children's educational under-achievement is to send them back to the West Indies for their education. In general those who have opted for this solution have had the results they wanted as the children have achieved educationally (17). The children attend private schools in the West Indies which are usually based on strict education and good behaviour. Teachers have high expectations of them and there is also role models in the form of black teachers. However, only a few black parents can afford to send their children to the West Indies for their education just as very few can afford to send their children to schools such as John Loughborough which charges £600 a term. What is clear is that African-Caribbean parents, like other parents, place great emphasis on education as the way of moving up and out of low-paid, low-status jobs to white-collar jobs such as journalism.

BLACK PUPIL-WHITE TEACHER RELATIONSHIPS AND UNDER-ACHIEVEMENT

Bernard Coard's report in 1971 on the disproportionate numbers of African-Caribbeans in ESN schools was the first to question white teachers' contribution to black pupils' under-achievement. Driver's 1977 ethnographic study of a multi-

(17) Children sent back to the Caribbean for their education would generally attend fee paying schools which are similar to British ones where discipline and educational achievement are the main priorities.

ethnic secondary school examined the factors which influenced the perspectives of a group of West Indian pupils and their teachers. Although the study was inconclusive, Driver found that white teachers had problems trying to interpret the behaviour of their West Indian pupils. He argued that the teachers did not have the 'cultural competence'(Driver 1977) to identify correctly the meanings which pupils conveyed in their actions and that this confusion led teachers to see West Indians as difficult pupils. Such perceptions led to West Indian pupils being placed in non-academic streams, a decision based upon behaviour rather than academic characteristics. Driver explained,

'Faced with the limitations of their own cultural competence teachers often felt that the only way forward was a power based insistence that those pupils act according to the standards which they (the teachers) stipulate for them. This tended to intensify an already conflictual situation and so to heighten the ethnic awareness of those involved'(Driver 1977, 356).

Driver's view that white teachers were unable to identify West Indian pupils' behaviour was subsequently supported by the work of Wright (1985) and Middleton (1983). Middleton's study at Valley View High, a northern comprehensive, found that teachers saw African-Caribbean pupils as a source of trouble who could be best contained in the non-academic classes of the school. Although Middleton's work supported Driver and Wright's view that white teachers placed black pupils incorrectly in low academic bands as a way of control, he did not question the view that African-Caribbean pupils have greater behavioral problems. In fact Middleton seemed to agree

with this view when he stated, 'It is not denied in this study that the black boy is clearly more demanding, or badly behaved than his white counterpart'(Middleton 1983, 117). In contrast, Driver questioned the cultural competence and confusion of teachers. Wright believed that cultural incompetence and confusion by white teachers cannot be the only reason why teachers allocate black children to lower bands. She explained,

'It is difficult to accept "confusion" as sufficient cause for misallocation in banding and setting. How, for example, is it possible to confuse an internal report which gives an attainment score of 6 .. indicating that all subjects were graded A or B and still allocate the child to the bottom of the three band?'(Wright 1985, 22).

In answer to her own question, Wright reported a comment made by a teacher in a report regarding a West Indian pupil; it stated 'no trouble as yet this year, can be a little loud'(Wright 1985, 22). Wright argued that the interactions between African-Caribbean pupils and their white teachers 'very frequently took the form of enforcing discipline rather than encouragement or praise'(Wright 1985, 12).

Gillborn, in his study of a multi-ethnic comprehensive school, supported the studies of Driver (1977) and Wright (1985). He too found that there was a conflictual situation between white teachers and black pupils. Gillborn explained that as a group African-Caribbean pupils experienced more conflictual relationships with teachers; they were disproportionately subjected to the school reporting and detention system; they were denied any legitimate voice of complaint (Gillborn 1990, 44). However, Gillborn found that the educational experiences

of Asian children were different from those of West Indian pupils. He explained,

'In terms of their academic careers the Asian males .. resemble the careers of their .. white peers'(GIllborn 1990, 100).

If, as these reports suggest, the white teacher African-Caribbean pupil relationship is one of confrontation, it might be suggested that such a relationship is a contributary factor to African-Caribbean pupils' educational under-achievement. The more positive white teacher relationship with Asian pupils is possibly one explanation why Asian pupils do better educationally than African-Caribbeans. It must be remembered however, that not all African-Caribbean pupils under-achieve and not all Asians achieve, nor do all African-Caribbean pupils experience negative stereotyping. However many do and Gillborn found in his study that although the teachers were generally 'liberal in their intent, their actions were frequently racist in their consequence'(Gillborn 1990, 202).

RACE AND EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH 1980-1992

The most comprehensive report on race and education was published during this period - 'Education For All'. It was the final report of the Committee of Inquiry into the education of children from ethnic minority groups. The report considered the various debates regarding African-Caribbean educational under-achievement since the 1960s. Established in 1979, the

Committee produced an interim report titled 'West Indian Children in our Schools' in 1981, or the Rampton report.

Examining the various debates regarding West Indian under-achievement in British schools, the report concluded that

'West Indian children as a group are failing in our education system .. and that urgent action is needed to remedy this.' (Rampton 1981, 70).

The report explained that there were a variety of reasons which contributed to this under-achievement. However, one explanation offered by West Indian parents to the Committee was that racism was to be blamed for their children's underachievement. The report concluded that while 'some teachers may hold explicitly racist views, they are very much in the minority'(70).

The Committee did find evidence of unintentional racism

'in the behaviour and attitudes of other teachers that may take the form of stereotyped or patronizing attitudes towards West Indian children which, when combined with negative views of their academic ability and potential, may prove a self-fulfilling prophecy. Whilst we cannot accept that racism, intentional or unintentional, alone accounts for the underachievement of West Indian children .. we believe that taken together with .. negative teacher attitudes and an inappropriate curriculum, racism does play a major part in their underachievement'(Rampton 1981, 70).

However, the report goes on to put some blame for West Indian pupils' under-achievement on the social and cultural inadequacy of the West Indian family, echoing the earlier reports of Coleman (1969) and Yancey and Rainwater (1967). It concluded that West Indian parents need to develop their children's linguistic and conceptual skills which will prepare them for education. The implication is that the West Indian dialect, culture and parental encouragement is lacking.

In its examination of the debate regarding disproportionate numbers of West Indian pupils being wrongly placed in ESN schools, Rampton did not find evidence to support this theory. However, the report warned that care should be taken in order to avoid cultural bias in the tests used for the assessment of West Indian children for ESN and special needs schools (Rampton 1981). The report recommended that in order to correct the situation, enabling West Indian pupils to fulfil their true potential in British schools, central government should give a 'positive lead in bringing about change'. It also recommended that ethnic minority groups be directly involved in government research and policies which affect them. The report called for the DES, LEAs and the then Schools Council to take an interest into promoting multi-cultural education and for examination boards to reflect a multi-cultural approach in their syllabuses. Other recommendations were that initial teacher training should inform and sensitize teachers to the 'particular needs and background of ethnic minority groups'. All teacher training should therefore introduce the nature of West Indian Creole and Section 11 of the Local Government Act should provide funding for nurseries for West Indian mothers who work full time (Rampton 1981, 71).

'EDUCATION FOR ALL', SWANN 1985

Like Rampton, Swann considered the major debates regarding educational under-achievement of black pupils since the 1960s.

The report acknowledged and stressed the racial and cultural diversity of British society and pointed out that individual ethnic identity is an important aspect of society (18). In rejecting 'assimilation' and 'separatism', the report advanced the idea of a pluralist society in which cultural diversity is seen as a source of unity not a 'problem'. The report admitted that this view is not shared by everyone and warned of the possible fragmentation of society on ethnic grounds (Swann 1985). The report recognised two aspects of racism in society - individual prejudice and institutional racism. Individual prejudice was defined as preconceived irrational evaluation of a person or group based on assumed rather than actual characteristics of the person or group. Swann explained that prejudice is derived from ignorance and racial stereotypes which have their origin in colonial society. Institutional racism was described as a range of 'long established systems, practices and procedures', which have the effect if not the intention of depriving ethnic minority groups of equal opportunity and access to society's resources.

The report concentrated on examination results as a measure of achievement. The Committee pointed out that due to the absence of ethnically based national statistics, they had to rely on a variety of research evidence in particular the DES School

(18) See Swann (1985) where the Committee presented an historical overview of the evolution of multi-cultural education. Its underlying principle is 'Education for all' which involves providing all pupils with the knowledge to function in contemporary society.

Leavers' Surveys of 1978/79 and 81/82 and Crafts and Crafts Study of 1983. From the evidence of these reports the Committee concluded that

'West Indian children on average are under-achieving at school. Asian children by contrast show on average a pattern of achievement which resembles that of white children'(1985, 89).

For example, the DES Survey of 1981/82 of five multi-racial LEAs showed that only 6 per cent of West Indians gained 5 or more higher grade passes at CSE and 'O'-level exams compared to 17 per cent of Asians and 19 per cent of all others. The national average for England as a whole was 23 per cent. However, the Committee reported that not all Asian children were achieving, as children of Bangladeshi origin were seriously under-achieving (Swann 1985, 89).

It must be borne in mind however that the statistical evidence on which the report relied was 'incomplete', as the Committee itself stated. Also, that many of these studies did not control for gender and social class variables and that sample sizes tended to be small (CRE 1985, 4). While the Committee accepted that racial discrimination, both personal and institutional, exist in society, Swann, like Rampton (1981), did not fully understand 'the extent of prejudice among teachers and pupils'(CRE 1985, 2). In fact, the Committee - again, like Rampton - found that many West Indian parents who gave evidence believed that racism was the major reason for their children under-achievement. However, it disagreed with the view that most teachers were racist, although the Committee acknowledged that some were. It also admitted that

low teacher expectations of African-Caribbean pupils could lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy and could be seen as a form of 'unintentional racism', which has an 'important bearing' on the performance of West Indian children at school (Swann 1985, Chapter 2). The report also dismissed the notion that black pupils' under-achievement was based on low average IQ (19).

Professor Parekh warned against what he called the 'fallacy of the single factor' approach to under-achievement (Parekh 1985, 69). The Swann Report put forward a number of traditionally held views regarding the causes of black pupil under-achievement such as socio-economic status, family structure, teacher expectations and racism. However, as regards the influence of negative teacher expectation and racism in schools, the report was only able to conclude that the issues involved were 'complex' and that more research was needed (Swann, 90).

The Committee saw the issue of separate schools as being primarily motivated by religious concern for voluntary aided schools within the maintained sector. Swann acknowledged that such schools already existed in the cases of Roman Catholic, Church of England and Jewish schools. However, the Committee warned that schools which were established on a racial basis may be complicated by the 1976 Race Relations Act.

(19) See Swann (1985) for the debate on reasons put forward for differences in IQ scores.

The Committee identified a number of criticisms of mainstream schools as the principal reason for the demand of separate schools from the Asian communities. For example, Christian dominated school curricula and ethos, lack of mother tongue teaching and the lack of opportunities for minority group teachers, racial harassment, lack of single-sex provision and a general disregard for their culture.

Although the Committee appreciated the evidence put forward by the black community for separate schools, they concluded that they could not support the notion. They believed that separate schools were not desirable either for the ethnic communities or for society as a whole. The Committee believed that separate schools would be in conflict with the pluralist principles of 'Education For All' and would not provide all pupils with a common educational experience. Separate schools would, it was thought, absolve mainstream schools from the need to adapt to a multi-cultural society and would lead to community polarisation and isolation along racial lines. The Committee did recommend that serious consideration should be given to single-sex schools provision where this is of particular concern to minority group parents locally.

The Committee's response to African-Caribbean demands for black schools was similar to that of their view of separate Asian schools. Although African-Caribbean schools are not primarily motivated by religious principles, they are called for because African-Caribbean parents believe that mainstream

white schools are failing their children, as this report and others have demonstrated. The Committee however did not believe that such schools would be a viable alternative (Swann 1985).

While the concern of the Committee regarding the fragmentation of society on ethnic grounds is understandable, it might be argued that under the law religious schools are permitted, as the Committee itself pointed out in the case of Roman Catholic, Church of England and Jewish schools. If these schools are not infringing on the 1976 Race Relations Act why should black religious schools? It should be noted that there are many white Muslims and Seventh Day Adventists who would not be turned away from such schools, so it is not race or skin colour which are the objective in such cases but religious belief.

It might be suggested that these schools would benefit in several ways. Firstly, it would help to maintain ethnic minority culture and religion. Secondly, it would provide an environment free from racial discrimination where black children can achieve educationally.

The Committee recommended that all teachers should be prepared in their initial training and in-service training to understand the nature of a multi-cultural Britain and to prepare pupils for life in a pluralist society. In the past teachers' response to multiracial society was said by the

Committee to be 'confused' and lacked aims and overall direction. The Committee identified three types of initial teacher training response to multi cultural education - 'permeation', 'core studies' and 'optional courses'. The Committee regarded these three approaches as having equally important and complimentary roles to play but noted with regret that all too often the only response of training institutions had been in terms of optional courses which were seen as inadequate. The report also criticized in-service teacher education in a multi-racial society as at best fragmentary and at worse non-existent in many areas.

The under-representation of black people in the teaching profession has been a controversial issue since the 1960s.
The Committee believed that black people are subjected to discrimination both in gaining initial employment and in subsequent promotion but said that the evidence was difficult to find. In the absence of any clear statistics, the Committee called upon the DES to record and publish statistics on the ethnic origin of teachers and those in teacher training institutions. In terms of recruiting more ethnic minority teachers, the Committee was opposed to any system of quotas as this was against the Race Relation Act, but suggested that the ethnic, religious and linguistic background of a teacher might be a relevant consideration in making appointments.

The Committee was also aware that there were already a considerable number of ethnic minority teachers, but because

their qualifications and experience were obtained overseas, many had not been granted qualified teacher status by the DES. The Committee recognised the role of access courses to higher education as a method for recruiting more black teachers and wished to see this extended. The report agreed with the general argument that more black teachers were needed, it stressed the 'pastoral, 'role model' and 'cultural resource' value of the presence of black teachers in multi-racial and all white schools. The Committee welcomed the development of equal opportunities policies by some LEAs but urged all LEAs to adopt similar policies (Swann 1985).

While the Committee's statement in calling for the employment of more ethnic minority teachers was to be welcomed, care should be taken that black teachers were not simply employed in 'pastoral roles and cultural expertise as these can be seen as demeaning and tokenistic and may result in the marginalization of black teachers within the profession'(CRE 1985). Ethnic minority teachers, the CRE argued, should be employed and accorded equal treatment because of their worth as qualified teachers. Another point not considered by the Committee was equal opportunities in further and higher education, which is equally needed as in schools (CRE 1985).

Although Swann supported cultural diversity and multicultural education, the later 1988 Education Reform Act has been criticized for not making sufficient commitment to Britain's

cultural diversity (20). Gillborn argued that the Act might increase the inequalities of opportunities suffered by black pupils (Gillborn 1991) thus maintaining the 'colour barrier' in jobs such as journalism, teaching and law because of black pupils' educational under-achievement. Although the DES has stated that schools and teachers are free to decide how to deliver the National Curriculum, in practice the programmes of study and Statuary Attainment Targets exercise a great deal of control over the content of the core and foundation subjects. Successive Secretaries of State have made it clear that English language, history and culture should take priority. The national system of testing demanded by the Act means that, as a matter of survival emphasis will be given to these subjects and there might be little opportunity given to evaluate critical aspects of English history or non-European culture (Gillborn 1990, 206). Although there will be more emphasis on the study of modern languages, the National Curriculum so far has not improved the status of non-European languages. The idea of testing brought in by the National Curriculum has generated bitter controversy over the question of bias against certain ethnic groups and it seems likely that this will continue in the future.

(20) See Haviland (1988) 'Take Care Mr Baker' and Lawton and Chitty 'The National Curriculum' for criticisms of the 1988 National Curriculum.

Past experience concerning social class differentiation during selection at 11-plus (Halsey, Heath and Ridge 1980) suggests that the tests may be the first step towards institutional racism on a massive scale. Differences between pupils as young as seven might lead to labelling which will disproportionately affect certain ethnic minority groups (Kimberley 1989).

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN EDUCATIONAL UNDERACHIEVEMENT

During the 1980's other researches were carried out into race and education. While earlier studies gave considerable emphasis to social background, language and culture as reasons for black pupils' underachievement and thus ran the risk of blaming the victim, research from the mid-1980s to early 1990s focused instead on the potential role of the school in education. Most of the studies during this time adopted a cross-selection dimension. Information was collected on pupils' performance at age 16-plus and what might be associated with the differences in performance of black and white groups. Such research collected data on social background, gender, neighbourhood and social context. Some studies looked at evidence regarding the potential effects of attending different schools while others looked at pupil performance at 11- and 16-plus.

Progress is then measured relative to the pupils' starting point. A major part of such 'value-added' studies has been to explore the extent to which such progress has been associated with ethnic background and related factors and whether the position of particular sub-groups has collectively improved or declined relative to the norm (for example Drew and Gray 1991, 160).

Multi-level studies attempted to answer two questions simultaneously: first, to establish to what extent overall progress of particular groups is associated with ethnically related factors; second, to explore the extent to which such progress is apparently influenced by the school attended.
Rutter and Maughan in their 1979 study '15,000 Hours' looked at secondary schools and their effect on children. They investigated 12 Inner-London schools and found that these schools differed markedly in the 'behaviour and attainments shown by their pupils'(p.175). The report concluded that children 'were more likely to show good behaviour and good scholastic attainment if they attended some schools than if they attended others'(178). Rutter found that the differences in outcome between schools did not depend upon

'such physical factors as size, age of buildings or space.. nor were they due to broad differences in administrative status or organisation'.

However, what were associated with outcome differences are

'academic emphasis, teacher action in lessons, the availability of incentives and rewards, good condition for pupils and the extent to which children were able to take responsibility'(178).

The report stated that there were other factors which influenced pupil's achievement that were out of the control of the teachers, for example, 'the academic balance of intake to the school', so that, examination success

'tended to be better in schools with a substantial nucleus of children of at least average intellectual'(979, 178).

All the major studies carried out in the 1980s and early 1990s (Rampton 1981, Swann 1985, Maughan and Rutter 1986, Mabey 1986, Eggleston 1986, Kysel 1988, Drew and Gray 1990) have shown that pupils of African-Caribbean descent perform less well in terms of exam achievement. It has often been argued that the differences in ethnic minority attainment are linked to differences in social class, but Craft and Craft concluded that the examination performance of African-Caribbean pupils 'lagged behind that of all other groups even when controlled for social class'(1983, 14). Gray and Drew carried out an analysis of variance and found that 'social class does not appear to provide very much purchase on the question of why ethnic differences in attainment occurs'(Gray and Drew 1991). Maughan and Rutter attempted to explore whether ethnic background was associated with pupils' progress over a two and a five-year period. In one analysis predicting exam results at 16-plus, they controlled for gender and ethnic origin, in another they used verbal reasoning scores (based on a seven-point scale) at 11-plus. In both cases they found that ethnic differences were not statistically significant. Commenting on their findings, Maughan and Rutter reported that they found no evidence of any relative deterioration or improvement in the

performance of West Indian pupils over this period. Their results at 16-plus, although poorer in absolute terms than those of whites, were essentially as might have been expected on the basis of their earlier attainment. Ethnic background, the report found, did not appear to affect progress; whatever the differences between the ethnic groups that emerged by the age of eleven, they were not much altered over the following five years. Other studies (Mabey 1986 and Kysel 1988) reported that ethnic minority pupils were making the same or greater progress relatively speaking as other groups. However, the plausible explanation for the greater 'progress' of African-Caribbean pupils which both Mabey and Kysel found was

'that teachers' assessments at the age of 11 were relatively inaccurate, especially when contrasted with the procedures of Public examinations at 16 plus'(Drew and Gray 1991, 167).

There have been two studies on the effectiveness of school during the past decade which dealt specifically with black pupils. The first of these was by Smith and Tomlinson (1989). It reported that Asian and West Indians pupils made significantly better progress than white pupils, when allowance was made for both social class and their attainment in reading at the end of the second year of secondary schooling. At the same time, it was found that the differences in schools average effectiveness were quite large. A pupil attending a school which fell into the top quarter of effectiveness obtained, on average, about two more 'high grade 'O'-level passes (or their equivalent) than a pupil who attended a school which just fell into the bottom quarter of

effectiveness. Black pupils also made greater progress in some schools than others, although the extent of these differences was not made clear (Smith and Tomlinson 1989).

Nuttall and Goldstein's (1989) analysis of pupil data on over 30,000 pupils in some 140 ILEA secondary schools concluded that in general the results of pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds were as good, if not better, than those of white young people. However there was an exception, African-Caribbeans made slightly less but not significantly worse progress. African-Caribbean attainment could differ depending upon the school by as much as one high grade 'O'-level when the full range of school differences were considered (Nuttall and Goldstein 1989). Drew and Grey pointed out that neither of the studies relating to school effectiveness provided convincing evidence about the schools' contribution to the existence of the black-white gap in achievement (Drew and Gray 1991, 171).

ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION

There are those who argue that the only way to bridge the examination gap between black and white pupils is to bring in anti-racist education. The notion of anti-racist education emerged as an extension of multi-cultural education in the 1980s and, like multi-cultural education, it was not generally accepted. The media attacked the notion of anti-racist

education as 'witchcraft' and as an 'assault on education value'(quoted from NUT 1989, 1). The National Union of Teachers defined anti-racist education as a set of attitudes and behaviour designed to ensure racial equality and fair treatment for all ethnic groups. Anti-racist education it saw as 'simply education for equality'(NUT 1989, 1). Mullard defined multi-cultural education as focusing narrowly and intently on issues relating to culture while anti-racist education is 'periscopic .. it seeks a deliberate connection between institutional discrimination and inequalities'(quoted in Cole 1989, 148). Anti-racist educationists intended to examine the manner in which racism rationalised and helped to perpetuate injustice and the differential power accorded to groups in society (21).

Troyna explained that anti-racist education is easily

'distinguishable from the multi-cultural education model which continues to draw its rationale, inspiration and support from white, middle-class, professional understandings of how the education system might best respond to the "needs" and interests of black students and their parents'(Troyna 1987, 7).

Anti-racist education examines the very structure of society from which institutional inequalities arise. It therefore came under fierce criticism not simply from the media but from educational theorists of the Right (eg. Flew 1984, Marks 1986)

(21) For example, Grinter (1985) argued that multi-culturalists seek reforms within existing structures thereby confirming the legitimacy of those structures whereas anti-racists seek to transform them. Troyna and Williams (1986) argue that this is a distorted and oversimplified picture because there is a continuity and commonality with earlier multi-cultural imperatives.

who disagreed with the notion. Flew accused the proponents of anti-racist education of wishing to censor textbooks and curricula (1984, 12-13). Flew and Marks insisted that there should be a distinction between 'race' and 'culture' and accused proponents of anti-racism of using the former when they meant the latter. They disagreed that there is evidence of 'biological racism' and that 'cultural racism' is a contradiction in terms. If there are unequal treatments of different cultures, this may well be justified on the grounds that there is a hierarchy of cultures in terms of their suitability for coping with life in Britain (Oldman 1987, 37).

Anti-racist education is a radical concept which needs careful formulation of policies by the school if such a policy is to be successful (NUT 1989). The National Union of Teachers recommended that at the onset it is important to involve as many people as possible in forming Anti-racist policies. Those involved should include ethnic minority groups, parents, pupils, pastoral staff and representatives of senior management. The NUT argued that the first task facing a school trying to implement anti-racist education was to inform themselves about racism, its history and background and the theory and practice of education for a multi-cultural society. (NUT 1989). The implementation of such a policy was fraught with problems. There is the strong possibility that a number of staff, parents and pupils might not be in favour of anti-

racist polices however well they are explained (22). Indeed, are white teachers able to carry out such policies when they are a part of a society which has perpetuated inequality? Anti-racist policies might also become, as the Swann inquiry stated, 'a substitute for action' (quoted in NUT 1989, 5).

The problems which anti-racist education can create are well documented as a result of the murder of Ahmed Ullah, a Pakistani pupil at Burnage School in Manchester by a white pupil, Darren Coulburn in 1987. An inquiry into the school's policy and the circumstances which led to the murder was carried out and an independent report, 'Murder in the Playground' chaired by Ian Mcdonald was published in 1989. The report made it clear that it did not see the murder as 'racialist' but 'racist'. It went on to explain the difference: 'Racialist', it said, refers to 'prejudice, beliefs and behaviour based on race, culture or ethnicity'.

The murder may be 'racialist' if it is done for a racialist motive or out of racial prejudice, for example because the victim is black. The report then went on to define what it means by racist. It states that

'the term "racist" has a wider meaning. The murder could properly be described as "racist" if it had been based on a doctrine of racism or reflected the racist structure of society and need not be conscious behaviour'(McDonald 1989, 377).

(22) For example Jeffcoate (1979) dislikes anti-racist education.He believes that children should be able to express their racism in classroom discussion and that teachers should avoid adopting a censorious attitude.

It might be suggested that the report's view on the motive of the murder was contradictory because 'racialism' as the report defines it refers to prejudice based on race, culture and ethnicity and is closely connected with the doctrine of the racist structure of society and so can be conscious or unconscious. It is difficult for anyone to say whether the boy's motive was 'racialist' or 'racist'. What is important is as the report itself admits, 'If Ahmed Ullah had been white .. the fatal combat would not have taken place'(378).

The report found that racism and violence was a common occurrence not only at Burnage school but around the school's locality. It stated ,

'We received evidence, entirely anecdotal, of daily acts of racial violence and abuse heaped on Asian and African-Caribbean populations in the areas of Burnage and Longsight' (383).

Racism and violence, the report found, were part of the school's life for although racism did not 'dominate all social relations or is widespread amongst the whole staff', the report stated that some teachers at the school 'behaved in a blatantly racist manner' towards Asian and African-Caribbean pupils. The report saw such teachers as being guilty of 'racial bigotry'(383). Although the inquiry acknowledged the 'progressive change' which the headmaster had made since his appointment to the school, it nevertheless criticized Dr Gough for his top-to-bottom management of the school's multi-cultural and anti-racist education policies. The report stated that the way these policies were introduced caused 'distrust among staff and led to hardening of existing staff polarisation'. The headmaster instead of involving everyone

including white parents and pupils in the formulation and implementation of multi-cultural and anti-racist education, created separate groupings of extra staff using Section 11 money to deal with his anti-racist policies (385).

The inquiry condemned's senior management at Burnage for 'ignoring the 'white community' by not including into multi-culturalism 'the culture of the whole working class'. It concluded 'ignoring the white reaction is as racist as ignoring the black'(379). The report found that the school's multi-cultural and anti-racist education failed not only white parents and pupils but black teachers too, because it did not take into account the 'perceptions and experiences of black teachers' (388). The report attacked what it called 'moral anti-racism' and saw it as 'unmitigated disaster'. Moral antiracism, the report stated, has no room for 'class, sex, age, or size'. What happens, the report explained, is that 'many well meaning whites are paralysed when the issue of race arises' while others are taught to bury their racism without changing their attitude. The report stated that 'moral anti-racist policy' gives the opportunity for 'the aspiring black middle class .. to play the skin game' with the involvement of a few liberal anti-racist whites. Anti-racism at Burnage, the report stated, 'added fuel to the fire of racism'(402). Despite the report's criticism of the school's handling of certain issues, the Committee firmly supported the need to sensitively explore and develop anti-racist approaches (Macdonald et al 1989 pp.349-364).

SUMMARY

Early studies of black pupils' under-achievement tended to blame the victim. It was the black pupils' language, culture, family life, low IQ and general socio-economic situation which researchers concentrated on as being responsible for black educational under-achievement. During the 1960s and '70s few educational researchers looked at discrimination, direct and indirect, as contributory causes of black under-achievement despite the fact that several reports on race relations (Daniels 1975, Rose et al 1969, D, Smith. 1977) all concluded that there was widespread discrimination in Britain. Although some of the later reports moved towards looking at the effect of schools on pupils which included direct and indirect discrimination, many continued to look at exclusively socio-economic reasons for black pupil's under-achievement instead of looking at the effects of discrimination. The 1981 Rampton and 1985 Swann reports are the most comprehensive and up-to-date of the many examinations of the education of ethnic minority children. Both found that discrimination exists in British schools and that discrimination might be a contributory factor to black under-achievement. The reports acknowledged that there was a need for multi-cultural education as well as more black teachers.

However, multi-cultural education has not been generally successful in helping black pupils to achieve or in reducing discrimination. Firstly, multi-cultural education has not been widely accepted and, secondly, in schools where multi-cultural education policies are implemented they tended to concentrate on cultural tolerance rather than making the curriculum multi-racial. With the general failure of multi-cultural education, the notion of anti-racist education emerged. It was a radical approach which had even less success than multicultural education. Anti-racist education has been accused by some (eg. McDonald 1989) as helping to polarise children and staff rather than bringing them together. Anti-racist education will be difficult to implement and sustain because it challenges the race and class divisions in society and for this reason it will not be tolerated.

CHAPTER 4

JOURNALISTS' EDUCATION AND TRAINING

INTRODUCTION

Journalism, like many other white-collar occupations, demands high educational qualifications (1). However, educational researches since the 1960s have shown that pupils of African-Caribbean descent educationally under-achieve. The question which this raises is, do the qualifications demanded of journalism students by colleges and newspapers discriminate against black people? In an attempt to answer this question this chapter will look at journalists' education, training and professionalisation and their likely effect on the recruitment of black people in journalism training.

The claim by race relations campaigners (CRE, NUJ Black Members' Council, the BBC Black Journalists' Group and the Black Journalists' Association) that too few black people are being taken on in white mainstream journalism courses must be examined. The 1980s have seen journalism quickly becoming a graduate entry occupation like teaching and law. Gone are the days when a teaboy could work his way up to the editor. The National Council

(1) See NUJ requirements for entry to newspaper journalism also The Newspaper Society and The National Council for the Training of Journalists.

for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ) estimated in 1991 that over 55 per cent of those people applying for journalism courses had degrees and predicted that the trend would intensify . The Newspaper Society encourages and welcomes those entering junior reporters' training schemes with degrees:

'It has always been the industry's practice to recruit graduates from any discipline and train them to become proficient journalists'(1985, 1).

JOURNALISTS' TRAINING AND PROFESSIONALISATION

The professionalisation of journalism training which calls for higher educational qualifications could be seen as discriminatory to black people who are less likely to achieve such qualifications. However, the 1949 and 1977 Royal Commissions on the Press both recommended that if journalism was to become a profession and gain the respect of the public, it had to take on recruits with high qualifications. At the time of both inquiries those entering journalism needed to be proficient only in the three 'R's, although many had higher qualifications such as 'O'- and 'A'-levels. Irrespective of whether the higher qualifications asked for by the Royal Commission disadvantage black people, do they make journalism a profession?

Ernest Greenwood defines an occupation as a profession if it possesses five major attributes: a systematic body of theory, professional authority, community sanctions, ethical codes and a professional culture (quoted in Boyd-Barrett 1970, 181). It is difficult to apply this framework to journalism where Oliver Boyd-Barrett argues that these five attributes are either non-existent or exist only to a very limited degree. The main reason, he argues, is that there are no universal binding codes which all recruits have to adhere to in order to practise (Boyd-Barrett 1970, 181). The problem in trying to professionalise journalism is that the occupation does not have a specific line of activity like 'medical doctor or plumber'. Journalism, instead ,is an 'indeterminate' occupation, like 'sales representative', which covers a very wide range of activities and lacks prescribed arrangements for entry or training (Tunstall 1971, 10).

In his research on specialist correspondents and their news organisations, Jeremy Tunstall observed that half the staff on a national daily newspaper were not gathering news but processing it or working as executives or deskmen. Although most journalists may have an interest in journalism overall, most specialized in one area or another. Journalists, Tunstall argues, are rated according to what area they work in. Those working in national newspapers, television and radio, which are aimed at general audiences, are more highly regarded. Those journalists who specialize in particular audiences are seen as lower quality or less prestigious. For example, house

journals are seen as 'highly uncritical' and so are scarcely regarded as being 'journalism at all'(1971, 11), while consumer magazines are seen as an extension of advertising.

The segmented nature of journalism as an occupation could be seen as advantageous to black people trying to get into journalism training and jobs because there are fewer restrictions on entry compared to law or medicine. In the area of journalists' training and education which will be discussed later, there are no national requirements for entry to the occupation for new recruits. For although there are some restrictions exercise by the NCTJ in its educational requirements for new recruits, many journalists have no formal training and learn their craft on the job. For example, most journalists working in the Black Press are not formally trained (2). However, while unrestricted entry might in theory help more black people into journalism training, it might be argued that such open policies will not help the occupation to become a profession.

Oliver Boyd-Barrett argued that there are several reasons why journalism as an occupation is not a profession in the general sense. Firstly, journalists do not maintain professional client relationships in which the client is subordinate to the professional monopoly of functionally specific knowledge and

(2) For example, black people without journalism training find that they are at a disadvantage when seeking journalism jobs and this might be a contributing factor to the under-representation of black journalists in the white media.

protected by professional norms of restraint. Instead, the journalist's work is tailored to public demand and is closely associated with commercial considerations. Secondly, Boyd-Barrett argued that journalism as an occupation has no power by law to license members or to give a professional title neither is there any universal code of ethics. Thirdly, there is little evidence of a formal professional culture characterised by 'institutional settings and professional meetings which stress rationality'(Boyd-Barrett 1970, 182).

The sociologist Max Weber (1948) referred to the journalist as belonging to 'a sort of pariah caste' and, like the artist lacking a fixed social classification'(quoted in McQuail 1987, 149). It has been argued that despite the increase in professional education for journalists, the occupation has still not attained full professional status because the 'essential media skill is hard to pin down'(1987, 149). However, journalism as an occupation has tried over the years to acquire professional status.

Carr-Saunders and Wilson, in their analysis of journalism as a profession, relate that bodies such as the National Association of Journalists, founded in 1884 and which led to the Institute of Journalists, tried to acquire professional status. They argue that these organisations failed in this endeavour because editors were allowed to become members and therefore little emphasis was placed on pay and conditions. This led to a breakaway by working journalists in 1907 and the

forming of the National Union of Journalists (3). Carr-Saunders and Wilson explain the dilemma facing journalists' associations with regard to professionalisation:

'It seems that somehow or other the regard for the honour of the profession has never found effective means of expression through associations. Perhaps the impossibility of controlling the main lines of development make journalists feel so much at the mercy of powers beyond their reach that they have never taken up problems where their influence might be of some effect'(Carr-Saunders and Wilson 1933, 265-270).

ROYAL COMMISSIONS AND THE PROBLEMS OF PROFESSIONALISATION

Although journalism as an occupation is not considered a profession in the general sense of the word, the Royal Commissions on the Press in 1949 and 1977 have both recommended that journalism become a profession. They believed that journalists should act and be seen to act 'responsibly'. Critics of the press fear what they see to be the possible 'misuse of the assumed power which journalists can exercise over public opinions, beliefs, attitudes and behaviour. They seek reassurance that such power is used democratically in accordance with values highly rated by society, namely objectivity and social responsibility, and by people qualified to do so'(Boyd-Barrett 1970, 185).

The 1949 Royal Commission on the Press reported that there was a need for a central organisation to represent the press. The Commission found it 'remarkable that although a number of organisations exist to represent sectional interests within the press' there was 'none representing the press as a whole'.

(3) The NUJ does not accept editors as members; the Union represents workers only.

The Commission recommended that a Press Council be set up to represent all sections of the press and to maintain its 'freedom' and 'integrity'. The Commission argued that the press as a body had taken 'fewer steps to safeguard its standard of performance than perhaps any other institution of comparable importance'(1949, 165).

On the subject of professionalisation, the Commission argued that the editorial production of the press could be regarded as a 'profession' yet it admitted that journalism differed from other professions in that 'the direct responsibility which the individual practitioner normally bears to his client is in journalism indirect and diffused'. The Commission commented on the division in newspaper structure between those who owned and managed newspapers and those who were working journalists. The bodies representing journalists are different from those representing proprietors, directors and managers. The Commission found that organisations representing journalists, such as the IOJ and the NUJ, have formal codes of conduct but that those representing proprietors 'were not concerned with the editorial conduct of their members newspapers'(1949, 169). However, it found that editors were very concerned regarding the 'integrity' of newspapers as a whole. In the light of this, the Commission recommended that a Press Council be set up which would,

> '"censure" undesirable types of journalistic conduct and by all other possible means should build up a code of conduct in accordance with the highest professional standard. It should have the right to consider any complaints which it may receive about the conduct of the press or of any persons towards the press'(1949, 170).

However, the difficulty of agreeing and implementing a national code of conduct for journalists became evident in the 1980s when a small number of publications - usually national tabloids - failed to observe what were regarded as the basic ethics of journalism and came into conflict with sections of the public and members of parliament. Concern was raised then that the press could not regulate itself (4).

In the Parliamentary session 1989-1990 two Private Members' Bills on Protection of Privacy and the Right of Reply completed their committee stages in the House of Commons. The Government had repeatedly warned the press that failure to observe the adjudication and advice of the then Press Council would lead to the government appointing a statutory body to impose a code of conduct. While some sections of the press abided by the then Press Council's code of conduct, others ignored it. The press was put under further pressure to accept and abide by a code of conduct when the government appointed the Calcutt Committee in 1990. The Press Council changed its name to the Press Complaints Commission and one code states that:

'The press should avoid prejudicial or pejorative reference to a persons race, colour, religion, sex or sexual orientation, or to any physical or mental illness or handicap. It should avoid publishing details of a person's race, colour, religion, sex or sexual orientation unless these are directly relevant to the story'(PCC No1, Report 1991, 6).

(4) See Press Complaints Commission Report No. 1 1991 for Code of Practice and adjudicated complaints.

Similarly, the code of the Broadcasting Standards Council, states that :

'It is important that broadcasters should familiarise themselves with the law governing relations between the races in Britain. Apart from strict legal requirements within the country, sensitive treatment of the differences which exists between races and nationalities is called for .. There are times when racial or national stereotypes, whether physical or behavioral, may be used without offence but their use should always be carefully considered in advance. Use of derogatory terms in speaking of men and women of other races and nations gives .. offence and should be avoided where the context does not warrant it'(Broadcasting Standards Annual Report 1988-89, 45-46).

Although these codes do not call for the increase of visible minorities in journalism training and jobs, if they are followed by journalists they might reduce the negative reporting on black people and thus indirectly help in the recruitment of more black people into journalism training and jobs. It could be argued, moreover, that if journalists and newspapers abided by the code on discrimination there would be less negative portrayal of black people in the press and this might in turn not only encourage more black people to apply for journalism training but for newspapers and training colleges to take them on.

HISTORY OF JOURNALISM TRAINING

The formalisation of journalism training was one step towards professionalisation. This begun with the setting up of the National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ) in 1955. However, it is important to note that the NCTJ was not

the first venture into formal journalism training as there were two short-lived nineteenth century experiments.

In 1878 Alexander Mackie, proprietor of 'The Daily Warrington Guardian', proposed a crash course for aspiring journalists and even proprietors. The course would have lasted six months with another six months for post-training experience. Mackie had promised that he would do his best to find jobs for those who had completed the course. However, the course failed to start because there were insufficient applicants. Nearly ten years later in 1887, David Anderson, leader writer of 'The Daily Telegraph' retired to establish a school of journalism in London which would enable young journalists to make from six pounds to twenty pounds per week after a 12 month course. The course would have cost 100 guineas. Applicants would need to be 'fairly educated of fair intelligence'. However, after an initial blaze of publicity the school disappeared.

There was also the London University Journalism Studies Diploma Course which lasted from 1919 to 1939. The diploma course at King's College, London was a two-year course in which general education was combined with instruction in practical journalism (5). Alan J. Lee in 'The Journalism Studies Review' explained what journalism training was like before the formation of the NCTJ:

(5) See Lee (1977) 'Early Schools of Journalism Training 1878-1900' In Journalism Studies Review vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 35-37.

'In the 19th century, as in the 20th century, the training of British journalists was a matter of apprenticeship in a succession of newspaper offices. The usual career pattern was a progression from small weeklies through provincial dailies to the London weekly and daily papers'(Lee 1977, 35).

After the 1850s and the expansion of the small press there was anxiety amongst some journalists that this expansion might lead to a lower standard of journalist recruitment and endanger the professional status of journalists. John Walker, an editor addressing a meeting of journalists in 1869, called for better training to prevent the profession becoming a 'mere trade'(1869, 194-95). In 1890 the Royal Charter of the Institute of Journalism mentioned the possibility of examinations or tests 'in theory and in practice to ascertain journalistic proficiency'(NCTJ 1987, 2). The National Union of Journalists added its view to the debate concerning journalists' training and education in 1946 when at its delegate meeting it approved a draft national scheme for training. Newspaper editors also became part of the movement to change journalists' training. The joint editorial committee of the Newspaper Society and the Guild of British Newspaper Editors discussed the issue of a formal training system for journalists.

JOURNALISTS' EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Journalists' training and education was also an important issue in the mind of the 1949 Royal Commission on the Press.

It stated:

'It is important that the journalist should have a good general education but this is not enough. He needs a fuller knowledge of history and English than his schooling will have given him, a knowledge of the processes of central and local governments and of the courts and at least a grounding in economics. His level of education needs to be higher than that of the mass of his readers and, as the general level rises, so should his.'

The Commission found the methods of recruitment and training 'somewhat haphazard' because there were no standardised educational requirements for new recruits. Their report stated that out of 85 proprietors who responded to their question on the education of their staff, half indicated that their journalists had not had a secondary education while less than half employed a university graduate on the editorial staff (Royal Commission on The Press 1949, 166).

Most recruits, the Commission found, were being taken on at 16 with only a School Certificate of Education because newspapers were reluctant to take on graduates (1949, 166). The Commission criticized the view that journalism should be centred solely on vocational training with little regard for general education. It stated,

'It is no doubt true that vocational training in journalism can be acquired only on the job. But there is a clear distinction between learning to be a journalist and acquiring the degree of general education which it is necessary for a journalist to have'(Royal Commission 1949, 166).

The report concluded that recruiting the right people into journalism, whether from school or university, was one of the most important tasks facing the industry. It recommended that the industry recruit 'quality individuals' to the occupation, who will improve the 'status of the industry and bridge the

gap between what society needs from the press and what the press is at presently giving it'. The report argued that this was the 'common responsibility of proprietors, editors and other journalists'(1949, 168). The Commission admitted however, that there were difficulties in combining a general education with vocational training, especially for small weekly newspapers, because of their size. It explained that 'while a boy has the opportunity to get an excellent all-round training in journalism' the problem was that weekly newspapers were usually 'remote from facilities of further education and other newspapers'.

The Commission saw graduates as presenting a 'different problem', that of age. Traditionally journalism recruited boys from school and the Commission was concerned about the age differences between direct recruits from school and older graduates. They argued that although the university graduate had a better general education than most recruits, the graduate lacked specialist knowledge and experience which they would have acquired 'by starting at the bottom and learning on the job.' The graduate, being older, would then have to be 'taught by trained men of his own age or study with lads some years his junior, either way the process put some strain both on the people concerned and on the organisation'(1949, 167).

The 1949 Royal Commission on the Press made no mention of black people and any difficulties they might encounter seeking journalism training. That might have been because at the time

of the report there were less than 3,000 black people in Britain (6). The majority of black immigrants coming in the early 1960s and those here would not have had the opportunity to choose journalism as a career. However, it is important to note that the Commission continually made reference to journalists as 'he' or 'boy'. It may be taken that the image of the journalist at this time was not only white but white.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE PRESS 1977

By the time of this report the NCTJ had been established and journalism as an occupation was becoming semi-professionalised through its restrictive measures in journalistic education and training. These restrictive measures can be of great disadvantage to black people as a group who are educationally under-achieving. However, the 1977 Royal Commission called for higher educational qualifications for journalist trainees. Although the Commission found that considerable progress had been made in the area of journalism education and training since the 1949 report and that journalists' training 'was soundly based', it argued that journalistic education and training still needed 'improvement'. It agreed with the views of the 1949 Commission that it was important to attract into journalism 'men and women of integrity, judgment and a sense

(6) See Rose et al (1969) who stated that after the arrival of the S.S.Empire Windrush in 1948 with 500 Jamaicans immigration from the Caribbean was never more than 1,000 a year until 1951. Immigration from the Asian sub-continent was also minimal (66).

of vocation .. equipped with appropriate training and education with the knowledge and skills to serve society'(The Royal Commission On the Press 1977, 171).

The progress mentioned by the Royal Commission in 1977 was a direct result of the control exercised by the NCTJ over the level of educational qualifications it imposed on those wanting to enter its journalism courses.

'By imposing minimal educational qualifications for acceptance on to their courses, they influence editors to recruit entrants with these qualifications within the sector of journalism in which the NCTJ has most authority'(Boyd-Barrett 1970, 191).

The NCTJ has upgraded its educational qualifications since 1955. In 1993 the minimum educational qualification needed for entry is five GCSEs grade A-C and two 'A'-levels for pre-entry courses. However, not all entrants into journalism come through the NCTJ, for, while the organisation is still mainly concerned with provincial newspapers and pre-entry journalism courses, the development of broadcast journalism and periodicals has meant there are now other routes into journalism. Even in his 1967-68 survey Boyd-Barrett found that there was a 'discrepancy between NUJ and the NCTJ registration of the order of 20 per cent'(Barrett 1970, 188). This discrepancy was probably due to the unstructured career path for journalists, for, even after the setting up of the NCTJ, many journalists still entered the profession without training or without taking either of two career paths which are, firstly, 'the elite .. path straight into national journalism without previous experience. Secondly, the provincial career

path based on experience on a weekly provincial newspaper, then a provincial daily, then some provincial/national job'(Tunstall 1971, 63). Since the 1970s there is also the pre-entry path into journalism. Postgraduate courses, like those at City and Cardiff universities, former polytechnics and colleges, should in theory provide better opportunities for qualified black people to enter journalism training courses.

There are also a number of access courses, begun in the late 1980s, which provide a basic journalism training to people without high educational qualifications (7). These courses, although unrecognised, sometimes open opportunities for some young people to get into a recognised training course or a local or into a local or community newspaper. Although the 'elite path' and the provincial newspaper path may be difficult for most black people, access courses into journalism and the special 'black only' journalism courses set up for black people have helped many more black people to enter journalism training. These will be examined in more detail in a later chapter.

(7) For example, Vauxhall College London began an access Course for Journalism in 1987 where entry does not depend upon educational qualification but upon aptitude. Students who complete the course sometimes gain entry into established journalism courses.

EVIDENCE TO THE 1977 ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE PRESS ON TRAINING

Evidence given to the Royal Commission shows a general concern regarding the quality of education and training for journalists. However, very few who gave evidence showed any concern regarding gender and race discrimination in the media generally and journalism training in particular.

Regarding journalists' training and education, 'The Liverpool Daily Post and Echo' in its evidence to the Commission saw the problem thus:

'Journalism may be described as a craft. It differs from other crafts however, in that its practitioners are required to exercise judgement at a level consistent with belonging to a profession. Training arrangements do not seem to be designed to provide adequately for both craft and professional demands'('Liverpool Daily Post and Echo', Evidence to The Royal Commission on The Press, Vol. 2 1977, 35).

The question posed was whether 'there is any method of training which could possibly train all journalists to operate at both ends of the scale'(1977 Vol. 2, 36). The paper argued that if journalism training is to do this it has first to ensure that basic skills of journalism are taught, secondly that the acquisition of 'specific skills' are ones which would help in the development of 'judgement, leadership and other specific tasks or roles' leading to 'professional qualities'. However, 'the Liverpool Post and Echo' expressed reservations on degrees in journalism, stating that the objection to such courses would be that 'there is not enough in journalism to justify a first degree in the subject. It is a vocational subject, not an academic one'(1977 Vol. 2. 36).

'The Westminster Press', like 'the Liverpool Daily Post and Echo' had reservations regarding higher education and journalists. It stated,

'There is a danger that formal educational requirements may become too restrictive .. the general desire to improve the intellectual quality of recruits is admirable but should not be allowed to exclude the "natural" reporter who may be unable to pass exams'(1977 Vol. 5, 29).

Recruiting only those into journalism training who are able to 'pass exams' is arguably discriminatory to black people (8). It can be argued that black people as a group educationally under-achieve because of their socio-economic position in society and, more importantly, because they face direct and indirect discrimination, in society generally and in British schools in particular. It seems then doubly unfair that they should then be turned down because they under-achieve at school.

'The Liverpool Daily Post and Echo' in its evidence to the Royal Commission made no mention regarding the training of women and black people. 'Westminster Press', however, did show some consciousness of the problem. It reported that the number of women trained as reporters had been increasing, amounting to about '40 per cent of the intake during the past five years'. However, on the training of black reporters the paper stated,

(8) The NUJ (1985) Conference Report on Broadcasting and Black People states that the BBC's preference for graduates for journalism training 'alienates many black applicants who might have the talents but not the educational background'.

'We have comparatively few members of racial minorities among our journalistic staff. We have recently been involved in some informal discussion however with the NUJ and other interested parties to see what can be done to encourage more youngsters of immigrant stock to enter journalism'(1977 Vol. 5, 29).

The Acton Society Press Group in their evidence to the Royal Commission called for higher education for journalist trainees. They wanted degree courses in journalism and a general improvement in the education and training of journalists. They argued that improvements in journalistic training and education were imperative for the professionalisation of the occupation. While acknowledging that there have been some improvements in recruitment and training of journalists since the 1949 Commission, the group argued that it was not 'nearly enough' and that journalism training was in a 'state of unhappy and unproductive chaos' and has 'fallen far behind the practice of progressive industry such as the Civil Service in training and career development'(Acton Society Press Group Evidence to the Royal Commission 1977 Vol. 9, 71). The Press group argued that one reason for the chaos in journalism training was that there had been traditional prejudice in the industry against higher education for journalists (1977, 72) It stated that traditionally the industry had argued that there is something 'elitist' about higher education and if recruits to journalism were graduates this would change the class situation of the journalists and remove them 'socially and mentally from newspaper readership'. The Acton Press Group argued that if journalists were to be discouraged from higher education

'it would make the institutions of higher education more elitist than they are while the few journalists who did go through university might be expected to have an important advantage over their colleagues in the development of their careers'(1977 Vol. 9, 72-73).

Although the Press group agreed that the craft of journalism is better learnt on the 'job than at college' they argued that higher education could help to develop journalists 'analytic thought' and 'provide specialised knowledge to a depth .. which can be invaluable for serious journalism'(1977 Vol. 9, 75).

Both the Institute of Journalists and the National Union of Journalists were dissatisfied with journalists' education and training and both wanted higher entry standards. However, like the majority of those who gave evidence to the Royal Commission, there was no mention of black people or women, although the NUJ was well aware of the problems in recruiting black people in the occupation. The NUJ had held a conference in 1975 entitled 'Race and the Media'. In fact, the NUJ 's evidence on training was titled 'Manpower Training and Technology', which gives an indication of who they saw as doing journalist training. Not only would it have been helpful had the NUJ and the IOJ mentioned the difficulties which black people and women might face in seeking journalism training they might have put forward some recommendations which might have helped the situation.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE PRESS FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS 1977

The Royal Commission agreed that the 'Standard of Entry' to journalism needed improvement, although there had been improvements since the 1949 report. For example, they found that the numbers of all entrants with one or more 'A'-levels (excluding graduates) went up from 35 per cent in 1963 to 61 per cent in 1975. Over the same period, the numbers of graduates among new recruits had increased from 55 to 22 per cent and a much larger proportion of journalists recruited to broadcasting were graduates. However, despite the increase in journalist trainees' qualifications, the Commission was told that 'some new journalists cannot write English satisfactorily'. The Commission recommended therefore that the minimum qualification for entry be five GCSEs and two 'A'-levels (or their equivalent) and that more graduates be encouraged to enter journalism'(1977, 178). On the subject of racial minorities and their recruitment into journalism training the Commission had this to say;

'It has been presented to us that the existing selection procedures are one cause of the lack of recruits to journalism from racial minorities, though not necessarily because prejudice operates. This is an unproven and unprovable proposition and even it were true, it is unlikely to be the sole explanation .. we believe that journalism is one of the occupations like teaching, the civil service and the police in which members of racial minorities should be represented as a matter of public interest. It follows that those responsible for recruitment should take positive steps to encourage members of racial minorities to come forward'(1977, 178).

The Commission was also told that there was discrimination against women in 'the selection of journalists and their career advancement'. Although the Commission agreed that there were very 'few women in senior positions in journalism', they argued that it would take an 'elaborate inquiry' to look into why and that there would be 'great problems in the interpretation of an enquiry.' Therefore, 'We thought it impracticable to under-take such an investigation and therefore cannot comment on the claim'. It could thus be interpreted that the Commission had dodged the question of sex discrimination as it had done that of race discrimination.

Although the 1977 Royal Commission advocated advanced education for journalists, it was 'not persuaded that any priority should be given to establishing in this country first degree courses in journalism such as exist in the United States.' The Commission believed 'that a better training for a journalists is a first degree in one of the established disciplines followed by postgraduate training'(1977, 178).

However, not only have post-graduate degrees in journalism increased since this report but in 1991 three British colleges began offering first degrees in journalism (9). This reflected a move, James Curran believed,

(9) However, there is still some resistance in the media to first degree courses in journalism. Some have argued that there is not sufficient theory in journalism to occupy students for three years.

'from industrial indentureship towards higher education provision, combining practical skills and analysis. Consequently there will be a change in the location of education, from tertiary level and in-house, to university and polytechnic provision, with a change in content, in a move more towards US and Scandinavian models of journalism education. The absurd segregation between practice and theory will slowly melt down'('The Times Educational Supplement' 31/1/92).

The Newspaper Society states in its leaflet on training that newspaper journalism 'has a lot to offer the right person at any age' for 'it draws on all the knowledge and skills you have ever acquired and.. leads to a tremendous sense of achievement and satisfaction'. It depends on who is the 'right person' because in practice newspaper journalism courses are offered mainly to young, white people. The NCTJ, when asked about the ethnic make-up of students to newspaper journalism courses stated that 'the National Council does not keep for its own purposes information on ethnic origins.. It is not a matter of concern to us'(NCTJ 13/2/91). The CRE asked the NCTJ to include a question on ethnic origin with questionnaires issued to enquirers. This lasted from 1986-88, during which period the NCTJ reported only 0.04 of one per cent were black. This very low percentage of black people enquiring about print journalism training might be a result of the NCTJ not carrying out as comprehensive a survey as was required or of recruits refusing to give their ethnic origin. It might also indicate the generally low numbers of black people either seeking or being offered training in print journalism. However, the NCTJ does not appear to be concerned with the low numbers of black people either in training or seeking training.

AGE AND JOURNALISM TRAINING

According to the Newspaper Society, people of all ages can become journalists and the society has many enquiries each year (10). This is correct in theory but in practice the media industries take on mainly young people under 30 for training and jobs. The Newspaper Society's own figures for 1988-1989 showed that 73 per cent of all new recruits to journalism were under the age of 24 (1990, 3). Individuals under the age of 24 are generally welcomed by the newspaper industry but at 24 and over their chances of getting newspaper journalism training begin to decline and by 30 it becomes almost impossible. The National Union of Journalists (NUJ) booklet on training warns prospective journalists 'if you are an older person (24 or more years of age) direct entry on to a local newspaper is virtually the only route'('Careers in Journalism' NUJ 1989, 8).

Although the one-year pre-entry newspaper journalism courses are open to people of 24 years of age or older, there is also a difference in what the National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ) will do to help those over 24 and those over 30. If the individual is over 24 years old but under 30, the NCTJ will not indenture the person as a trainee but he/she

(10) In practice this is not always possible because there is fierce competition for media training and jobs and those under twenty-four with a 'good' degree are more likely to be considered than those applicants over thirty. (See Rowland 1988, 30.)

will only be 'registered'. However, if the person wanting training is 30 years or more the NCTJ will neither register that person nor have anything to do with their training. The NCTJ believes that 'such training as is given is a matter for agreement between individual and the employer'(1989, 8). This ageist practice might well be another reason why there is an under-representation of black people in the media, as it is well established that black people generally often have a break in their education before going on to further and higher education. For example, Brennan and McGeevor concluded in their research 'Ethnic Minorities and The Graduate Labour Market' that 'Ethnic minority students are likely to be older than white students at the time of entry to higher education'(1990, 26). Thus, by the time they are educationally suitable to apply for journalism training they may be too old.

The minimum qualifications needed for entry to newspaper journalism are five GCSE passes at grades A-C. However, the Newspaper Society warns that in

'recent years it has become a rare occurrence for a trainee to come into the industry at this minimum level. Over half the recruits are now university graduates and many of the others have achieved at least two 'A'-levels'(1990, 2).

In a later chapter this survey will be assessing the qualifications of black journalist respondents, comparing them to those asked for by newspapers and colleges of journalism. At this point however, it is enough to say that most black students leave school without the qualifications asked for by journalism courses. But even if the young black person gets the qualifications needed for newspaper journalism training,

he/she is not certain to be accepted. Although this is the position for everyone, racial discrimination makes the situation worse for black people.

The newspaper industry recruits on average 550 trainee journalists a year throughout England, Scotland and Wales. This relatively low figure means that competition for places as trainee newspaper journalists is fierce and with general racism within society, it seems fair to say that some newspapers and pre-entry courses might be tempted to discriminate against black applicants. This point will also be taken up in a later chapter.

Trainee press photographers are more limited in numbers than trainee press journalists; only 20 a year are taken in Britain on a one- year full-time course at Stradbroke College, Sheffield. The minimum educational requirements are one 'A'-level, plus four GCSE passes at grade A-C and one pass should be in English. Alternatively, if the individual does not have the minimum qualifications but has two year's relevant experience of photographic techniques, either within or outside the industry, or has undertaken an equivalent course in further education in photography, they can be accepted. While there is less insistence upon academic qualification as a trainee press photographer because of the small numbers taken on and the fierce competition for these places, black applicants might again be disadvantaged. There are even fewer black people working as newspaper press photographers. The NUJ

knows of two only on national newspapers. The figures on provincial papers are not known, but it is believed that the number does not exceed that of the national papers.

Many journalists working in broadcasting have a background in local newspapers . Because training and experience in provincial newspapers is usually required for some broadcasting jobs, black people are again disadvantaged. This is because provincial newspapers are not noted for their support of equal opportunities and very few black people and, in some cases none, are accepted by provincial newspapers for training and jobs (11).

The Black Media Association (BMWA) survey of black journalists in 1983 located 51 African-Caribbean and Asian people working in general print journalism throughout Britain. The report observed that

'The spread of these people over the regions is not even. There are several large cities with high black populations where there are no black people at all working on local newspapers. In all of Scotland we located no black journalists and in the West Midlands, where the black population is 326,336, we could locate only one person working on a newspaper'(BMWA 1983,1).

(11) The NUJ Conference report (1986) 'Print Journalism and Black People' states that very few black people were being accepted by provincial newspapers for training because of racism (37).

The provincial newspaper organiser of the NUJ supported the BMWA findings when he stated that, although the union did not know the numbers of black people trained or who worked for the provincial press, in his 10 years in the job he had seen only one black face in a provincial newspaper office or at a Union meeting.

BROADCASTING JOURNALISM

In recent years a number of young people are entering broadcast journalism via the several one year pre-entry courses in radio and television at universities and colleges. Many of these courses are postgraduate, like those run by City University London and by Cardiff University. The exception is the black-only radio course at Westminster University, formerly the Polytechnic of Central London, which operates affirmative action policies based on the CRE model. The course began in 1983. The emphasis here is not on academic qualification but on aptitude and a good speaking voice. The black-only course is seen by some as beneficial to black people trying to get into journalism not only because black applicants do not have to compete with whites for places but because the course does not insist on students having a degree. In theory pre-entry courses should give more opportunities to educationally qualified black people seeking journalism training because personality and not qualification is supposedly used as criteria. However, apart from the

black-only course at the former Polytechnic of Central London, mainstream courses in fact take remarkably few black people.

There have been moves by some institutions to admit more black people . For example, City University London conducts ethnic monitoring, although indirectly, by asking for the photographs of applicants. As a result, its intake overall of black trainees on their three courses (newspaper, periodical and broadcasting) has increased over the years from five per cent in 1987 to 11 per cent in 1991 (City University 1991). The other university involved in broadcast journalism, Cardiff, takes fewer than City University - only three per cent of its trainee journalists are black and in recent years most black students taken on by Cardiff are sponsored, one from Channel Four and at least one from the NUJ (Cardiff Centre For Journalism Studies 1990). The London College of Printing admits that it has very few black journalist trainees; of its 180 students of journalism in 1991 only nine were black. The college is not involved in ethnic monitoring and at present has no plans to do so (London College of Printing 1991).

While there may be some limited opportunity for those without a degree to enter newspaper journalism training, it seems almost impossible to get television journalism training without a degree. Just having a degree is sometimes not enough. The Independent Television Careers Guide states that their trainee journalists should have 'a good class degree and

be able to demonstrate a natural flair for writing news' and also possess 'about two years experience in press or radio journalism'(1985, 4-5). This means that to qualify for television journalism training you need not just a good degree but to have had newspaper and radio experience as well. As stated earlier in this chapter, discrimination, especially in the newspaper industry, makes it highly unlikely that many black people will have the experience needed to obtain television journalism training, especially in Independent television, thus contributing to the under-representation of black people in the white media.

The BBC offers several courses in television journalism training, mainly as reporters and producers, but obtaining a place on these courses is very difficult and only the highly qualified and experienced need apply. For example, in its advert for production trainees the BBC stated that it wanted 'to attract the brightest and most creative graduates or similarly qualified people .. candidates should therefore be able to show that they have a sharp original mind, an excellent degree and/or clear journalistic ability and experience'(BBC 1989 1). There is also the corporation's news trainee scheme which takes two intakes of 12 people each year. This scheme attracts some 5,000 applicants. Those applying for this course need to have

'good academic qualifications (degree or equivalent), a knowledge and understanding of current events, a lively enquiring mind and proven journalistic or relevant experience which suggest a genuine interest in and commitment to broadcast journalism'(BBC 1987 1).

The competition for BBC mainstream courses is very fierce and, as stated before, few black people are accepted . However, due to pressure from media unions, such as the NUJ Black Members' Council and organisations such as the CRE the BBC has responded by organising black-only radio and television courses for ethnic minorities which will be discussed in a later chapter.

MAGAZINE JOURNALISM TRAINING

Magazine journalists constitute the second single largest group of journalists in Britain after newspaper journalists. There are some 7,000 people employed in the editorial sections of magazines and very few are black (NUJ 1990). The reasons for the under-representation of black journalists in magazines are similar to those for other sectors of journalism. Although magazines offer opportunities to non-editorial staff to train as journalists, this does not help many black people because there are very few blacks working in either editorial or non-editorial positions in magazines. Moreover, the ways to becoming a journalist in magazines are essentially similar to those for newspapers. Many journalists working on periodicals qualify newspaper journalists first. There are, however, direct entry routes or entry after a specialist periodical journalism pre-entry course. Two colleges in London specialise in periodical journalism courses: City University, which offers a one-year postgraduate course, and the London College of Printing, which offers two courses in periodical journalism - a 13 week postgraduate course and a one-year postgraduate

course. The qualifications for entry to magazine journalism training are the same as those for newspapers, radio and television. Training takes two to three years and is monitored and supervised by the Periodical Training Council. All these ways of entering magazine journalism carry with them the same disadvantages for black applicants as those in newspapers and television, namely, fierce competition, discrimination and the insistence upon high educational qualifications.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Public Relations, is another area of employment which has very few black people and here too people who are taken on as public relations officers are usually trained newspaper journalists or in some cases may be people who have gained direct entry and who subsequently learn on the job. Like magazines, very few black people are actually employed in public relations offices and so are not able to take training opportunities if they exist. There is, however, some organised training which is done by the Institute of Public Relations or, for those involved in house journal publishing, by the British Association of Industrial Editors, or the Communication Advertising and Marketing Foundation (CAM), which offers a one-year diploma course in public relations.

The CAM prospectus explains that their qualifications 'are principally taken by those working in the UK communication

business' and that the number of those 'registering to take the CAM certificate increases each year and is currently more 1,000 . Most are aged between 20 and 35 and more than a third work in public relations'(1989, 2). Like courses in newspaper and broadcasting journalism, training in Public Relations courses attracts those with higher education so that 'Around half of CAM Certificate holders are graduates'(CAM 1989, 2).

TRADITIONAL ENTRY TO JOURNALISM TRAINING

The development of postgraduate and other pre-entry journalism courses in London and other large cities is relatively new as newspaper journalism training was traditionally carried out on provincial papers. In the late 1960s the leaflet 'Careers in Journalism' showed just how important it was to have first gained experience on a provincial paper: 'Fleet Street and broadcasting almost invariably recruits only experienced journalists. So if you want to be a journalist you must get your first job on a local newspaper.'

In 1989 the NUJ booklet 'Careers in Journalism' still gave the same advice:

'Generally a newspaper person has to work for three years as a qualified journalist in provincial papers before being considered for a job in Fleet Street.'

Although there have been wide-ranging changes in journalists' education and training since the 1960s, many media managers still hold this view and so look favourably upon those journalists who have worked on provincial papers. Even those students who do complete 0 pre-entry course to journalism have to work for a minimum period on a provincial or local paper

whilst taking their proficiency test. It is still the case that most journalists working on national papers have had and are expected to have had experience on local or provincial papers. These papers are traditionally the training ground for newspaper journalists and still are to a large extent, but such a tradition disadvantages black people and adds to their under-representation in the media.

Another journalistic tradition which might have an effect on the number of black people are accepted on journalism courses is that of class (12). Traditionally newspapers have always reflected the differences in British society with a resultant 'polarisation between London and the provinces between middle class and working class and between well and less well educated'(Tunstall 1983, 76). From the early years, newspapers represented different classes of readership. In the period up to 1855 'The Times' held a virtual monopoly in the daily newspaper field and was read by the 'upper class'.
The provincial papers, then the backbone of British journalism training, took on trainees who had no degree. This was probably because the status, salary and job conditions were not as favourable as they are today. Journalists working on provincial papers before the 1950s received a salary that was

(12) See Christian (1980) who argues that in the early period of journalism, journalists work included 'both buyers and sellers of labour power', however in recent period the social differences between employed journalists and their employers have become enormously greater'(262).

'comparable to that of a lower grade clerk .. for both thirty shillings or less a week was commonplace and educational qualification both depended on competence and literacy, which the mass of the population then lacked, but neither job required much education beyond the three R's. Since there was no recognised union rate for either type of job .. it depended on circumstances and relations with employers'(Christian 1980, 263).

Nevertheless, newspapers like 'The Times' and 'The Guardian' 'have for over a century hired graduates straight into their offices'(Tunstall 197, 158), but graduate entry was only small; most journalists who worked on papers like 'The Times' came from the provinces and were either working-class or poor, lower-middle class.

After the 1950's, journalist education and training began to change because of the easier availability of further and higher education, the setting up of the (NCTJ) and a powerful and organised National Union of Journalists. By the 1960's Boyd-Barrett found that 'well over half' of student journalists 'came from lower- middle and upper-middle white-collar backgrounds, social classes 2 and 3 in the Registrar General's classification'(1970, 187). The semi-professionalisation of journalism and the high qualifications demanded was making the occupation more attractive to the middle classes, as in comparable professions like law. The number of black middle-class people in Britain is relatively low and this might also account for the fact that there are so few black people getting into journalism training.

The question of whether the system of journalism training should be changed to accommodate black people was debated by black journalists at a NUJ conference for print journalism in 1986. The conference concluded:

'to allow black people to enter journalistic employment or vocational training with lower academic qualifications than those generally required would lead to "tokenism" and perhaps failure to successfully complete training thereby feeding prejudice by apparently justifying it by experience.' However, delegates recognised that educational qualifications 'did not necessarily tell the whole story and there should be great stress laid upon aptitude for the job'(NUJ Conference Report 1986, 46).

SUMMARY

Traditionally journalism has been a 'haphazard' occupation in regard to the education and training it demanded of its recruits. This is quite unlike other white collar occupations such as teaching, law and medicine. However, since the setting up of the NCTJ in 1955 the occupation has demanded higher education qualifications of its trainees. This demand can be seen as discriminating against black people who as a group are educationally disadvantaged. However, it must be acknowledged that if journalism as an occupation is to acquire even semi-professional status it needs to set high educational entry qualifications comparable to professions such as medicine and law. This inevitably means restrictions upon those who enter the occupation. Unfortunately this will affect the majority of African-Caribbeans who under-achieve educationally.

What then is the answer to this problem? Firstly, it might be suggested that the media industry reduce the educational qualifications required for black trainees but this would be deemed as 'reverse discrimination' and as such goes against the 1976 Race Relation Act. Secondly, bodies such as the NCTJ might take steps to set up access courses into journalism for black people who may have the aptitude but not paper qualifications. However, as we have seen, some black journalists are against the idea of taking on black people into journalism training with less qualifications than whites. They see such a move as 'tokenism' and the perpetuation of prejudice. The only constructive solution then is for black pupils to be given equal educational opportunities in schools in order to acquire the qualifications needed for journalism and other white-collar occupations.

CHAPTER 5

THE EDUCATION OF BLACK JOURNALISTS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins the analysis of the data obtained from the 100 interviews described in the introduction. As stated in chapter four, the media demands high educational standards from its journalists. In 1991 the National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ) stated that over 55 per cent of its trainee journalists were graduates. Those journalist trainees without degrees are also well qualified, having at least five 'O'-Levels or GCSEs A-C grades and two 'A'-levels. How then do respondents compare with the high qualifications demanded by the media industry? Is their academic achievement less than that of journalists in general? This survey found that as a group respondents' educational achievement compares very well with other journalists. Not only do respondents compare well but they were better qualified, with 71 per cent having a first degree compared with 55 per cent of other journalists and 15 per cent of those with first degrees having a Masters and 6 per cent of these a Ph.D. Of the 100 respondents, only two had no CSE, GCE or GCSE. Respondents had a total of 32 CSEs, 870 'O' levels and 302 'A' levels. The survey found that most respondents (62 per cent) went to state schools, 20 per cent to fee-paying schools and 18 per cent attended both state and fee-paying schools.

TABLE 1: EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF RESPONDENTS

Educational Qualifications	African-Caribbeans	Asians
No of passes CSE	32	-
No of passes 'O' Levels	598	272
No of passes 'A' Levels	216	86
Higher Degrees:		
Proportion having B.A/B.Sc.	65.7%	83.3%
Proportion having MA/MSc/MBA	11.5%	23%
Proportion having Ph.D.	5.7%	6.6%
TOTAL:	100	70	30

These figures confirm the findings of other surveys, such as Swann (1985) and Grey and Drew (1990), that Asians do better academically than African-Caribbeans. It also shows that African-Caribbean respondents have attained higher educational qualifications compared to the overall population of this group.

AFRICAN-CARIBBEAN RESPONDENTS AND EDUCATION

Before looking at the academic achievement of African-Caribbean respondents, it is important to bear in mind the findings of the 1985 Swann Report 'Education for All', which stated that only one per cent of children from West Indian parentage went on to full-time and higher education as compared to five per cent of Asians and four per cent of all others. Although the percentage of black students going on to higher education had risen to 10.45 per cent by 1993 it must be remembered that many of these students enter higher education through access courses or after attending college of further education in order to acquire GCSE's and 'A'-levels which they were unable to achieve in secondary schools. Moreover, this improvement in the numbers of black students in higher education

> 'conceals differences in attendance by different institutions - the former polytechnic and college sector admitting more black people than the old universities. As with women, the more prestigious the institution and the course, the fewer ethnic minorities attend'(Skills and Enterprise Briefing, 1993).

This survey found that 46 per cent of its African-Caribbean respondents obtained higher education. This raises the question as to why so many African-Caribbean journalists have attained such high educational qualifications as compared to the overall population of this group. Since the 1960s several surveys, briefly reviewed in chapter three, have been carried out regarding the academic under-achievement of African-Caribbean children, for example Little (1966), Coard (1971), Rampton (1981), Swann (1985) and Little (1986). Many have

argued that racism within the education system and within society generally are partly to blame. However, there are those (for example, Eysenck 1973, Honeyford 1984, Flew 1984, Marks 1986) who dispute the view that racism is a cause of African-Caribbean under-achievement in schools. Kerr Mackie, for example, a headmaster of an inner-city comprehensive school, takes a colour-blind attitude to the problem, stating

'schools can get too hung up on the racial issue; what we should get hung up on is the differences between good and bad education. The promise I give parents when they bring their children through these portals is to keep them safe, provide steady but firm discipline and try to fulfil their potential' ('Sunday Times' 9/4/89).

This comment implies that there is a failure of schools to provide discipline and a good education which is the problem. While discipline and a good education is important it does not negate the fact that African-Caribbean pupils are generally subjected to both teacher and pupil racism and racism in society which can have an adverse effect on their education.

There are, however, some African-Caribbean pupils who have achieved educationally despite these disadvantages. These respondents' high educational achievement might be explained by some attending public and grammar schools. Of the 70 African-Caribbean respondents, 10 went to fee-paying schools, 20 to grammar schools, with the biggest proportion - 40 - attending comprehensive schools. What were their experiences at private schools and do they believe that their attendance at these schools helped their education?

EXPERIENCES AT PRIVATE SCHOOLS

(42) 'I went to state school until I was 11, then to a fee-paying school where I achieved seven 'O'-levels and three 'A'-levels. I suffered a lot of racist abuse from white pupils in junior school and was happy to leave. At fee-paying school things were different. From the first day you knew that you were there to achieve. I never had any racist insults from anyone, neither teachers nor pupils and I was always encouraged by teachers to do well.'

Another respondent had similar experiences:

(20) 'I came from Trinidad when I was six and went to a state junior school. I had hell. There were only a few blacks in the school and I suffered from name-calling and I was even beaten up when I was 10 by three white girls. Then I passed a scholarship for a fee-paying school and afterwards my school life changed. I couldn't believe how different the two schools were. There was discipline in my fee-paying school and I had encouragement from teachers for the first time. It gave me confidence and I did well. I had no experience of racism there which was the best thing that could have happened to me.'

Other African-Caribbean respondents who attended public schools agreed with the notion that there is little or no overt racism in fee-paying schools and that, above all, teachers encouraged achievement:

(47) 'I went to a fee-paying school until I was 18 and I had no problems neither with teachers nor pupils. Put it this way, I wasn't treated any differently from white pupils and I never expected to be. Pupils were there to work and teachers to teach and encourage. That they did and most pupils succeeded. The school was run on academic success and we were expected to achieve and we did, whether we were black or white. I consider myself fortunate to have attended such a school when so many blacks leave state schools without qualifications.'

One television researcher who went to fee-paying schools in Jamaica and Britain agreed that fee-paying schools were better for black children:

(39) 'My parents believe that if you pay for your education it is likely that you will get a better deal. I have always attended private schools here and in Jamaica. I had no problems in either country and as for racism, if it was there

I didn't see it. I was treated equally. It's a pity more black kids aren't able to go to private schools where they are given encouragement, discipline and made to work hard. It's the only way you can achieve.'

For this respondent the colour question never came up.

He explained,

(90) 'I went to one of Britain's top public schools. My parents weren't rich. I was adopted by a working-class white family but I passed a scholarship and went to this school. There were only about half a dozen blacks and Asians there and most were sons of presidents and prime ministers or whose parents were very rich. I was the only one there who was black and poor; that gave me a certain novelty and respect from both teachers and pupils. I was never made to feel any less by being who I was; on the contrary, I became special and some pupils would go out of their way to be friendly. Colour wasn't important there; they respected me because they knew that if I wasn't clever I wouldn't have been there. As for academic work, they expected the same from me as others - the best. There were never any limits set on what we could do academically. I believe sometimes that too much emphasis is placed on colour instead of ambition. If you want to be anything in life you shouldn't let being black stop you.'

However, not all African Caribbean respondents who went to

public schools had such idyllic experiences:

(97) 'I often felt uncomfortable with some teachers and pupils. They looked at me as if to say, "What are you doing here? You should be in Brixton." But I always tried to stop myself thinking this way but after two experiences I knew I was right. One day a girl who hadn't spoken to me before asked if it's true I lived in trees in Africa. I was stunned, so much so that I didn't know what to say for a few seconds, then I answered "Yes" as I was about to educate her. So pleased was she with the answer she went away smiling. My other experience was during a history lesson when a teacher began explaining how Britain had civilised the darkies of Africa. What was worse, he and the rest of the pupils were all looking in my direction. Instead of feeling nervous as I usually did I stood up and told them that the only thing Britain did for Africa was to steal its wealth. Afterwards there was a deadly silence in the room. I was trembling when I sat down. I imagined being packed off home in disgrace and I awaited the order to leave but it never came. The teacher simply turned to the blackboard and continued the lesson as if nothing had happened. I stayed on at school but was even more isolated than before. As for my academic achievement, very few people failed at that school; the teaching was good most of the time and we had good facilities, including a good library.'

(50) 'I was alone from day one. I had the feeling I wasn't wanted there. There was only one other black child there so we became friends. She, too, had been frozen out and like me was racially insulted from time to time. While teachers never discouraged me from learning, they never encouraged me either. They thought I was there because my parents could pay not because I was clever. Anyway they would never admit that I was cleverer than some white students and that's because I am black.'

(9) 'I was never accepted fully at my fee-paying school because I won a scholarship and was the only black pupil there and I came from a housing estate. Some students said to my face that I was bringing the tone of the school down. I was very lonely until my sister joined me. Teachers never said this openly but they always patronised me and my sister and never saw us as equal, but we did stay there and achieved academically to the surprise of some teachers.'

Most African-Caribbean respondents who attended fee-paying schools agreed that these schools are usually free from overt racism and teachers' low expectations. Fee-paying schools are portrayed by those who attended them as genuine places of learning with equal access of education for all. African-Caribbean respondents found low incidence of overt racism in these schools.

While many African-Caribbean respondents might agree with the sentiments behind Kerr Mackie 'Sunday Times' article of the 9/4/89 regarding good and bad schools, those who experienced racism overtly or covertly at whatever school might not agree that discrimination on the grounds of skin colour is not important in the achievement or under-achievement of black pupils. Although the consensus among those African-Caribbean respondents who attended public schools is that these schools were noted for their high academic achievement, it must also

be remembered that most African-Caribbean journalist respondents went to state schools and did equally well, obtaining high educational qualifications. It is fair then to say that private education is not the only reason for academic success. While those African-Caribbeans who attended private schools generally praised these schools for their equality and teacher encouragement, what are the experiences of those respondents who went to state schools?

EXPERIENCES IN COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS

The general view of state schools and their relationships with African-Caribbean children has been found in the literature reviewed in chapter three to be unsatisfactory. Education researchers like Wright (1985) and Gillborn (1990) have argued that in many comprehensive schools teachers are more concerned with disciplining African-Caribbean children than they are with academic achievement. As a group, 'Afro-Caribbean pupils experienced more conflict relationships with teachers; they were disproportionately subjected to the school reporting and detention system; they were denied any legitimate voice in complaints'(Gillborne 1990, 44).

In her investigation into the educational and vocational experiences of young people from ethnic minority groups, Wright found, too, that the relationship between teachers and pupils from West Indian origin

'was often antagonistic. The teacher-pupil relationship influenced the teachers' professional judgement of the pupils' ability and some West Indian pupils may have been placed in inappropriate ability groups and examination sets so restricting their educational opportunities'(Wright 1985, 22).

Do the experiences of African-Caribbean journalist respondents support these findings?

(22) 'I came to Britain aged 10 and soon after my education took a turn for the worse. The lessons I got here were inferior to what I received in Jamaica and I was treated as if I was stupid. I was put into low stream classes where academic achievement was not expected. I was often bullied and even spat upon at school. I had to fight against teacher racism and low expectations to get the two 'O'-levels which I managed to obtain before leaving school. It was after I left my comprehensive school that I gained educationally. I went to night school while I was in full-time employment and studied 'O'- and 'A'-levels before going to a poly.'

Another respondent had similar experiences in comprehensive school:

(40)'They did nothing for me. I left at 16 without any qualifications whatsoever and I wasn't thick. They wanted me to do CSEs when they knew I could do GCEs, so I took the CSEs and failed. I just couldn't be bothered. All I wanted to do was to get out. I left and went to a college of further education and passed eight 'O'-levels and three 'A'-levels. I didn't need to take so many but I had to prove I could do it. After I became a journalist I went back to the school to show them that I wasn't stupid.'

Most African-Caribbean respondents who attended comprehensive schools did however leave with high qualifications. How was this possible?

(25) 'I had to work and fight hard against racism both from teachers in the form of indifference and low academic expectations and racist name-calling from pupils. On top of that my parents split up just when I was about to go into the sixth form. I knew then that whatever the pressure at school I had to pass my exams and get good grades. My mother was depending upon me so I did.'

One journalist respondent said of his conflict with teachers at his comprehensive school,

(45) 'There were two of us black males in class and this one particular teacher made a point of picking on us all the time. At first I didn't take any notice, but eventually I stood up for myself and called her a racist, which she was. I was reported to the head who blamed me then warned if it happened again I would be expelled. I had my father there next day. He is six feet seven and very articulate and a teacher in a college. I am not sure what he said to the head but he told me to do my work and keep quiet. I never had any problems after that. The teachers didn't encourage me but they left me alone and didn't interfere when I made my options as they do in the case of most black pupils in my school.'

Another respondent similarly found no encouragement from his

teachers in comprehensive school:

(51) 'Nothing academic was expected from me or any other black pupil in that school. One negative response was when at a careers discussion I said I wanted to pass my exams and become a journalist. The teacher said I would have to be clever to become one. Looking back he did me a favour saying that. I was rather lazy at first, just doing the minimum of work but after that teacher's comment I worked really hard, just to prove to him I could pass my exam and that I was determine to become a journalist whatever he might think'(male television researcher).

Another respondent remembered how he was prevented by a

teacher from doing certain subjects in his comprehensive

school:

(49) 'I always wanted to be a photographer and work in newspapers or for magazines and if I was to get training I needed at least five 'O'-levels and two 'A'-levels and that had to include maths and physics. I foolishly told my teacher all this and because she wanted to stop me doing this course she told me that I wasn't good enough at either of these subjects to take them in 'O'-level. I didn't argue. I took my other 'O'-level subjects, left promptly at 16 and did a City and Guilds course in photography and succeeded.'

Another respondent recalled his experience in comprehensive

school:

(36) 'I told my teacher I wanted a career in radio or television and she quickly asked if I wanted to repair them. I was hurt. I knew that it was because I was black why she could only see me as repairing televisions or radios, not as a reporter. It is no thanks to teachers like those that I have achieved.'

The indifference and low expectations some African-Caribbean respondents experienced in comprehensive schools meant that some had to leave these schools in order to achieve, whilst others who achieved did so by hard work, determination and ambition. However, there were a few respondents who had some positive experiences in comprehensive schools.

(38) 'I enjoyed my comprehensive school. It was only two streets away and all my friends went there. Blacks out - numbered whites at this school so we didn't have any problems with racist name-calling and if anyone was brave enough to use racist abuse they would pay. The teachers were all right. They weren't very strict but if you did your work they were always fair. I really didn't have to study very hard. I just seemed to grasp things very quickly and so was able to pass exams.'

(5) 'I never experienced any racism, either from pupils or teachers, and I was positively encouraged to study hard when I told my teacher that I wanted to become a journalist. She told me that I needed a degree to do journalism and luckily she was my English teacher and as I wanted to do a degree in English I received a lot of encouragement and help. But not all the teachers were as good as her; some just didn't bother. I suppose they had too many difficult kids to try and teach.'

Another respondent stated:

(14) 'I received encouragement from my teacher at comprehensive school. He told me that I was bright and shouldn't waste my time doing CSEs. I should do 'O's and 'A'-levels and go off to university, away from that area. I was surprised at what he had said but pleased at the same time that he believed in me. I knew what he meant though. It wasn't really a good school. For instance, very few people went from there to college.'

However, such encouragement was rare for African-Caribbean respondents in comprehensive schools. Any encouragement would come from individual teachers and not the school as a whole. The experiences of African-Caribbean respondents who attended comprehensive schools confirm what Gillborn (1990) and Wright (1987) found, that some teachers are guilty of racial stereotyping and low expectations of this group. Respondent

experiences confirm Steadman's 1980 'Progress in Secondary School, Findings from The National Child Development Study', a nationwide follow-up survey of 16,000 children, which concluded that academically orientated children succeeded as well in comprehensive as in grammar schools. However, there is another quality which seems to have emerged from the experiences of these African-Caribbean respondents - that of the determination to succeed whatever the difficulties.

GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

The negative experiences many African-Caribbean respondents encountered while in comprehensive schools were not necessarily found in grammar schools and so it is therefore important to separate the two. What are the experiences of those African-Caribbean respondents who went to grammar schools? What are the similarities and differences?

(12) 'Racism was no problem for me at grammar school. My biggest problem was getting there. In junior school it was hard to keep out of trouble with kids calling you 'nig-nog' all the time and teachers always picking on you. Once I was at grammar school we were told how important education was and that we were there to succeed. Teachers were strict and took no nonsense. We had to work and we didn't mind.'

(10) 'My parents warned me that I had to pass the test and get into the local grammar school and I also wanted to go there too because it had a good reputation for exams. I didn't want to go to comprehensive school and there was only one grammar school in my area so I had to get in. I did. I had no problems all the years I went there apart from one silly girl who called me a black bastard because of jealousy - I had better marks than she did in English. I was glad I went to a grammar school. My friends who went to the local comprehensive left without proper qualifications and those who did manage to get only CSEs in grade four or five. What can you do with that?'

Other respondents praised grammar schools for their fair treatment and high expectations of pupils:

(84) 'There was no racism at my grammar school. I was treated like everybody else and expected to achieve academically. I didn't want or get any special treatment. We were all helped and encouraged equally and teachers were genuinely interested in our education. I am grateful to have been able to attend such a school. There are many people I know who weren't so fortunate. They have ended up in dead-end jobs because they don't have any education. I didn't want that to happen to me.'

(66) 'I went to Oxford and received a first class honours and if I didn't go to a grammar school it wouldn't have been possible. I was bright but lacked confidence. White teachers and pupils knocked any confidence I had while at junior school. I was about to give up then I went to grammar school. The teachers there were the opposite to those I had met in my previous school. They told me I could achieve anything. It was up to me and there was nothing I couldn't do. It was a refreshing change. Although my father had told me this before I didn't take any notice. I left grammar school with 10 'O'-levels and four 'A'-levels. I could hardly believe what I had achieved. My parents were pleased before but now they are ecstatic with my progress.'

Another journalist, who as a pupil felt that his whole future was at stake if he did not get into grammar school, said,

(44) 'If I didn't get into grammar school I wouldn't be doing this job today. My father kept pushing me. He didn't want to see me ending up like so many blacks on the street without education and qualifications. I was frightened that it would happen to me so I worked. Grammar school was all right. It was easier than my other school. I had only to concentrate on passing exams. No racism, or hardly any at all.'

Not all respondents experiences at grammar school were positive; although in the minority, some respondents found education in these schools difficult:

(82) 'I did what I had to do at grammar school that was to pass my exams, but my time there was not happy. I felt they didn't want me there. I was the only black face around and I suffered name-calling and the occasional physical attack from white pupils. I would have left but my parents would not hear of it and, anyway, where would I go? The local comprehensive school was worse. I just managed to pass my exams and I didn't bother to go to university. I felt that the same thing might happen, so I went directly on to a newspaper as a junior reporter.'

SCHOOLS ABROAD

Of the 70 African-Caribbean respondents, 49 were educated in Britain, 14 in Britain and abroad and 7 had their entire education abroad. What effect has this on the high educational achievement of these African-Caribbean respondents? Although in theory the educational system of the West Indies is similar to that of Britain, in practice, especially in Jamaica, education from 5-15 is not compulsory, so there are a number of people, especially in rural areas, who have not had the benefit of education. However, for those who go to school and are able to sit exams, the syllabus is similar to that in English private schools and colleges. These schools are staffed by teachers who were either trained in Britain or trained under similar arrangements as the British ones. It must be remembered, however, that most schools in the West Indies and Africa are overcrowded. Many have no books and nothing to write on. Only a few African-Caribbean respondents went to such schools. Many went to private schools and these schools are usually small and run by an equally small group of people and, while they may not have the same amount of resources as private schools in Britain, they operate on the same principles of discipline, hard work and academic achievement (1).

(1) Many black students and qualified people from abroad find that their qualifications are not readily accepted in Britain. The Swann Committee (1985), for example, called for the recognition of overseas teaching qualifications.

What then are the experiences of respondents who went to schools abroad and how well does their foreign education compare with British education?

(98) 'I was 13 when I arrived in Britain and began attending a comprehensive school. I went to a private school in the West Indies where discipline and hard work was the norm so I was surprised to find how easy going the teachers were here and the lack of discipline in the classroom. In Trinidad we had to respect our teachers and we also had to wear uniform which was inspected every day, if it wasn't clean we would be sent home.'

This respondent was surprised too at the slow pace of learning:

'I was way ahead of what was being studied in my comprehensive school in Britain. For instance, the maths I was given to do I had already done. Of course, they didn't believe me because they thought education in the West Indies was inferior. Here we didn't have to do our homework. In Trinidad if we didn't we could be expelled.'

Another respondent added,

(91) 'I couldn't believe the disrespect that was given to teachers in British schools because teachers in Jamaica have a high status and they would not put up with such behaviour. Pupils who argued with teachers would be thrown out and this would mean disgrace upon the family. With districts being so small everyone would know.'

This kind of regime is reminiscent of Victorian society when children were supposed to be seen and not heard. Yet it highlights an important point - that of discipline. Although discipline in private and grammar schools in Britain is not so severe as it is in the West Indies, these schools seem to exercise more control than inner city comprehensive schools and this is seen by some as one very important reason why children going to public or grammar schools do better academically.

Those African-Caribbean respondents who went to private schools in the West Indies and Africa were equally qualified as their counterparts in Britain. While studying the British syllabus and taking the same exams, they have the advantage of not experiencing racial prejudice. None of the respondents faced racial discrimination at their schools abroad, whether they attended state schools or private schools. Many experienced racial insults only when they came to schools in Britain. For example:

(75) 'I didn't think kids here could be so hostile. At school in Trinidad we had every race, black ,Indian, Chinese, mixed race and even whites. We got on well together. It was a private school and the only criteria was to be bright and to be able to pay for your education. When I came to state school in England it was my colour which mattered.'

Another journalist was warned by his parents who had lived in England about discrimination.

(53) 'I came to Britain at 16 to do 'A'-levels after attending a church school in Jamaica and was excited at the thought. But my parents warned me that things were different here, that blacks weren't treated well. I thought they were exaggerating. The first problem I had with the education system was when they questioned whether my 'O'-levels were equal to British ones. I waited nearly a month before I knew whether I could proceed and do my 'A'-level. My next disappointment was with the teaching. We had different teachers to do different subjects and sometimes those would change in the middle of term. There was hardly any continuity. Although there were no problems with pupils, as most were black, the teachers were patronizing; they didn't think we were capable of achieving.'

Because of the difficulties many African-Caribbean pupils face in state schools and because of their general educational under-achievement, a trend has developed for a minority of African-Caribbean parents to send their children back to the West Indies to be educated. As was argued earlier, only a few parents can afford to do this but those who do expect to give

their children a better chance of achieving academically in an atmosphere free from racism, teachers' low expectations and in schools where discipline and educational attainment are given a high priority (2). One respondent who was born in London but whose parents came from the West Indies and sent him to be educated there stated:

(81) 'I am grateful they sent me to the West Indies for my education. At first when it was proposed I was against it but I had no say in the matter. I was afraid to leave my parents and friends to go to people I did not know. I was sent to a private day school and my grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins all looked after me. I had a great time. While there I achieved a great deal, not just book qualifications but I learnt a great deal about my parents' country of origin and my culture. I only wish more black people were able to do what my parents did. At school in Barbados we were subjected to discipline, hard work, high academic expectations and no colour prejudice. At 18 I came back to England to attend university because they are free and better than the University of the West Indies.'

It is clear that those respondents who attended schools abroad were equally satisfied with the contribution these schools made to their high educational achievement as those who had attended British public or grammar schools. However, it has to be remembered that only a minority of African-Caribbean respondents had all their education abroad; the majority - 57 per cent - attended comprehensive schools in Britain. If the schools African-Caribbean journalist respondents attended are

(2) It is usually middle-class blacks who can afford to send their children to the Caribbean for their education. It is not surprising that these children achieve educationally because these schools in the Caribbean are private and run on similar lines as the British public Schools. In addition there is no colour discrimination and the children have role models in the form of black teachers.

not the only reason for their high academic achievement, what other reasons are there? Are some children more academic than others and will do well in whatever schools they attend? Respondents who came from poor socio-economic backgrounds relate their educational experiences.

RESPONDENTS FROM WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUNDS

(95) 'I come from a Jamaican family of six. My parents worked in the mills in the north of England. We were very poor but I was always bright at school, best in my class. They didn't encourage me to learn. I did it myself, not because they did not want me to but because they hadn't any education themselves and did not understand the system. I achieved academically and went to university, the first in my family to go into higher education. My brothers and sisters went to the same school but none did as well.'

Another journalist talked of her humble background and lack of any family support, despite which she succeeded:

(81) 'I don't know my mother. I was left in a toilet and brought up in a children's home. I was the only one from the home at that time to have achieved academically and go to college. I don't know how I did it because I went to a comprehensive school and was often teased because I had no parents. There was something in me that wanted to achieve from as long as I could remember and I was always interested in books and what went on in the world. That's what saved me.'

The experiences of these respondents demonstrate that they succeeded despite poverty and lack of family and school support. But, whether it can be said that these respondents as children were inherently more academic than African-Caribbean children who under-achieve at state schools is debatable. For if this were to be accepted it would mean that academic achievement depends upon some innate intelligence and not upon a variety of social factors including schools, teachers' expectations, parents and socio-economic background.

Another aspect of African-Caribbean respondents' high educational achievement may have been a result of individual ambition and interest in the world. For example,

(86) 'I was naturally curious from an early age and wanted answers to everything. Nothing could stop me from acquiring knowledge. At university I became very political because of my early curiosity and wanted to change the world.'

(78) 'I achieved because I was aware of my blackness and what it meant at an early age. My parents were members of the Labour party and I attended meetings with them. I also learnt how the system worked against blacks and I decided that I was going to work hard and go to college. I felt it was the only way to help myself and the black community. I needed to be a role model for other blacks.'

Others were influenced to achieve academically because of their poor background:

(10) 'I guess because I didn't want to be poor any more and I figured that education was the way out. My father was a signalman and my mother a cook. We had a hard time and they were unhappy with what they were doing. I didn't want that to happen to me. I wanted to earn enough money not just to scrape a living like my parents.'

(28) 'My mother worked in a factory and she was always tired. Yet we were always short of money because her wages were so bad. I vowed that I would never end up as she did and decided to work hard at school. But my friends who were in a similar position to me didn't bother. They left school without any qualifications. They had no ambition to get out of the cycle of poverty and under-achievement.'

(16) 'My achievement is a result of ambition and hard work. No one expected anything from me, not parents, not teachers. I lived on a housing estate where there was thieving, mugging and drugs and no one expected anything from me or any other kids from the estate. It was simple, I either had to achieve academically or I would end up like other young black men on the estate. I could not let that happen to me. I lost all my friends because I wanted to study. They saw me as a sell-out, but I would rather be a sell-out to them than to myself. I am a journalist while many of them are doing stretches in prison or have been there. Ambition is what it is all about.'

While personal ambition and natural curiosity about the world may be important prerequisites for African-Caribbean respondents, the influence of parents must be one of the most important reasons for children achieving. As Brennan et al stated:

'The home can provide the knowledge, support and encouragement that assists a successful educational career. The educational experiences of parents are likely to affect both their ability and willingness to assist in their children's education. Ethnic minority parents appear to value highly their children's education'(Brennan & McGeevor 1990, 27).

Halsey agreed, stating that,

'Differences between schools.. have relatively little effect on students' eventual educational attainment.. because the most important determinant of educational attainment is family background'(Halsey et al 1980, 7).

Is parental influence and family background then the main determining factor for the educational achievement of African-Caribbeans? Answers given by respondents may provide some indications:

(15) 'My father, who runs a small business, sacrificed a lot by sending me to a private school which he could hardly afford. He did so because schools in the inner-city areas of Birmingham would not give me the education I needed to go to university. He said that there were too many uneducated, unskilled young blacks walking the streets of Handsworth and he didn't want the same to happen to me.'

Another respondent whose parents were influential in his/her achievement stated,

(3) 'My parents were always strict. I had to do my homework and I wasn't allowed to waste time. They encouraged me to succeed, visited my school and spoke to my teachers. They were always interested in how I was getting on at school. I didn't like all that pressure at the time but I am glad they took an interest in my education which helped me achieve.'

Some respondents were encouraged by educated parents who believed in the advantages of education.

(84) 'My parents are both teachers and as Nigerians believed that education was important. They sent me to a fee-paying school in England and I was expected to achieve. There was no question of me not doing so.'

To some respondents their parents' high educational

expectations were perfectly natural:

(74) 'I come from a middle-class home. My father is a research scientist and my mother a National Health Service manager and they expected me to achieve, which I believe is perfectly natural. They have achieved not only educationally but in their professions and wanted the same for me. It was difficult not to achieve when your environment was full of books and information. For as long as I could remember there have been books all over our house. It was like a large, untidy library and we children learnt to read before we could talk.'

PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT

Many educationalists have argued that middle-class children are well placed to take advantage of learning because they come to school already equipped, having had the advantages of a middle-class background. However, it is generally argued that children from working-class backgrounds, especially African-Caribbeans, under-achieve because

'of the social and economic pressures faced by West Indian parents .. and the failure of some West Indian parents to appreciate the part which they must play in supporting schools and teachers in the education of their children'(Rampton 1981, 71).

Bynner's research on 'Parents' Attitude to Education' stated

that

'parents in the manual occupational group show signs of alienation from schools which their children attend. They provide the weakest educational support for their children .. their homes show least evidence of literacy .. some of those parents' other attitudes are out of step with those of school' (Bynner 1972, 39-40).

It might be argued that poverty, deprivation and institutional racism are the main reasons for the alienation of some working-class and black parents from their children's education. Despite the views of the two reports above, some African-Caribbean working-class parents do encourage their children to succeed academically. The interviews with several respondents confirmed this:

(85) 'My father is a labourer and my mother a cook. They have little book education but they wanted me to make something of myself . They encouraged and pushed me to achieve at school. They did not want me to end up like they did and education was the only way out.'

Other respondents were encouraged by their working-class parents to achieve:

(9) 'I am one of five children but I was the brightest and my parents, though uneducated recognised this when I was five or six. They then took me under their wings, encouraging me and buying extra books, although most of the time they had to borrow the money to do so. My father worked in a factory and my mother did dressmaking from home. Without their help and encouragement I would not have achieved and I am grateful to them.'

One respondent's father valued education so highly that he would have done anything to give him a good education:

(13) 'My father was a mechanic and he had always been sorry that he did not have any book qualification. He wanted me to succeed where he thought he had failed. He was prepared to sell our house to provide me with a private education had I not passed a scholarship. In the end he did not have to sacrifice our house. I always think how lucky I was to have parents who cared about my education because so many of my black friends' parents take no interest in their children's education. They send them to school and hope teachers will do the rest, but it doesn't work that way.'

It is clear that some African-Caribbean working-class parents are not indifferent to the educational achievement of their children.

(47) 'Both my parents worked in London Transport but they believed in education. For as long as I could remember they have often talked about members of their family who were in good jobs because they had education and they mourned the fact that they did not. Because of this the emphasis was on me and my younger brother and sister to do well at school. It wasn't always easy to be what they wanted you to be. I often rebelled, but I came to my senses when my mother pointed out that without education I would probably end up even worse than she in a factory. That got me moving and I never looked back.'

Some respondents said their parents were unable to help them with homework (3) and as schools did not care whether they achieved or not their parents employed private tutors:

(78) 'I had a private tutor once a week for an hour to help me with my maths and physics 'A'-levels. I don't know where my mother got the idea but it was a good one. I visited the tutor for at least six months and got 'B's in both subjects.

Another respondent who had private tuition which helped him to achieve academically stated:

(87) 'I failed my 'A'-levels the first time and my parents were very disappointed. My father who is a labourer, saw an advert in the paper for private tuition and after discussion with me and my mother decided to send me along. I did this for a year, attending once a week. The tutor was very good and I had individual attention from her. She was black and I am not sure whether psychologically it helped because I had never had a black teacher before, but I passed my 'A'-level on my second attempt.'

The working-class parents of some respondents were prepared to do everything possible to make sure their children succeeded educationally. The motive from the point of view of

(3) See Chevannes and Reeves (1987) who state that the Black Voluntary School Movement aimed to provide black children with additional teaching irrespective of educational attainment or ability to pay. However, the late 1980s have seen these schools charging fees and in some cases the fees are too much for parents with more than one child needing the service.

the parents seems to be the fear that if their children are not educated they will end up like them in low-paid, low-status jobs. Some respondents stated that their parents believed that education would eradicate racism in the job market:

(16) 'I was always told by my Mum that if I didn't have education as a black person I would not succeed. She believed that the reason why so many black people were in bad jobs was entirely due to their lack of education and that as a race blacks weren't ambitious enough. I didn't understand but one thing I knew was that there were very few blacks in important positions. There were none in the school I attended so I worked hard under the watchful eyes of my mother and succeeded.'

Evidence from this survey indicates that the educational achievements of African-Caribbean respondents do not entirely depend upon their social economic status, as was argued by Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985). Although the parents of these respondents may be the exception, their experiences demonstrate that some parents, despite their class, want their children to achieve educationally. This notion might be considered even further, most parents - working- or middle-class - want their children to acquire good educational qualifications in order to get decent jobs. The problem is that the education system is not equal in terms of class, race, or gender and generally the children who get the best from the educational system are those that are most advantaged in our society. However, the parents of many African-Caribbean respondents seem to have had a strong belief in education and qualifications, as many saw education as the only way out of poverty and deprivation.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND AND EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

The second chapter of this study argued that black immigrants who came to Britain in the 1950s and '60s were generally semi-skilled or unskilled but that even if they held skilled white-collar jobs in their country of origin they were unlikely to get a job of that nature in Britain. It was argued that while racism accounted for the generally low-status jobs immigrants were offered, other factors played just as important a part. For instance, when Britain was badly in need of labour after the war and these were 'the jobs which the white workers steered cleared of doing'(Cashmore & Troyna 1983, 47). The jobs offered to black immigrants at the time hardly included journalism and that was one reason why black people at this time were unable to seek journalism as an occupation. However, the jobs which immigrants did would possibly affect their children's educational achievement. As was stated earlier, the general view is that children from middle-class backgrounds are more likely to achieve than those from working-class backgrounds. Nevertheless, in the case of African-Caribbean respondents, most have come from working-class backgrounds and have achieved qualifications to equal those from middle-class homes.

The socio-economic background of African-Caribbean respondents has been examined to ascertain whether or not their background could be said to make an important contribution to their high academic attainment. This survey found that 40 per cent of

African-Caribbean fathers were in professional occupations, 30 per cent in skilled and white-collar occupations and another 30 per cent in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. In comparison, the PSI 1984 overall survey of the employment of ethnic minority men, found that seven per cent of West Indian men were employers, managers and professional workers, nine per cent skilled and white-collar workers, 48 per cent skilled manual workers and 36 per cent in the semi-skilled or unskilled category. There are therefore more African-Caribbean respondents' fathers in professional and white-collar occupations and fewer in manual or semi-skilled jobs than the PSI survey found in this group overall. The relatively large numbers of African-Caribbean respondents' fathers who occupy middle-class occupations may be seen as one reason why respondents have achieved academically. However, this does not explain why those respondents coming from working-class backgrounds had done just as well. It should also be stated that African-Caribbeans in middle-class occupations do not necessarily enjoy the same advantages materially as whites in similar positions and many middle-class blacks find themselves, despite their white-collar occupations, in similar circumstances to working-class blacks socially and materially. This has a direct effect on their children's education.

It is important also to look at the position of African-Caribbean mothers of respondents and their position in the labour market because some respondents came from single-parent families and in others, although their fathers were in

employment, their mothers were contributing equally to the family finances. The survey found that 37 per cent of African-Caribbean mothers were in professional occupations, 23 per cent in skilled and white-collar categories and 37 per cent in semi-skilled and unskilled. There was another three per cent of African-Caribbean mothers who were economically inactive, but those lived abroad. A high percentage of African-Caribbean respondents' mothers were economically active - 97 per cent overall, confirming the 1987 Labour Force Survey which showed that African-Caribbean women between the ages of 25-44 were the most economically active of all women in Britain (compared with 64 per cent for white women, 58 per cent for Indian women and 75 per cent for women of West Indian background). This high number of African-Caribbean mothers in employment might be an indication of their socio-economic position for, despite having partners/husbands in white-collar occupations, their financial position was such that they had to work. Academic achievement then for the children of many middle-class blacks cannot be said to be dependent upon their parents being financially comfortable, although some might be. The high concentration of African-Caribbean respondents' mothers in nursing - 21.4 per cent - demonstrates the positions of a large percentage of African-Caribbean women who occupy white-collar occupations. While it is recognised that nursing is a profession, it is also known that nurses' pay does not reflect their professional status.

It is important to reflect briefly on why so many African-Caribbean mothers are nurses. There is now well documented evidence that positive steps were taken to attract a large number of Commonwealth citizens into the National Health Service in the 1960s . At the time there was an acute staff shortages. Enoch Powell, the then-Minister of Health directly approach the government of Barbados for help. The women who came saw jobs in Britain's health service as a way of getting training and then returning to their country of origin. However, the NHS operated effectively to thwart both these dreams. Firstly, the training which was mainly offered to African-Caribbean women was as State Enrolled Nurses (SEN), a two-year practical nursing training which was not recognised outside Britain which offered no prospect of promotion. Very few African-Caribbean women were offered State Registered Nursing training (SRN), a three-year nursing training recognised around the world with prospects for promotion. This is highly significant because the SEN qualification is not recognised in the West Indies and the NHS had made it difficult for SENs to progress to SRN. There is, however, another reason why there are so many African-Caribbean respondents' mothers in nursing; many were unable to get better paid white-collar jobs (Akinsanya 1988).

TABLE 2: AFRICAN-CARIBBEAN RESPONDENTS' PARENTAL OCCUPATIONS

Occupation:	fathers	mothers
Professional	40 per cent	37 per cent
Skilled, White-Collar	30 per cent	23 per cent
Semi-Skilled/ Unskilled	30 per cent	37 per cent
Inactive	-	3 per cent
TOTAL:	70	70

ASIAN RESPONDENTS AND EDUCATION

Most Asian respondents, like their African-Caribbean counterparts, went to state schools. Of the 30 Asian respondents, 16 went to state schools, four to grammar school and 11 to public schools. Half of the Asian respondents attended either public or grammar schools, as compared with only one third of African-Caribbeans. Fewer Asian respondents went to state school - just over half, as compared with two-thirds of African-Caribbeans.

The educational experiences of Asians in British schools are said to be different from those of African-Caribbeans. For example, the 1985 Swann Report found that while African-Caribbeans were under-achieving, Asians were 'over-achieving', yet both groups were subjected to racism within schools and society generally. Swann reported that while only

one per cent of African-Caribbeans continued to higher education, 4 per cent of whites and 5 per cent of Asians did so. The difference between the educational achievement of African-Caribbean and Asian pupils was explained by Gillborn in his study of an inner-city comprehensive school:

'In marked contrast to the myth of African-Caribbean pupils as a threat to authority, there was a general feeling among City Road teachers that Asian pupils were "quiet and certainly not trouble makers". This belief survived despite the fact that teachers sometimes saw fit to discipline Asian pupils.. Classroom observation indicated that Asian pupils experienced teacher-pupil relations which were generally similar to those of their white peers of similar degrees of academic involvement'(1990, 80).

Asian respondents to this survey had a high level of educational achievement. The survey found that 83 per cent had a first degree. This compared with 71 per cent of African-Caribbean respondents. Among the Asian respondents there were 272 'O'-levels, 86 'A'-levels with 23 per cent holding a Masters degree and six per cent a Ph.D (see table 1). Are the reasons for high academic achievement by Asian respondents similar to those of the African-Caribbeans?

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Many Asian respondents who attended private schools had no doubt why they achieved educationally. For example:

(46) 'Having public school education was superior to state education in Kenya, that's why my parents gave me a private education. If the school is no good you can't expect to learn and achieve. However, I came to Britain at 12 and experienced state education in London for a year, which had a lot to be desired. My parents, caring about my education, took me away and I was packed off to another private school.'

Another Asian respondent was proud of the fact that he had enjoyed a private education and explained:

(48) 'My private education in India and Britain was good for me. My parents wouldn't have done otherwise and I didn't expect to be given anything but the best kind of education. The school I attended in India is what is known as the Eton of India.'

Did Asian respondents find any racism in their private schools in Britain?

(37) 'In my private school in India there was no problem. We had pupils only from the educated or upper caste. Colour was not a problem. In England the story is somewhat different, here your colour does matter. While I was never bullied or called names in my private boarding school in England I was never invited either to meet anyone's mummies or daddies and when parents were around pupils who normally spoke to me pretended they had never seen me before. Although I was aware of this I took no notice because many of those pupils if they were in India I wouldn't want to know them either. Anyway, I was there to get a good education which I did.'

Another respondent said of his experience in private school:

(57) 'My fee-paying school was fine but I was ignored from the time I arrived until I left, not by all pupils but by most. Maybe I was expecting too much but I did expect to be treated like everyone else and I wasn't. The teachers were good though; they expected you to learn and were always willing to help if you had a problem, although I wouldn't say they were generally very friendly.'

However, these negative experiences of private schools were related by only a few Asian respondents. The majority experiences in private schools were generally positive.

(59)'I was educated in a private school until I went to Cambridge and if I hadn't been I would not have achieved. My parents were told about racist name-calling in some of these schools that Asians have to endure. I never experienced any of this in my private school; pupils and teachers never treated me any differently and I made many friends there. We had to work, that was expected of all pupils. Teachers didn't have to tell us why we were there we all knew that society expected us to be the next leaders. So we achieved.'

(70) 'I went first to a state school and had to leave because of pupil racism. My parents then sent me to a private school. There was a big difference; no one called me names and the atmosphere was easy going. Teachers helped and encouraged me throughout. I would not have passed my exams and go to university if I wasn't sent to a private school. At state school I became afraid to go to school and I wasn't learning anything. At private school the emphasis wasn't on your colour but on education and I think that is what all schools should do.'

(61) 'I went to a fee-paying school and I had no trouble with racism but then I didn't expect to have any. These schools are not likely to be racist or if they are they wouldn't show it because it's bad for business. They have to encourage all pupils to succeed whatever their colour. After all, it's the money that's important not your colour.'

One Asian respondent believed that where you go to school and who you mix with is important to educational achievement.

(48) 'Let's be honest, if you are mixing with people from a council estate how can you achieve? None of them want to study; their only interests are in football and the bookies. They are losers. In a private school you mix with people who have wider interests and who know where they are going. This rubs off on you.'

Like African-Caribbeans, Asian respondents who attended private schools all agreed that these schools were the reason for their high educational achievement. However, it can be argued that while private schools are generally geared to producing pupils with high educational achievement, not all pupils who attend these schools achieve educationally, although most do. As was stated earlier in this chapter, the majority of Asian respondents, like African-Caribbeans, went to state schools, yet this did not prevent them achieving educationally equally to those who attended private schools. What are the reasons behind Asian respondents' educational achievement in state schools?

GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

Grammar schools are generally seen as similar to private schools in that an educational elite is educated and because these schools are used mainly by the middle classes the emphasis is on achieving educationally. Were Asian respondents encouraged to achieve at these schools? These are their experiences:

(52) 'I went to a grammar school in Leicester and was treated well by my teachers. They expected me to do well because I was there. The problems I had was with racist pupils. The school was in a white area of Leicester and there were only two blacks in the whole school, myself and an African boy. We both had hell. I was a Paki and he was a nig-nog. If it wasn't for my mother I would have left.'

(58) 'I went to grammar school and didn't have much trouble apart from one incident when a teacher suggested that there were too many immigrants in Britain and that they should be repatriated. Thankfully he was in a minority of one and I never came across that kind of thing again. The educational standard was good, much better than I had in primary school.'

(93) 'I didn't fit into my grammar school. I felt that I shouldn't have been there. Although the teaching was good, I felt unwelcome and this made me unhappy most of the time. In the end it affected my studies and I just scrapped through my exams.'

Other Asian respondents had more positive experiences at grammar schools:

(62) 'I had no trouble in my grammar school. The teachers were all right and they treated me no differently from other students. They were fair and expected me to do any work I was set. I was very lucky to have been to such a school. 90 per cent of its pupils went on to university or colleges. We were expected to work and we had a say into what we studied for 'O' and 'A'-levels. My friends at comprehensive schools never had this privilege.'

Both Asian and African-Caribbean respondents had similar mixed experiences regarding racism in grammar and private schools and both groups of respondents who attended private or grammar

schools believed that attending these schools had helped them to achieve educationally because there were high teacher expectations and encouragement to do well. While such encouragement and high expectations are invaluable for educational achievement, they cannot be said to be the only reason for Asian or African-Caribbean respondent's high educational achievements. It is relevant, therefore, to look at the experiences of respondents who achieved academically at comprehensive schools.

COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS

(60) 'My comprehensive school was the pits but I didn't let name-calling bother me. I was determined to succeed. The teachers were all right to me although not to all blacks. I suppose if they had it in for you it couldn't have been easy. I made sure I held my head down and did as I was told. To be truthful I didn't care what teachers or pupils thought of me, I knew why I was there, - to win, and I did.'

(56) 'My comprehensive was not too good but wherever I went to school I would have achieved. I wanted to and that's what it takes .. I went to school to study and get my exams. I wanted then to become a lawyer and earn lots of money, so my aim was to be the best in my class always and I managed it most of the time. I wasn't held back by teachers although I had many racist insults from pupils but they don't count.'

(61) 'My comprehensive school did little for my education. They were totally indifferent if we learnt or not, so most pupils didn't. I was frequently call Paki and told to go back where I came from despite the fact that I was born in London and that my parents came from India and not Pakistan. It only showed their ignorance. It wasn't until after I left comprehensive school that I received an education. I attended night school for three years. I achieved five 'O's and three 'A'-levels, then I went to college.'

The experience of this Asian respondent is usually more common among African-Caribbean pupils in state schools than Asians where teachers in general have higher expectations of them. Some Asian respondents, like African-Caribbeans, also suffered racial abuse at their comprehensive schools.

(17) 'I went to a tough inner-city comprehensive school. Things were so bad that we would only go into the playground in groups and then if anyone called us names or tried to attack us we could defend ourselves. Generally the teachers were all right. We could ask them any question and they would help us until at a careers session I told my teacher that I wanted to become a journalist on one of the national papers. She laughed, then said that people like me don't become journalists, I should open a business instead.'

Another respondent experienced similar racial stereotyping which can interfere with pupils' educational achievement:

(11) 'My comprehensive school was good and even the pupils were all right most of the time and I made friends with white students. However, when I came to choose my subjects, I wanted to do languages which I have always been interested in but the teachers thought that I should do science subjects just because I was Asian. One teacher told me that my people were good at science so I should do it. If my parents hadn't intervene I would have left school without qualifications because I would have refused outright to do science I was fed up with teachers who believed that all Asians were the same, that in my book is racism.'

Gillborn, in the study previously referred to found that racial stereotyping was a common occurrence in comprehensive schools. He found that African-Caribbean children are stereotyped as undisciplined with low intellect and Asians as hard working and passive and especially good at certain subjects, for instance - science, accounting and computing. Gillborn argues that racial stereotyping actual helped Asian pupils to do well because they are expected and encouraged to achieve academically by teachers. The opposite is the case for

African-Caribbean pupils who are generally seen as trouble makers. Some Asian respondents explained how they were personally helped by teachers.

(16) 'I went to a good comprehensive school. I had no problem and teachers were fair. I was lucky to have mentioned that I wanted to become a journalist to my English language teacher who told me that I needed to do a degree in English and she helped me to choose subjects which she thought would be useful for journalism. I am grateful to her.'

(61) 'I never met a teacher in my school who discouraged me. Some took it for granted that us Asians would do well. They were surprised sometimes to find that not all of us were academic or wanted to do well.'

(55) 'Teachers in my comprehensive school were very good and encouraged me. I wanted to become a pharmacist and teachers helped me in my choice. I was helped until I left that school. One particular incident which showed how good teachers were at my school. I was attacked by two white pupils in the corridors. I told a teacher who immediately reported the boys to the headteacher. That school never encouraged racial attack, or abuse.'

The pattern emerging from the Asian respondents' accounts is that many were encouraged by comprehensive school teachers although into restricted subject choices. Very few African-Caribbean respondents related that they were encouraged by teachers at comprehensive schools. This confirms the findings of Wright (1985) and Gillborn (1990), as well as the evidence to the 1985 Swann Inquiry of low teacher expectations of African-Caribbean pupils in state schools. Teachers' high expectation of pupils, whether in private or grammar schools, has emerged as crucial for high educational attainment, but is this the only factor associated with Asian respondents' high educational achievement? What of the influence of culture and their parents, so often talked about in regard to Asians and education?

PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT

The educational expectations of most Asian respondents' parents were high and some respondents accepted this unquestioningly. For example:

(43) 'Both my parents are doctors and getting a good education was as natural as breathing air. My parents expected it and my brother and I achieved. It was simple.'

Having financial resources also helped,

(41) 'My father is a shipping importer and we were expected to achieve academically, after all, he paid a lot for our education. As a child my life was easy and care-free, but there was pressure to achieve so I did so as not to hurt my parents.'

(55) 'I come from a fairly wealthy Indian background and most of my family, including my parents have a good education. My family believe that education is the most important thing; it is not only important to get a good job but it gives status.'

Some Asian respondents stated that their high achievement in education was due to their parents' own education,

(57) 'Both my parents have university degrees and so I was expected to do the same. I once spoke of not going to university and this was not greeted particularly well. My parents were deeply unhappy just at the thought.'

(72) 'My father lectures in a college and he wanted us to do the same as he or to become doctors. He never had to tell us that we had to pass exams we just knew we had to. It was our duty so we never questioned it, not just because they were our parents but we knew that they wanted the best for us.'

Not all Asian respondents however had such advantageous backgrounds, yet they achieved:

(61) 'My parents divorced when I was eight and life was hard for my mother and me. This did not stop my mother and her family from expecting any less from me because my father had gone away. In fact, they expected more. I remember my mother would often come to the school and enquire about my work. She also often made sure I did my home work and if my marks

weren't good I would have to work harder. I am glad she made sure I did my work for I could easily have ended up without qualifications and I couldn't have become a journalist.'

(76) 'My parents although not educated themselves have always expected their children to do well. I come from a family of 10 and we were very poor. When I was a kid my father worked as a labourer and my mother in a sweat shop in order to feed and clothe us. Education was important and my parents believed that if you were educated in England you would be set up for life. Achieving academically and getting a good, well-paid job is not just an achievement for you and your family but for the whole community where everyone is proud of you and you command respect.'

(27) 'Since we were children my parents have always told us how lucky we were to be born in London. They told us of their hard life in India and said we should get educated if we wanted a better life. There was no question then of us not achieving academically.'

From the interviews with Asian respondents it is clear that many enjoyed a great deal of parental support and encouragement. In fact, as was stated earlier, respondents accepted the pressure placed on them by ambitious parents. It was an expected duty, whether coming from a prosperous background or not, that these respondents should achieve educationally. What then are the social backgrounds of Asian respondents and how important are their backgrounds to their educational achievement?

Data collected for this survey showed that 50 per cent of Asian fathers were in professional occupations with 36.7 per cent in skilled and white-collar occupations and 13.3 per cent semi-skilled or un-skilled. In comparison, the PSI survey of 1984 showed that in the overall population only 14 per cent of Asian men worked in the professions or as managers, with 12 per cent in non-manual occupations, 36 per cent in skilled

manual and 38 per cent semi-skilled or unskilled. Although Asian women are not as economically active as African-Caribbean women, many do work and contribute to family income and so, like African-Caribbean respondents' mothers, can also be seen in economic terms. This survey showed that 23.3 per cent of Asian respondents' mothers were in professional occupations with 20 per cent in skilled and white-collar occupations and 16.7 per cent in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. There were, however, 40 per cent economically inactive.

The high numbers of Asian respondent's parents occupying middle-class position is a result of the 1962 Immigration Act which issued 'B' vouchers to large numbers of middle-class Asians to come to Britain. In the first five years of the Act 31,000 'B' vouchers were issued to Asians but only 519 issued to West Indians (4). However, it must be remembered that there were not many professional West Indians who wanted to come to Britain; many went instead to the United States and Canada where they received better wages.

(4) See Rose (1969) on control of Commonwealth Immigrants, especially pp. 83-88.

TABLE 3 ASIAN RESPONDENTS' PARENTAL OCCUPATIONS

Occupation:	fathers	mothers
Professional	50 per cent	23.3 per cent
Skilled/ White-Collar	36.7 per cent	20 per cent
Unskilled and Semi-skilled	13.3 per cent	16.7 per cent
Economically Inactive	-	40 per cent
TOTAL	30	30

It might be argued that the middle-class background of many Asian respondents is responsible for their high educational achievement. It is fair to say that those respondents coming from middle-class homes were more likely to achieve than those from less materially and culturally secure environments. However, while there can be no doubt that such an atmosphere is indeed beneficial and in some cases important for high educational achievement, as was pointed out earlier, simply coming from a middle-class home is not the only factor in accounting for respondent's high academic achievement. It is also important to look at middle-class Asians and their position in the labour market as compared with their white counterparts. Like African- Caribbeans, the Asian middle class do not occupy the same position as middle-class whites in the same occupations for, due to institutional racism,

middle-class Asians and African-Caribbeans are not fully integrated into the class system. The implication is that Asians and African-Caribbeans occupy an insecure position in the labour market and are not as wealthy as the white middle class (5).

One important consequence of this is seen in the high percentage of Asian respondents' fathers, 33 per cent of whom were in business, much higher than the overall 18 per cent (PSI 1982). The myth of rich Asian businessmen may come to mind but of the Asian respondents whose parents are in business only two reported that their parents were prosperous, most saw their parents' businesses as something they would not be continuing. These respondents summed up the general difficulties many small Asian businesses are subjected to:

(4) 'My father runs a newsagent but the rewards are not too good and my mother who works in the shop has to take a part-time job as well.'

(76) 'My family run a small grocery shop which is open until late seven days a week. It's hard work and we only scrape a living. I sometimes wonder why they bother; they work so hard for so little. I used to help out when I was at college but during exams I couldn't and I always felt guilty when I watched them working so hard. I never wanted that for myself.'

(5) See Dayes (1987) 'The Black Middle Class', unpublished Ph.D thesis Aston University.

SUMMARY

Although this is not representative of all black people trying to get into journalism, the survey of black respondents education showed they had more degrees than did all journalists, on average 71 per cent to 55 per cent. On dividing African-Caribbeans from Asians, it was found that more Asians had degrees than African-Caribbeans, 83 per cent to 65 per cent, confirming the well accepted view that Asians do better than African-Caribbeans in education. More Asians also went to private schools than African-Caribbeans - 35 per cent compared to 10 per cent. However, one similarity is that most respondents, whether Asians or African-Caribbeans went to state schools. There is a difference however between the experiences of Asian respondents and African-Caribbean respondents in comprehensive schools. While Asian respondents suffered from pupil racism, very few complained about teacher racism. In fact, many Asian respondents said their teachers in comprehensive schools had high expectations of them even though they were stereotyped to do well in certain subjects. For African-Caribbeans the picture was different. They suffered from teacher racism and low expectations. There were few exceptions to this. Another similarity between the two groups is that both Asian and African-Caribbean respondents who attended private or grammar schools said they benefitted educationally. They also believed that the policies in private and grammar schools of discipline, hard work and teacher high expectations of all pupils, regardless of race or gender were the key to their success.

By socio-economic grouping, there were more Asian fathers in social class one - 50 per cent - as compared to 41 per cent African-Caribbean fathers. There were also more Asian fathers found in social class two and the intermediate group - 74 per cent as compared with 30 per cent African-Caribbean. However, there were more African-Caribbean fathers found in the semi-skilled and unskilled category than Asians. It could be argued from this evidence that many Asian respondents owe their high educational achievement to their middle-class background, but while this may be partially true it does not explain why Asians and African-Caribbeans from poor homes who attended comprehensive schools achieved equally. It is clear that there are many factors involved. While those respondents who attended private and grammar schools agreed that these schools helped them to achieve educationally, most respondents from comprehensive schools, believed that their comprehensive schools were unsatisfactory for achieving educationally, with one respondent describing his comprehensive as 'the pits'. Respondents from these schools believed that their educational achievement was due to their own ability, hard work and parental encouragement and support in the form of parents paying for extra lessons even if they could hardly afford them.

CHAPTER SIX

BLACK JOURNALISTS AND TRAINING

INTRODUCTION

It was concluded in chapter four that journalism as an occupation expected high educational qualifications from those who want to train and work as journalists and in chapter five it was found that respondents had higher educational qualifications than journalists overall. It might be expected then that most respondents would be offered places on journalism training courses. However, despite their high qualifications, only 47 per cent of respondents had recognised journalism training. So why are so few respondents trained and what effect if any does discrimination have on the under-representation of black people in journalism training?
Firstly, the role of the career service and its relationship with black people has to be examined as it is an important point of information for most young people black or white.

EXPERIENCE WITH THE CAREERS SERVICE

A report into ethnic minorities and the Careers Service found that 'ethnic minority young people have significantly higher aspirations than their white peers'. Yet, despite this, these aspirations were being thwarted by the 'negative evaluations'

and 'popular stereotypes reflected in some careers officers' assessments of abilities and personalities'(Cross et al 1990). Several respondents had negative responses from teachers and careers advisers when they sought information on journalism as a career.

(82) 'I received no help from careers advisers at college about journalism. They expected me to open a corner shop because I had taken an economics degree or maybe they thought that was what all Asians wanted.'

(70) 'I received all my information about journalism from my parents who were both journalists. Careers people paid me little attention. Jobs in banks and accountancy was all they were prepared to give me information about.'

Several respondents complained that careers officers racially stereotyped them. One African-Caribbean television journalist said:

(58) 'My careers teacher told me that journalism was for intelligent people and that I would be better off taking up sports as a career. I was very angry with her and almost reported her to the CRE, but decided that it wouldn't change anything. I had to search the library for information about journalism.'

Another journalist expressed her disappointment:

(61) 'I was at a fee-paying school and you would have thought that they had information on all occupations, including journalism but they didn't. I was told that they didn't encourage their students into certain occupations and journalism was one of them and anyway I should become a doctor like my father as so many educated Asians are doctors. Because of this I didn't get any information about journalism until I went to university and began writing for the paper there.'

Some respondents felt that it was not worthwhile seeking the help of careers officers:

(2) 'I didn't bother to consult my careers officer at college. My friends before me didn't get much help so I figured I wouldn't get much help either. They would have only tried to put me off journalism as they don't see Africans as journalists. It's all right for us to be written about but we shouldn't be the ones writing about others!'

The first problem encountered by most respondents trying to get into journalism was not getting the information they sought, because of discriminatory careers advisers who try to discourage them. The 1976 Race Relations Act made

'it unlawful for those responsible for careers advice (teachers, lecturers, LEA careers officers) to refuse to give advice to pupils or students on racial grounds, or to dissuade them on racial grounds from considering particular career, education or training opportunities'(CRE 1992, 25).

However, despite the law, respondents have stated that they experienced discrimination in the career advice system.

Another problem faced by the black person seeking journalism as an occupation is qualifications. Although 71 per cent of respondents had received higher education, there was still no certainty that they would be accepted as trainee journalist. How and where they got their qualifications might also be taken into consideration by journalistic training courses. The CRE, in its 1990 report 'Ethnic Minorities and the Graduate Labour Market', found that some employers and training courses prefer people who have followed a conventional educational path, taking all their 'O'-levels or GCSEs at one time, then moving on to 'A'-levels and then to a university degree. The report found that employers and trainers dislike career breaks and that they see former polytechnic degrees as second-best. It might be argued that such attitudes help to maintain class and race barriers in society.

Employers and trainers using such guidelines for accepting employees and trainees would exclude a number of people,

especially black graduates. Many ethnic minority graduates leave school without qualifications and then return to education later, while others arrive in Britain having had their education abroad. Although respondents were mainly educated in Britain, a significant number (36 per cent) had some of their education abroad. The CRE report also found that black graduates were 'less likely to attend university than white British students'(Brennan & McGeevor 1990, 33). One reason is that many universities are not catering for ethnic minorities living in Britain and they also have a poor record on equal opportunities. Another reason why universities might not welcome ethnic minority students could be that some get lower grades in their 'A'-levels and universities are not prepared to have these students while former polytechnics will accept them. Getting lower grades does not mean that ethnic minority students are incapable of achieving high grades but is probably due to many being older when they return to higher education.

Such discriminatory attitudes by trainers, employers and universities might also be found in journalism training schools which would account for the under-representation of black people in journalism training. If black people are being excluded from training courses whether in general or in journalism courses because they have a broken educational history or because their degree was gained at a former polytechnic this would be in breach of the 1976 Race Relations Act. While these criteria refer to all racial groups, it is

discriminatory in its effect on one particular racial group and is thus indirectly discriminatory. As has been stated earlier in this chapter, 47 per cent of respondents had no formal journalistic training with most claiming that discrimination was the cause. They explained:

(80) 'I have no formal training but I wanted to get on to the BBC production course. I was told that you have to be in the BBC two years to have a chance to get on the course. As a black person you need to be very lucky, because there are so many white Oxbridge people trying to get in as well, people like me hardly stand a chance but we have to try.'

Similarly,

(5) 'I haven't a degree and it has hindered me although I have five 'O'-levels and three 'A'-levels. I applied to the BBC for a radio reporter's traineeship. It's an on-going thing. I have applied several times but they have rejected me each time but I keep trying. I would ring up the BBC, talk to personnel who told me to apply for the course. I did, but was never accepted. After several attempts I was interviewed and told that my skills were best suited to radio production but then when I applied to the BBC for a radio production course I was also not accepted. I began working on a black-only radio programme for the BBC and it was then that I had the opportunity to get onto a production course. Unfortunately it wasn't the standard course. It lasted only five weeks and it wasn't helpful. They were teaching me things I had already done.'

Another respondent believed that going to a polytechnic had so far prevented him from getting training:

(29) 'I have a media degree from a polytechnic and it's a pretty good degree and it never occurred to me that I would find it difficult to get into journalism training but I did. No one has told me that it is my poly degree that is the problem, but I have noticed that the majority of those taken on are white and from universities especially Oxbridge, even some of the blacks they take came from these colleges.'

(87) 'I am well qualified and have applied for many courses without success - City University twice, Thompson Newspapers, Reuters and the BBC. It is difficult to see why I was not accepted apart from thinking that I didn't attend the right university or that I came from the wrong background. The BBC, for instance, wants to know what your parents do and where you went to school. I am not sure what that has to do with training as a journalist. In the selection process they choose those from Oxbridge or other well known universities and throw

the rest in the dustbin. I didn't let this put me off from becoming a journalist, so I began working for the Black Press and built up a profile. After a year I applied to a local paper and was accepted for a traineeship.'

While there is no evidence to suggest that journalism courses discriminate against people who received their education at former-polytechnics the temptations by schools of journalism to accept people from well known universities are great (1). However, not only are schools of journalism accused by respondents of discrimination against those who attended former-polytechnics and lesser universities in Britain, they are also accused of bias against those people who received their education abroad the notion apparently being that European education is best. For example,

(59) 'My education and journalist training took place in Sweden. My parents emigrated there from Africa. When I came to Britain looking for work as a journalist I was told that my training wasn't accepted in this country, although I couldn't see why. I decided to retrain in Britain, but when I applied I was told that my Swedish educational qualifications were below those in Britain so I couldn't be accepted.'

Respondents from other parts of the world had similar experiences of discrimination because their training and education were not in Britain:

(68) 'I was educated in India, then trained as a journalist on 'The Times of India'. The training is good. The first month you are in the classroom but afterwards you are sent out to work on various papers and magazines. But my training was not recognised in Britain. I was prepared to retrain but I was never accepted on any courses. It was also difficult getting jobs because I wasn't trained in this country. I tried getting jobs in national newspapers but they didn't recognised my training in India.'

(1) For example, the BBC has some 5,000 applications for their television courses each year to fill 12 places. Postgraduate journalism courses at City University and Cardiff are equally popular and are several times over-subscribed.

(6) 'I got journalistic skills in India by working in several newspapers after I had done two degrees but to my surprise neither my education nor years of journalistic experience counted in Britain. The old colonialists still believe that only what is done in Britain or Europe is good. They cannot bring themselves to think that my training in India is as good as theirs. But the worst thing was that they were not even prepared to retrain me because they did not consider my Indian education equal.'

SPONSORSHIP

One positive way of dealing with the under-representation of black people on media courses is sponsorship (2). For those well-qualified black people who want to go into journalism but are unable to secure loans or who are unwilling to get into debt there are a number of media organisations willing to offer sponsorship to black trainee journalists. Such practices are seen as positive action programmes and recommended by the CRE. The NUJ, with its George Viner Fund, was the first organisation to offer sponsorship to black people for journalism courses. It began in 1987 and to date has sponsored some 40 black people into journalism. 'The Guardian' as well as Channel 4 is also involved in sponsoring black trainee journalists. Although the numbers of black people sponsored for journalism training is relatively small, sponsorship is seen by the NUJ Black Members' Council as a positive step in re-dressing the balance.

(2) For example the NUJ was the first union to sponsor black people for journalism training in 1987. It was part of the union's equal opportunities policy. By 1993, the union had given financial assistance to some 100 black people to undertake journalism training.

Three respondents were funded by the NUJ George Viner Fund and one by 'The Guardian'. Being funded was important to them:

(26) 'I was one of the first people to be sponsored by the NUJ's George Viner Fund. I am glad they did or else I would not have been able to take up the course. I was accepted on a postgraduate course but was not entitled to a grant and my parents could not help me. I was desperate to do the course and couldn't see a way out. I thought about taking out a loan but was worried whether the bank would give me the money or whether I could pay it back. I learnt about the George Viner Fund just in time. I am grateful to the NUJ.'

(48) 'I couldn't afford the fee. Neither could I afford to pay my rent, buy books and generally live while I did the pre-entry postgraduate course. I was refused a grant because I already had one grant and at that point everything seemed useless. I wanted to become a journalist since I was at secondary school and I could see my chances slipping away if I didn't do the course. I tried to borrow money from my parents but they didn't have enough. They could only give me £300 which was all they had but that sum was inadequate. I saw the George Viner Fund advertised in the Black Press and applied. I was accepted and couldn't believe my luck. The NUJ helped me enormously. Without their help I would have had to do freelancing and hope that I would be accepted as a direct entrant to a local newspaper. Since receiving my postgraduate diploma in broadcast journalism I have been accepted by the BBC on their trainee production scheme. It is all due to having done the postgraduate course. The BBC would not have accepted me otherwise.'

(2) 'I was sponsored by the George Viner Fund after being let down by a Black newspaper which promised to fund my course. I was accepted on a three month periodical journalism course and two weeks before the course I was told that the paper was in financial difficulties and that they could not help me as promised. I applied to the NUJ and they helped, although they weren't able to cover all my expenses.They paid my college fees which was the main thing. It is good that the NUJ is doing this sort of thing. It does help to redress the balance. There are so few blacks in journalism and I am glad that the NUJ is leading the way in helping to solve the problem.'

'The Guardian' sponsors only one black person a year so competition is fierce. One respondent explained how she managed to get sponsorship:

(9) 'I wrote to 'The Guardian' as soon as I was guaranteed a place on a postgraduate course and I was funded. I was very lucky because at the time I was 35 and older than most trainee

journalists. I don't know why I was chosen. Maybe it was because I am a woman or maybe my application letter was more impressive than anyone else's. But it doesn't matter why, the main thing was I was able to do the course. I would have had to give up the course if I wasn't funded. I had no money and my parents could not have been expected to finance me at my age and I didn't expect them to so. I had changed career. I was a nurse before I decided to become a journalist. If I was not sponsored, I would not have been able to work as a journalist, it is as simple as that. I believe training to be vital. If you haven't training you do yourself a dis-service, because you can't do the job properly and no one will employ you. If they do you won't be kept long. I'll be a Guardian reader for life after this!'

Not all respondents aged 30 and over found it as easy to get into journalism training. City University is probably the exception. Its head of journalism, Professor Hugh Stevenson, explained that they 'take trainees up to the age of forty who have a degree (1991). He believes that women in this age range are usually better as they have more experience of life and so can contribute more to journalism. Professor Stevenson admitted that it is difficult for those over 25 to be accepted as junior reporters on local newspapers but mature students of journalism can find jobs in magazines and as television researchers. It means that mature people trying to get into journalism have limited job prospects. This in many cases will affect black people who usually go into higher education when they are older. It is, however, not surprising that people over 30 who want to get into journalism find it difficult to get training, for journalism as an occupation has long been seen as profession for the young. Boyd-Barrett, in his 1970 survey, found that 'over three-quarters of the sample were aged between 18 and 20 inclusively'(1970, 187). Although Barrett's sample was mainly taken from colleges and not

postgraduate courses where the ages are 21 and over, it gives some indication as to the youth of journalist students (3).

Two respondents in their mid-thirties talked about their experiences when they tried to get journalism training:

(40) 'I did the first print journalism course at the Polytechnic of Central London (PCL) Black-only course. I tried getting into other courses but at 35 they wouldn't accept me. They said I was too old. The PCL black-only course took me on and gave me the opportunity. I think training is important but it is difficult for mature women to get into journalism training. I was lucky because the following year the course closed because as older trainees could not find work. The radio course which began at the same time as the print course is still going on, but the average age is 25 and there is no one over 30.'

(49) 'After working as a nurse for several years I decided that I wanted to become a journalist. I left nursing, did a degree and afterwards tried to get journalist training. I wasn't accepted. The nearest I got was an interview where I was told that if they took me I would be the oldest on the course and that it would be better if I did freelance journalism instead. However, I felt less than confident without training and so had to do several short courses to learn journalism skills. I was lucky because afterwards I got a job working on a local newspaper one day a week writing a women's column. That lasted two years and when that was finished I had gained the confidence to make my living as a freelance journalist.'

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND JOURNALISM TRAINING

It has been suggested by respondents that where and how they received their education played an important role as to

(3) Mature people, whether black or white can in theory become journalists, but in practice find it difficult to get journalism training and jobs. Firstly because journalism as an occupation is traditionally a young occupation and secondly because there is fierce competition for jobs and training. See NUJ 'Careers in Journalism'(1988).

whether they are accepted into journalism training or not. The role of finance and age is also another important factor. But what part does racial discrimination play in the under-representation of black people in journalism courses? Several respondents blamed racism for not being accepted into journalism training.

(79) 'I have no training and I need it but however hard I try I have not been able to get accepted into a course. I have a good degree from a university. I was born and educated in Britain but as soon as they see my black face at an interview that's it. I have worked on a Black paper for two years and have a lot of practical experience but this does not seem to matter.'

(67) 'My name is a dead give away. It is African and most schools don't even bother to answer if they are looking for white students. I applied to the BBC six times and haven't got anywhere with them. I was so desperate for some kind of training that I did a correspondence course in journalism but I gave it up because I didn't think it was catering for my needs. Because of racism it is twice as difficult for black people to get journalism courses. Your chances are better if you know someone in places like the BBC.'

One respondent already working for a BBC Black-only programme believed her colour led to the difficulties she faced getting training:

(53) 'I eventually got the BBC to provide me with six weeks in-house radio training while I was presenting an Afro-Caribbean radio programme in London. I had to push to get the course. The BBC didn't want to train any of the staff on the programme. They didn't see us as worth training but I was determined to get some because I felt I was weak in some areas. Anyway, the BBC had the last laugh - the training they eventually gave me was useless. What they taught I already knew, so in the long run I didn't get any formal training at all this means my job prospects are not good.'

Some respondents believed that the training agencies are not giving black people an equal chance:

(45) 'Blacks are not given the same opportunities by schools of journalism as white applicants. They do this because they know that if you haven't got training you can't get certain

jobs and that is one way of keeping blacks out and keeping the media white. I have three degrees, but when I applied and managed to get an interview I was told that I am over-qualified. I suppose if I had only one degree I would be told that I am underqualified! The media is infested with racism. That is why there are so few black and brown faces in it.'

Some respondents argued that the admission of a few blacks into media courses is not a sign that these courses give blacks and whites the same chances but that they are a token gesture to covers the general racism within the industry. Others considered that the admission of a few blacks in journalism courses was a matter of chance:

(21) 'White colleges are not interested in giving black applicants a chance. On the whole it is left to whether it is the right time to take in a token or not for publicity purposes. If it is and a black person applies they are bound to be accepted. But if they already have their token or don't want one and a black person applies it does not matter how clever you are you will not be accepted.'

(4) 'Journalism training schools, like employers, are racist. They are not interested in getting in too many blacks. It doesn't matter how clever black people are they will only accept a token few. The change needs to start at journalism schools. They should take on more black people so as to get more black journalists. This will not happen until black journalists get together and demand change, but it should also be a part of the general, black struggle.'

(19) 'I work for the Black Press and I have no training but I keep applying for training. I have an English degree so it isn't educational. It is the system which has kept blacks down for hundreds of years. It is still operating against us in journalism, teaching, business and all spheres of life. The only thing they allow us to shine in is sports and even that is curtailed to certain sports like boxing and running. How many blacks are professional golfers or swimmers? I need journalism training so I will keep trying, but I don't know if I will succeed.'

Many respondents would like to have known officially why they were turned down when they believed they fitted the journalism courses criteria.

(32) 'I applied to several courses and was turned down but no one ever said why I would really like to know why because if is a case that I did something wrong at the interview I would like to put that right so that I don't repeat my mistakes at another interview. I guess it's more about colour than the mechanics of an interview. That is why they never tell you why they don't accept you.'

(61) 'These courses should have to write and say why you are not suitable. It would put many of them on the spot. They have the power to play about with people's lives and careers and they should not be allowed to get away with it easily. Not only should they put why they refuse you on paper but applicants should have the right to appeal against their decision. If this was done it would wipe out a lot of racist practices overnight.'

Some local councils have an appeals procedure which can be used by applicants who believe that they were unfairly judged at a local authority interview but so far there is no such procedure in journalism training or jobs and it is difficult to see course organisers adopting such a procedure when their courses are over-subscribed. This is a standard equal opportunity requirement but, like other equal opportunities measures, is not carried out by many employers and trainers.

Many respondents believed that training is an important part of being a journalist and without training they feel less confident as journalists:

(64) 'I would have liked training for my own confidence but I wasn't accepted by any training school. Sometimes I think that I am not a real journalist because I haven't got proper training.'

(30) 'I have no formal training and wish I did. Because I have no training I have to work for the Black Press and there you are given no organised training. We make a lot of mistakes, sometimes serious ones, because we don't know the rules of journalism. I think management have come to realise that we should all have some basic training. I have tried to get training but I have not been successful so far. I can only hope that my experience with the Black Press will help me get into mainstream.'

(56) 'I started writing while I was still at Cambridge and was very experienced by the time I applied to the BBC for training. To get in it is important that you can show that you are interested in journalism and can show that you have some experience. Some black people see journalism as a good idea but do nothing about getting experience before trying to get training. Black people have to be several times better than whites if they are to be accepted on these courses so they have to prepare themselves.'

(While the general view of this respondent makes sense, it might be argued that his success in getting into the BBC as a trainee might have more to do with the university he went to than to his journalistic skills gained by writing for the Cambridge University newspaper.)

TRAINING AND THE BLACK MEDIA

Having no recognised training is particularly common among those journalists working for the Black Press: over 90 per cent of respondents working for the Black Press had no recognised training. For example,

(31) 'I work for the black press and I haven't any training apart from a short four week course learning the style of writing for magazines.'

(32) 'I work for a Black newspaper and I have no proper training. I have learnt all my journalism skills by working on the paper. I would have liked training and I have applied several times and was turned down. I am happy working for the Black Press without training, but I will want to move into mainstream and I am not sure whether not having training will prevent me from doing this.'

This respondent blamed the Black Press for his situation:

'They should do some organised training because although media students are sent to the black press for work experience, there is no organised training for those who work in the paper. I hear that the newspaper is planning to start some

training and I hope that this is true. Although such a course might not be recognised by the NCTJ at first it may get approval later on.'

(9) 'Training is important. Black editors are doing their staff a disservice by not giving them training. The Black Press is not helping staff to get jobs afterwards because they do not give training.'

One reason for the inability of the Black Press to give formalised training to their staff is an economic one. The Black Press is almost totally dependent on local authority advertising to survive and during times of recession and cuts in council services advertisements are cut by local councils. This has a direct effect on the Black Press. In the past decade many black publications have had to close because of financial difficulties.

(21) 'Working for the Black Press is very difficult if you want to go into mainstream journalism. Most of us in the Black media don't have any training and employers in mainstream won't take us on without it. I have not personally tried to get training because I have seen so many people from this newspaper who have tried and have not been accepted. We all have degrees, but no one for the last two years has been successful in getting into a journalists' training school. I am not sure what else we are supposed to do. We have the qualifications and the experience but we are still refused entry.'

Lack of training is not exclusive to the Black Press for there are many black people working in black magazines, television and radio programmes which also have no training.

(56) 'I work for a black magazine but I have no training for the job. I can do it because I write about fashion and I did a degree in fashion but I want to go into mainstream journalism and so would like training. I think training will help my career. The system is unfair to blacks. We have no equal chance of getting in. To help us there should be more access courses to journalism.'

(13) 'I work for a black television programme doing research. I have no training and although I have tried to get training with the company I work for, I was not accepted. All I had in the form of training was a one week induction course. Without training we are still expected to do reporting and researching.'

(16) 'I was not offered any training but was employed on a black television programme. Most of us are not trained and the BBC has no intention of giving us any training. I believe they think training is too good for us or it might be a more sinister reason; they might want black-only programmes to be unprofessional and fail.'

Although most respondents who had no training would like to be trained, there are those who feel that journalism training is not necessary. They believe that the experience gained on the job is far better than any organised course.

(93) 'Having no training has never been a drawback, although I know it is the key to opening doors. I am confident that my practical work will get me through. I have tried to get into the BBC production trainee course - no luck so far. Some people without training get into television by doing research, then learn on the job and move up. However, many get stuck in research jobs and at the bottom of the ladder.'

As one respondent who was editor of a black fashion magazine saw it:

(20) 'I have no training and don't see the need for it. I have two degrees in fashion and I am a specialist. I know the trade inside out. I learnt to write by doing freelance work for both black and mainstream magazines and eventually I was asked to edit this magazine.'

One past editor of a Caribbean paper in London had no formal training but explained how he got the top job without it:

(73) 'I first started writing for my secondary school magazine. There is no structure in the Jamaican media. I learnt the theory of journalism by doing a mass communication course at the University of the West Indies. Afterwards I went on to a paper in the Caribbean and was told to write. I did a number of short media training courses in the West Indies as well and one in London. I learnt journalism on the job and had to work my way up to become editor. I never had any formalised training and I don't think that I need one. I have learnt all there is to know about newspapers.'

A national newspaper journalist had similar experiences:

(14) 'I learnt journalism skills while I was at Cambridge writing for the college magazine. Afterwards I worked for a local newspaper. I didn't get any training. I was expected to find news and write about it while sticking to deadlines. I did this for eight months and learnt a lot. I don't think there is any need for special training. Journalism is practical - you either can do it or you can't. I began writing seriously at 16 so I don't need any training.'

There are also many black journalists in television who have succeeded without formal training. This is not surprising because many people can and do go into television without formal training, mainly as researchers. One respondent working in television admitted :

(100) 'I have never been formally trained for television or radio although I have worked in both for many years. I began in broadcasting when I was 12 while at private school. I did a radio programme for my school and my masters were very pleased with this and encouraged me. I went to university to do a degree but kept up my interest in broadcasting. After college I was employed by a Caribbean broadcasting station and was the first black person to be taken on in my position as television programmes at the time were presented by whites or mixed-raced people only. Later I left the West Indies to work for the BBC in London. I learnt everything I know about broadcasting by doing it.'

Another respondent related,

(80) 'I worked and learnt the trade of journalism in Sierra Leone where I read the news and wrote scripts by doing them. If you want to do journalism, do it It's the best way to learn. You can learn to write and get stories without formal training. I don't need formal training for it's not going to change racism in the media.'

Another journalist thought that learning on the job was the best way to acquire journalistic skills:

(13) 'Although I have no formal training I am working in television as a researcher. I think it is the best way to start. You get a feel for all the different jobs while working as a researcher. You can learn on the job and move up and the most important thing is that you are already in. Those taking training, afterwards have to look for jobs which they might not get because of racism.'

(18) 'I am a presenter-producer in mainstream television and I have no formal training. I went into the BBC straight from Oxford University. I was tested on cameras and started as a presenter. I was also trained as an actress and maybe that helped but I don't think I need any formal training. I don't see the need for formal training. The best way is doing the job. If you are clever, you can succeed without training.'

Similarly, two series producers from black programmes

explained their views on training:

(34) 'I produce a series of Asian programmes for the BBC and I have never had formal training and have never sought it. Everything I know about the job I learnt by doing it. I came into television as a researcher and learnt that way. This way is as important as formal training or even more so.'

(37) 'I am a presenter/producer of an Asian radio programme and I don't need formal training. I am an expert in my field. I have been interested in Asian language and culture since I was a boy. All you need to be successful in the media as in any other occupation is initiative and looking out for good stories, not formalised training.'

BLACK JOURNALISTS WITH TRAINING

Whilst many respondents were unable to acquire recognised

journalism training, most did - 53 per cent. How were they

able to get training and did they experience any

discrimination?

(9) 'I got on my postgraduate journalism course by writing to the head of the faculty, sending in my C.V. telling them why I wanted to do the course. Black people can't compete in the same way; they have to take extra initiative and you have to be extra determined if you want to succeed.'

(70) 'I applied and easily got into my pre-entry newspaper course. I was lucky because I was the only black person on the course and later I found out that I was taken because the CRE had criticised the college the year before for not having any ethnic minority students.'

Several respondents who had succeeded on getting on journalism courses found that they were the only African-Caribbean or Asian person on the course or that there were only one or two others. This supports the view that even those courses which take on black people take on only a token few.

(15) 'I got on to a journalism course quite easily but I noticed I was the only black person on the course of 20 people. The content of the course was good but although I received good marks at the end of the course I was the last to be offered a job. Things were so bad that my lecturer had to contact papers personally asking them to take me on. It was sickening.'

(66) 'I got into journalism training quite easily but once I was there found that there was discrimination. Whites would be put into the best placements and very few blacks at the end of the course found permanent work.'

(36) 'I wrote to a pre-entry newspaper course and was accepted without problems but there was only one Asian and myself in an intake of 60 trainees. We were told by one lecturer how lucky we were because the year before there wasn't a black or brown face to be found on the course.'

(76) 'I was a direct entry to a local newspaper and I was lucky to have got on. At the interview I was told by the editor that they previously had two black reporters who weren't any good and that the paper had decided not to take on any more blacks but that they would give me a chance. I wasn't grateful but I took the training. Not all white reporters are good at their jobs but the whole white race is not being penalised for those who are bad reporters. I got my training and left as quickly as I could.'

(25) 'My training in journalism was not difficult to get. I first did a degree in media studies then a year's training as a fashion journalist. I was the only black person on the course out of 50 people. This is bad I think. I felt very lonely and cut off with all those white people who hardly notice you anyway. What I think is needed to bridge the gap is for career workers to encourage black people to go into journalism and for working black journalists to go around schools and colleges giving talks and information about journalism.'

Although most respondents reported that direct and indirect discrimination, was the reason why they failed to get

training, there was a minority who thought some black people's failure to get into white journalism training was due to lack of determination. For example,

(46) 'I was trained on a BBC reporters' radio course and I was taken because I had several years experience working voluntarily for hospital radio. It was my hobby but at the interview I showed enthusiasm and knowledge about radio and why I wanted to be a radio journalist. If blacks want to get on courses they have to show a lot of initiative.'

(22) 'There were only two ethnic minority students out of 66 trainee journalists. I was disappointed at this but came to realise that a lot of black people, Afro-Caribbeans in particular, lacked ambition. Asians are not as bad but us Caribbeans believe we can't become journalists so we don't.'

(62) 'I was the only black person on my course of 40 but I didn't let it bother me. I became the student representative at the college board which was made up mainly of editors and I had no problems getting jobs afterwards. I made many contacts because of my position on the board. It's no use black people moaning about racism if they want training or jobs they have to go out and get it.'

(31) 'Training is important and I wouldn't apply for a job unless I knew how to do it. If more black people are to get into journalism training we have to push ourselves and make sure we get what we want. Although I did a pre-entry radio course I still thought it was not enough. I wanted to get as much training as possible, so I did some short evening courses in journalism as a supplement. It is the only way if we are to compete with whites.'

Other respondents reported an easy passage through journalism training:

(44) 'I had no problem getting accepted on to a postgraduate newspaper course at Cardiff. Afterwards I was taken on by 'The Birmingham Post' and indentured for two years. I experienced no racism there. We were expected to work hard and to pass our proficiency test and I did. I was the only black face there at the time. That might be because the paper at that time only took on a few trainees. But I know that this paper has a good reputation where equal opportunities is concerned. They even had a black woman sub-editor.'

Another respondent actually praised the college he attended for its positive action programme on ethnic minority trainees:

(83) 'I was trained at Lancaster Polytechnic, the only course to ensure that a third of its students are black or Asians. Tutors go out of their way to advertise in the Black Press. However, students are taken on merit and not because they are black and the course prepares you to work in mainstream.'

Two respondents who are now working for national newspapers and who began their training in the mid-seventies did it through one of the traditional routes which has now ceased:

(60) 'My training wasn't easy. I started in a news agency working as a tea-boy. I did this for six months before I had the opportunity to go out with one of the agency's journalists. They were covering an IRA bomb story in Oxford street. I was excited and I observed all I could and wrote as much as I could while I was on the scene although I didn't have to. I was excited at being on the spot where news was being made. If I had any doubts that I wanted to be a journalist they vanished. I knew then that I wanted to be a reporter. I was 18 when I began with the news agency. I trained by doing the job but of course we had people to tell us where we went wrong but we were still expected to do things right. If I didn't have that kind of training I would not have been able to work for a national newspaper. I agree that there is racism within the industry because when I began in national papers you would be hard pushed to find a black face in Fleet Street. Things are not too bad now, although I think there are still not enough black people in the industry.'

(8) 'Fifteen years ago when I started my training at a news agency there were hardly any white women, never mind an Asian one. I was very unusual. Training was not organised and we were thrown into the deep end and expected to learn quickly. It was difficult. We went out with more experienced reporters and saw how they got news and wrote it. This was considered training at the time but not any more. Only organised trained journalists are working with news agencies now. I think it is the best training to have had.'

RACE AND GENDER PERSPECTIVES

One complaint frequently made by respondents regarding mainstream journalism courses was that they rarely mentioned the problems of reporting race and gender. Neither do their courses teach from a black perspective.

(26) 'There was hardly any mention of race in the course I did. Training was done by hard-nosed ex-Fleet Street reporters who were mostly racist and sexist and weren't interested in how race and gender were being reported. It made me angry how they skated over the subject and their insensitivity. They saw no need to teach about race and race relations.'

(23) 'I did a radio journalism course at the London College of Printing. I was the only black person on the course. There was nothing in the course on how to report on race or gender. There was no consciousness on these issues, which is a shame.'

However, some journalism courses did introduce the ethics of reporting on race and gender, but they were taken as side issues and not integrated into the course.

(9) 'My postgraduate training course did look at race and gender but it was a small part of our ethics lesson which comprised of one day in the whole year. After a day's seminar with race relations speakers and women journalists we were expected to do a project on some aspect of ethics. But I thought we needed more. The reporting of race and gender should be an on-going thing throughout the course.'

(58) 'The pre-entry course at Sheffield had an indirect black perspective. As students we were encouraged to make radio programmes on Afro-Caribbeans living in Britain one week and on Asians the next. This was enough; it gave us a feeling of how reporting ethnic affairs can be done fairly and positively. But the course mainly had a white perspective, which is important to learn if we are to get jobs in mainstream afterwards.'

On the question of race and gender perspectives being introduced into journalism course officially the NUJ in conjunction with the union's equality and black groups, has, for many years, been trying to convince the NCTJ that it is important that the issues of race and gender become an integrated part of journalism training. The NCTJ have so far refused. However, it does allow students on its courses to do one essay on the subject during their course if they so choose. The NUJ stated that its objectives for the

teaching of sex and race equality to journalists are:

'To start the awareness among students of the special role journalists inevitably have in the elimination of prejudice, discrimination and disadvantage in society by reason of a person's sex or racial origins.'

The package would help

'to focus attention on the law and relevant codes of practice relating to the issue of sex and race equality.'

It would also

'assist in fostering a critical and constructive approach to journalistic output particularly in relation to stereotyping, issues relating to race and the treatment of women in the media.'

All this would focus the attention of the student on

'the link between a professional approach to the reporting of race and gender-related issues to the general aims of professional journalism'(NUJ 1987, 1).

In its introduction the NUJ pointed out that although some courses 'include a formal input within the curriculum on the issues of race and sex, most do not.' The NUJ believes strongly that a formal input of race and gender greatly enhances students' appreciation of race and gender reporting.

'The union therefore offers this package in the hope that lecturers will find time for it within the curriculum. It calls for a modest six hour study, three hours in term one and three hours in the final term; each session equally divided between race relations and sex equality'(NUJ 1987, 1).

The NUJ is also prepared to provide lecturers and speakers. The NCTJ refused the package despite the union's assurances that it would take up the minimum of time given the positive benefits that would be gained by students from the inclusion of materials on race and sex equality.

The NUJ wanted student journalists also to be given an introduction to the history of black people in Britain until 1948, followed by an analysis of immigration and the race relations legislation since 1965. Also included in the race relations package is the 'Mechanics of Indirect Discrimination' and 'Systems To Combat Direct and Indirect Discrimination'. The race package seems very detailed and it could be argued that schools of journalism might not have sufficient time to teach all this in detail. Against this, if the NCTJ and course organisers wanted to change the way race and sex are reported and in particular, if they wanted to help eliminate racial discrimination, they might find the time to take up at least some of the NUJ's suggestions.

THE IMPORTANCE OF JOURNALISM TRAINING

Although recognised journalism training is seen by many respondents as being important for confidence, getting jobs and moving up the career ladder, there are those who believe that organised training is not so important. For example,

(81) 'I did a periodical journalism course plus a radio journalism course, but it wasn't the training why I got a job. It was my track record. Working for the Black paper I could show employers that I had experience.'

(43) 'I was a direct entry to newspaper training but it has hardly made any difference to my career in journalism. Getting more black people into journalism training is an easy answer, but I am not sure it will lead to more jobs for blacks. A large number of journalists I have come across have not had any training and this has not hindered them. Rather than offering more training courses which may not lead to jobs, those places already available ought to be given out equally.'

For some organised training can even be a disadvantage:

(42) 'Training can be a barrier in television. If you are clever you don't need training, although television takes some trained journalists from local newspapers. I had only two week induction course in television. I started off as a researcher, then moved into presenting and producing and learnt as I went on.'

Another respondent who shared the view that formal training is not necessarily the answer to getting into journalism explained:

(84) 'I was formally trained as a radio presenter but organised training is not necessarily the way to get into journalism. It depends on who you know. Really what we need is a good education system for British blacks, for the present one is failing black children. We need well-educated blacks in mainstream journalism training which is important.'

Another respondent also believed that the education system is to be blamed for the under-representation of black people in journalism training and jobs:

(72) 'I have learnt my journalism skills by doing journalism. I have researched and made programmes in Australia and Britain writing for magazines and community papers. I don't need any more training, But for those blacks who want training there should be the opportunity to do so but for most there isn't because the education system has failed blacks.'

Some respondents who were unable to obtain recognised training and who felt they needed journalism skills did unrecognised short courses to gain those skills.

(95) 'I did a one year part-time evening course for magazine journalism. The course was popular. It attracted people like myself who couldn't get on to the full-time magazine course. It was the only way I could get the skills I needed.'

(49) 'I was rejected by a postgraduate journalism course because I was over 30 thirty so I had no option but to do several short courses to get the skills I needed. I was able afterwards to work voluntarily on a local newspaper where I learnt more skills. At first I was very bitter about not getting on organised training but then I saw people 10 years younger having the same problem and I knew it wasn't just my age why I didn't get in.'

(91) 'I was only able to do short weekend courses because I was never given the opportunity by the BBC or the colleges I wrote to for training. I don't think they want to train black people as journalists. I found these short courses useful. They taught me basic interviewing, research, subbing and writing skills and it gave me some confidence. I am now freelancing.'

The message to the media in general and the BBC in particular is, as one respondent explained,

(69) 'There should be a commitment by organisation like the BBC to train more blacks and Asians as journalists. It is not fair that black people should have to be twice as good at interviews. Even then they don't get in.'

Quotas were thought to be the answer by another respondent:

(10) 'I don't think colleges and newspapers are taking enough black people on their courses. There should be targets. They should actively go out and recruit black and Asian people into journalism training and jobs. If not, they will always be at the bottom of the career ladder.'

RESPONSE TO SURVEY BY COURSES OF JOURNALISM

To get a view of the position of those who run journalism courses, questionnaires were sent to 40 recognised journalism courses in Britain, including the BBC, independent radio, local newspapers and large newspaper and magazine training establishments. Names and addresses of courses were obtained from the NUJ and those courses contacted were chosen because they covered areas of relatively large black population, such as London, Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool. Of the 40 courses contacted 27 replied. Of those none monitored applicants for training places and so did not know how many of their applicants were black. Only 14 of those who replied had

ever taken on any black trainees and they took an average of between one and three. At the time of the study none of the local newspapers contacted had any black trainees. It could also be assumed that those courses which failed to reply had no black trainees or very few. However, two courses were exceptional - City University, whose intake of black students was 11 per cent, and Lancashire Polytechnic whose intake was one-third of all journalist students.

The reason given by many of those contacted for their low intake of black trainee journalists was that black people do not apply. One local London newspaper told the survey that between 1988-1991 they had not taken on a single black student, and did they have any black reporters they said they would 'if he or she has the right qualifications'. A news association in the Midlands, reported that out of 18 trainees none was black and that they had none over the past two years. The group's editorial manager stated, 'We advertise all vacancies and work with the careers service to ensure all groups know we offer openings to all qualified candidates. We actively encourage applications from ethnic groups.' However, like others, this training establishment did not monitor its applicants neither did it advertise its places for training in the ethnic press. Training courses which rely on the careers service to inform black people about their courses may get little reward because of the discriminatory attitude of some careers officers.

There is some difference between what journalism training managers cited as the reasons for the low numbers of black trainees and the experiences of many black respondents to this survey. Journalism courses stated they wanted suitably qualified people and respondents have above average qualifications needed for journalism training. Partly the problem arises because training schools do not advertise in the Black press to which black people have access or use advertisements which encourage black people to apply. Monitoring is an essential element of an effective equal opportunities policy but those training courses approached by the survey did not monitor applicants for journalism training. However, monitoring can reduce the risk of organisations breaking the law. It seems that the courses contacted were neither too concerned about breaking the law nor interested in increasing the number of black trainees on their courses.

It must be remembered that journalism training courses are not the only ones to discriminate, whether directly or indirectly, against black people. The Law Society's own research has found that Law firms are biased against former 'polytechnic graduates and ethnic minorities'. ('The Independent' 3/5/91). In 1991 new criteria were brought in by the law Society for allocating places on solicitor's final courses and they included whether students have been offered articles (professional training) by law firms and the class of degree they are likely to achieve. Both criteria are likely to discriminate against ethnic minorities ,mature, working-class

and women students. They will affect black people as a group because many black people get their degrees from former-polytechnics, are generally older when they get their degree and are less likely to get first-class or upper-second degrees. Lecturers from former-polytechnics have stated that these criteria' amount to giving preferential treatment to white middle-class students at universities'. They also feel that 'discrimination operates against polytechnic students .. who have followed non-conventional routes'('The Independent' 3/5/91).

A report by the Council for Legal Education (CLE) looked at the result of students who sat the final Bar exam and found that the failure rate amongst black students was three times that of their white counterparts. The CLE reported that 44.7 per cent of students from ethnic minorities fail the vocational course, compared with 16 per cent of white students. It concluded that these figures were a cause for concern ('The Voice' 10/11/92). It might be for some other reason than discrimination that ethnic minorities do not readily pass the Bar exams. However, the Society For Black Lawyers chair, Peter Herbert said that this amounted to a 'fundamental attempt to block the progress of Black Lawyers and prevent them from qualifying as barristers'('The Voice' 10/11/92).

The statement by training managers of journalism courses that black people do not apply for training places was also made to

the Black Media Workers' Association (BMWA) in 1983. Their report then stated,

'The common arguments that black people do not come forward and do not have the necessary qualifications have been brought into question by the overwhelming response to the BMWA courses. The reason for the under-representation of blacks on established courses must be that those institutions are not making their courses accessible to black people by failing to make contact through careers officers and schools and advertisement'(BMWA 1983, 10-11).

The supposition that there are a number of well qualified young black people waiting to be given a chance to get journalism training was confirmed by the Controller of Management Development at BBC Television, Robert Rowland. He told a black conference on the media that the Asian and African-Caribbean Reporters' Training Trust set up in 1988 by the BBC advertised in the ethnic and national press for six trainees but received some 900. He explained:

'we did preliminary interviews with 98 people. The standard was extremely high and the six who were selected succeeded in a highly competitive situation' (Rowland 1988, 33).

At the time of this survey in 1989/90 the BBC had five black trainees in their radio mainstream courses but there were none in independent radio. It would be fair to say, however, that this might be a result of independent radio not generally providing training for radio journalists, black or white.

By contrast, since 1988 the BBC has been running three training trusts to provide training for black people in television and radio. The Asian and African-Caribbean Reporters' Training Trust provides eight bursaries of 16 months each for training in basic television reporting these

are run in conjunction with the BBC World Service and providing training to black people as radio reporters. The BBC also runs a Television Training Production Trust which provides eight bursaries for black trainees to follow television production training. Critics of the BBC still maintains that it does not take sufficient black people on its mainstream training courses. They see running separate courses for black people as a form of apartheid. However, the BBC in response to criticism of the under-representation of black people in their organisation stated:

'The BBC is an attractive employer to many thousands of applicants and the BBC appears impenetrable to many white people as well as to black people. A change in the look of the screen should encourage more black people to apply'(Rowland 1988, 35).

BLACK-ONLY JOURNALISM COURSES

The 1980s saw the setting up of several 'Black Only' journalism courses in order to redress the balance. Such courses are allowed under the 1979 Race Relations Act and are seen as 'positive action'. The Act allows training bodies such as the then-Manpower Services Commission and the Industrial Training Boards to provide 'Positive Action training' when

'within the previous 12 months there were no members of a particular racial group engaged in particular work in Great Britain or that the proportion of persons of that racial group among those engaged in such work was small in comparison with the proportion in Great Britain'(1976 Para. 7.8 - 7.9).

In the early 80's The Manpower Services Commission (MSC) with the CRE began the first black-only journalism course at the Polytechnic of Central London (now Westminster University) and in the late 1980s the BBC began several other black-only courses. Contrary to white course managers' replies that black people do not apply for courses, the black-only courses at the BBC and the Polytechnic of Central London have both found that black people do apply for journalism courses in relatively large numbers. It may be that they apply in larger numbers for black-only courses because they believe that white courses are not accessible to them. However, the indication is that numbers of well-qualified black people are keen to get recognised journalism training.

The Polytechnic of Central London (PCL) course which was set up in 1983 began with a pilot course for 20 students, 10 for radio and 10 for print journalism. The course was funded by the (MSC) and its object was to create a course that would have credibility with potential employers, be fit for accreditation by bodies such as the NCTJ and the Joint Committee for the Training of Radio Journalists and to meet the special needs and aspirations of black student journalists. The bulk of the course was to concentrate on basic reporting, news writing, gathering information, interviewing techniques, production skills, law, local government, shorthand and typing. The course also paid close attention to the issues of racism in the newsroom and in reporting practices. It also covered the development of the

black press and broadcasting. There were 150 applicants for 20 places in 1983 when the pilot course began and 75 were short-listed for interviews (Tullock 1989). The educational background of these were as follows: seven were graduates, one had a Certificate in Education, six had 'A'-levels, four had GCE 'O'-levels and there were two without formal qualifications. The age range was between 21-50. Age and varying educational backgrounds brought problems for the course organisers as Tullock recorded:

'with the range of educational background and age it was unsurprising that students' progress in mastering the mechanics of writing news stories was uneven. Some students required considerable remedial help with writing.'

This raised serious questions about whether a one-year course was able to take on students with serious educational disadvantages and produce employable journalists. The NCTJ also refused to accredit the PCL exams insisting that students should sit NCTJ preliminary exams in law and public administration and for the course to be of a sufficiently high standard for newspaper journalism. The print course ceased after a year due to all these problems. The radio journalists' course has continued taking black students for training in radio journalism. The course has so far trained 150 people between 1983 and 1992. One measure of the success of the course is the number of graduates who obtain full-time employment in the media or media-related industries. So far just over half of all graduates have found full-time employment.

Funding was also obtained in 1990 for a black-only periodical journalism course. The course aims

'To provide for members of ethnic minorities a comprehensive training in the basics of magazine and periodical journalism, conforming to the accepted professional practice and the latest guidance of the Periodical Training Council (PTC). To equip students with greater self-confidence in over-coming any barriers that exist in the path of ethnic minorities to careers as professional journalists and to meet the aspirations of students for higher education. In addition, the course team hopes to strengthen the independent ethnic media by providing a focus for training, professional advice and discussion, drawing on the experience, skill and resources of minority communities, media and voluntary agencies. The course team will encourage students to undertake work on relevant issues, such as employment opportunities, the operation of the law, media and other concerns of the minority communities'(Tulloch 1991, 1).

Like the radio journalism course, applicants to the black-only periodical course do not have to be graduates but over 50 per cent are. The college was reportedly seeking to upgrade the courses into postgraduate diplomas in radio and periodical journalism because, as the course organiser, John Tulloch, stated: 'There is an increasing number of black graduates who need training and the media industry is going for mostly graduates.' So far, the Polytechnic of Central London (now Westminster University) is the only educational establishment which has organised a black-only radio and periodical course recognised by the relevant professional bodies.

There were several attempts in the late 1980s by colleges such as Vauxhall in South London to provide access training for black people who want to train as journalists but who lack the educational qualifications. The courses are simply an introduction to journalism for 21 hours per week and last one year. Some students who have finished the course have been

able to get on to credited journalism courses, but if all journalism courses become graduate entry, as is proposed, this could lead to a further reduction in numbers of black people in the media.

The view that positive action is needed to improve the numbers of black people taken on to journalism courses is generally accepted but what are the advantages and disadvantages of black-only courses? Nine per cent of respondents were trained in black-only journalism courses and some saw these courses as positive. For example,

(40) 'I approve of these courses. I was a student on one and if it wasn't for these courses I wouldn't have had any training. Because I was over 30 and no other course would take me.'

(13) 'I think they are a good idea. They bring confidence and redress the historical imbalances while improving chances of black people getting in the media.'

(31) 'I was a student on one of these courses and it was the only way I could have got journalism training after trying to get on mainstream courses. They give black people a black perspective by including the history of slavery and colonisation on the course and you get an honest response at the end as regards to your strengths and weaknesses.'

(50) 'Black-only courses are useful because mainstream courses prefer to take on whites because of racism. I can't see any disadvantages of being trained on one of these courses. If white employers don't take on trainees from these courses, they certainly won't take black people trained on mainstream courses either.'

However, the 91 per cent, of respondents who had not been trained on such courses, believed that such courses were not in the long-term interest of black people. One main objection is that white employers will see these courses as second-best.

(51) 'I can see a need for them as a way of giving a group of disadvantaged people a chance, getting the skills in a supportive environment. The disadvantage is that after the course students have to go out into the real world and they might find that their courses are seen as substandard.'

(97) 'There are two arguments about these courses: one is that mainstream courses should take on more black people, the second is how employers see these courses. I am not sure they don't see these courses as inferior and to stop that I think black and white students should mix.'

(37) 'I believe black-only courses are self-defeating. They are courses for inferiors. They are also discriminatory. I do not consider myself any of these things. I consider myself a full citizen of this country and contribute to it. All journalists' courses, I believe, should be done in mainstream. If I had to wait for these courses I would not have got anywhere. People from these courses I haven't seen them getting anywhere.'

(82) 'These courses are discriminatory against whites and will stir up resentment. It is not the way forward; we have to mix together so we should train together.'

(65) 'I don't like the idea of putting black people into separate courses means they will never be able to beat the system. The best way to do that is to train among the racists because institutional racism is what you come up against and you have to learn how to beat it.'

(3) 'There shouldn't be any need for these courses if more black people are taken on in mainstream courses. If black-only journalism courses are encouraged, places like the BBC will take even less blacks on their mainstream course because they think someone else is doing it.'

(17) 'In the long run I believe that employers will stigmatize people from these courses. They will prefer to take people from mainstream courses. These courses are usually set up by white liberals for blacks. It's like colonization. These courses do not answer the problem of racism and the need for more black people being admitted in mainstream journalism courses.'

SUMMARY

It is clear that respondent's high educational achievements were not generally sufficient for their acceptance into mainstream journalism training. Many respondents, those with training and those without, reported that they made dozens of applications. Many were turned down without any reasons being given. There were, however, a minority who stated that they had no difficulties getting journalism training. Some of these respondents had come to the conclusion that there was no discrimination in journalism training because they had not experienced any. It might then be suggested that those journalists without training were not as determined as those who received training or they might not have had the competence. While this might be a valid suggestion regarding one or two respondents, such arguments cannot be seriously used for the majority of respondents or for those black graduates who did not succeed in gaining journalism training.

When we asked training managers why they accepted so few black journalist students they said that black people do not apply. This is questionable because none of those managers contacted carried out ethnic monitoring and so could not be sure whether or not black people applied for courses. If it is accepted that black people do not apply for courses, why have course managers not implemented positive action equal opportunity policies if they are concerned with improving the numbers of black journalists students on their courses?

The majority of respondents disagreed with training managers. They believed that the under-representation of black people in journalism courses is only partly due to black people not applying or to the fierce competition for training places. The most important reason for black under-representation in journalism training, they argued, is due to direct and indirect discrimination. Some respondents argued that they were not accepted on journalism training because they had a broken educational history or acquired their degree from a former-polytechnic instead of a university. This view is confirmed by Brennan and McGeevor's (1990) study, which found that employers and training establishments preferred to employ and train those who have had the traditional middle-class, unbroken British education record. While this tradition might have been put in place to keep the white working class out, it has done the same for blacks and can be seen as discriminatory if and when used by media managers.

Another form of direct or indirect discrimination reported by respondents was prejudice against education received abroad. Many journalism training courses refused to accept qualifications from abroad although some of those qualifications were gained at colleges and universities which follow British syllabuses and examinations. Other respondents experienced more direct discrimination from teachers and career officers. It might be suggested that the under-representation of black people in journalism training will only perpetuate the class and race barriers in society.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BLACK JOURNALISTS AND EMPLOYMENT

INTRODUCTION

Chapter six investigated the reasons for the under-representation of black people in media training through the experience of 100 black journalist respondents and found that most of them blamed direct or indirect discrimination for their failure to enter schools of journalism. This chapter will look at the effect, if any, lack of training has on respondents' chances of employment and promotion. When this survey was carried out in 1990/91 the (NUJ) estimated that 350 of its 28,000 members were black, 1.25 per cent. To understand the position of black people in the media it is important to see where they are employed. Of the 100 respondents to this survey, 51 worked in the white media and 49 in the black media. Of those working in the white media eight worked in national papers, four in provincial papers, four in national or local radio and 24 in television. There were three respondents working in magazines, three in public relations and five as freelances. The following table gives a break down of NUJ and Institute Of Journalists (IOJ) members for 1990/91 and in what section of the media they work. The figures given for black journalists are only estimated because neither the NUJ or the IOJ know how many of their members are black. Although the NUJ began ethnic monitoring of new members in

1987. The Union does not know how many of its members before this date are black. It should also be remembered that not all journalists, black or white, are members of unions although most are.

TABLE 4: NUMBERS OF JOURNALISTS WORKING IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS OF THE MEDIA

Area of Media	Total Number of Journalists	Estimated Numbers of Black Journalists	percentage
National newspapers	4,012	20	0.5 per cent
Provincial newspapers	8,000	15	0.2 per cent
Broadcasting BBC and IBC	3,700	100	2.7 per cent
Magazines	7,000	20	0.3 per cent
Public Relations	1,432	30	2.1 per cent
Black Newspapers and magazines	-	500 overall	
Freelance	4,500	20	0.4 per cent

(SOURCE NUJ/IOJ 1990/91)

It is clear from these figures that the number of black journalists employed in the print media is very low. Why there are so few black journalists employed in this sector of the media may be due to inflexibility of management over equal opportunities and the inaccessibility experienced by black people trying to get journalists jobs in magazines and provincial papers. However, the BBC and a few independent television and radio stations have since the mid-1980s attempted positive action policies. The BBC published a survey in 1988 which showed that 6.8 per cent of its workers overall were black. Despite this, there is an under-representation of black journalists in the BBC. Of the 6.8 per cent of black workers fewer than 2 per cent were journalists (1). The BBC's response was to set a target of 8 per cent overall for ethnic minority in its workforce by the year 2000.

The BBC plans to achieve these targets by tackling two areas in particular; it states:

'we will recruit more staff from minority ethnic groups by encouraging people from these communities to see the BBC as an employer who will treat them equally. We will also develop and train people from minority ethnic groups who are currently employed by the BBC'(BBC Equal Opportunity Unit 1992 Para 2.1).

The BBC also has a team of seven equal opportunity officers who work within the framework of the 1976 Race Relations Act to produce schemes and ideas which will build on existing initiatives to achieve the targets. The BBC has implemented a number of training policies in order to attain its targets.

(1) See BBC Equal Opportunity survey (1988) for numbers of black people and women employed by the cooperation and where they work.

These include fair selection courses, a technical operation bursary scheme which trains ethnic minorities to work with cameras in studio, sound and post-production work. There are also the three black-only journalism courses which were described in chapter six, although from 1994 the Television Training Trust (TTT) which was black-only will merge with the Television Production Training Scheme (TPTS) and will take 50 per cent ethnic minority trainees.

A recent progress report showed the BBC to be on course for its overall target of 8 per cent minority workers by the year 2000. There are, however, fewer ethnic minority workers in total in the BBC in 1993 than there were in 1988 due to a decline in the overall numbers employed by the corporation. The ethnic make-up of the BBC overall in 1988 was 6.8 per cent and in March 1993 was 5.9 per cent. Closer examination of the distribution of ethnic minority workers shows that only 2.55 per cent are producers and 0.44 per cent are in management while between 16 and 18 per cent work in clerical and secretarial jobs.

Surinder Sharma, the equal opportunity officer for network television, explained that at present there are no targets for individual bands for the year 2000. He believed that

'targets for each level are required to compliment any meaningful overall target, otherwise we shall arrive at a point where BBC television will have achieved the 8 per cent target but the vast majority of ethnic minority staff will be in very junior positions'('Equality', No. 6, June 1993, 2-3).

Although the BBC's target overall for ethnic minority workers

is 8 per cent by the year 2000, it has no target for the numbers of black journalists it hopes to employ by this time. This means that the BBC can simply achieve its target by increasing the numbers of black junior staff while black journalists are still under-represented. Despite the BBC's impressive positive action policies it does demonstrate how difficult it is for those in power to give senior jobs to black people whom they have historically seen as inferior and the enormous task faced by those black people who want to be accepted into journalism training and jobs.

There are only a few independent radio and television stations involved in positive action policies. London Weekend Television (LWT) is one. In order to increase its numbers of black editorial staff it has implemented monitoring and training courses. The company also award sponsorship to six black journalist trainees yearly. Like the BBC, it has set ethnic minority targets: 10 per cent by 1995 and 15 per cent in the year 2000, nearly twice those of the BBC. Central Television in the West Midlands and Granada Television in Manchester are both trying to implement positive action equal opportunity policies by monitoring staff and new recruits and by providing training courses for ethnic minorities to compete for jobs. So far, they have not proposed targeting. However, Central Television's 1993 percentage of ethnic minority workers overall is 3.32 per cent (Central Television 1993).

In 1983, the Black Media Workers' Association (BMWA) conducted a survey of black employment in the general media industries covering all workers and not only journalists. The research originated in the compilation of a register of black media workers and was undertaken over a three-month period. At the time of this survey almost no ethnic monitoring was carried out and the researcher found that they had to 'rely upon known individuals, white and black, in the industries identifying the subjects of the research.' As in this survey, the BMWA 1983 survey found that 'of the employers approached, only some were prepared to give any indication of whether or not they employed black people'. The report stated,

'It was apparent that employers felt unable to name any black personnel due to the risk of damaging their relationship with their black employees and the risk of laying themselves open to criticism from any quarter. Within the unions however there is a more open acknowledgement of the problem and union members felt freer to give information'(BMWA 1983, 3).

TABLE 5: DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK PEOPLE IN SECTORS OF THE MEDIA, BMWA FINDINGS 1983 (SOURCE BMWA 1983 Report 1)

Sectors media	Estimated total number of workers	Estimated numbers of black workers	Percentage
Radio Television	7,369	264	3.5 per cent
BBC and IBA	26,810	225	0.83 per cent
Independent TV film and video	6,585	101	1.5 per cent
Print Media	41,624	59	0.42 per cent
Advertising/ PR	23,000	135	0.18 per cent
Black Press		370	
Total	105,388	1,154	1.10 per cent

The BMWA study stated that 'much of the information needed for the analysis demanded was unavailable and calculations were made based on a series of assumptions and on known figures in unions and companies.' Judging by the above estimated figures, there has been some improvement in the numbers of black people working in the media since 1983. For instance, the 1983 survey found only 51 black journalists employed in the print media throughout Britain whereas the present estimated figure is 60. While this can hardly be seen as a significant improvement in 10 years, there has been a more marked improvement in the broadcasting sector. It is estimated that the BBC and Independent Television together currently employ 2.7 per cent of black journalists, as compared to the 1983 figures of 0.83 per cent. While some of the 1983 survey figures are based on 'assumptions' and so are not put forward as representative of the numbers of black media workers in 1983, they do give some indication of the numbers of black media workers at the time. The increased numbers of black people employed in the broadcasting sector as compared to print can be attributed to the implementation of equal opportunities policies, however limited, by the broadcasting industry.

RESPONDENTS' EXPERIENCES WITH THE WHITE MEDIA

The figures above clearly illustrate the general under-representation of black journalists in the white British media, the print media faring worst. However, there is no room

for complacency in the broadcasting industry as most black journalists working in broadcasting work for black-only radio and television programmes. Why are there so few black journalists working in the white media and what are the experiences of respondents when they approach the white media for work?

(59) 'I have no training and have to work for the Black Press, although the Black Press has no scope. I applied to the BBC nearly a dozen times but they rejected me on the grounds of not having any training or experience. Ideally I want to work in television but I am not sure I will get in without training.'

(63) 'I work in a black newspaper because I couldn't get in anywhere else. I have no training although I have tried getting into journalism courses in different colleges and newspapers. Working for a black newspaper gives me the experience I need. After all, the White Press won't help blacks. Eventually I hope my experience will get me on to mainstream papers.'

The following respondent completed a recognised journalism course but found that it was not enough to get her a job in the mainstream:

(19) 'I was sure I would get a job after my training. I wrote dozens of applications. Some replied but after getting to the interview I was not accepted. They did not explain why I was not accepted. Eventually I had to take a job in the Black Press as I had to eat. I am going to try getting into Black television programming as a way into mainstream.'

(58) 'I work for a Black newspaper but have tried many times getting into the BBC. I have made over 60 applications for mainstream jobs. The reason I believe I didn't get in is that there is an unfair system of interviewing at the BBC. It is racist. I would like to get in on my own ability but it doesn't work that way. I did get some interviews but they weren't serious about taking me. It isn't just about whether you have training or not because I have recognised training. It's about the colour of your skin. I am in the Black Press but I know that there is no scope for improvement and I want to move on so I will just have to persist until I get into mainstream or make films.'

Some respondents who were trained abroad with many years working as journalists reported that their training and experience counted for nothing:

(86) 'I trained and worked in India as a journalist and after coming to Britain I worked as a freelance for four years with a Middle Eastern paper based in London. Yet I can't find work in mainstream British papers. They give me excuses that I haven't the right experience and that I need to have been trained in Britain. Yet they employ white journalists from abroad with less training and experience than I. Eventually I had to seek employment in the Black Press but now I want to move out and into mainstream. I don't like staying in one place too long and I can't get very far working for the Black Press.'

(84) 'Despite having years of training in South Africa and the Middle East as a journalist working in every area of journalism, my training and experience counted for nothing. I couldn't get a staff job. I had to settle for freelancing for national newspapers. I wrote to 150 newspapers and periodicals during the late 1960s and 1970s. They had all kinds of excuses. Some wanted to see me because they had never seen a black journalist before. But they never did give me a job, saying I didn't have any experience with British newspapers. However, they gave these jobs to white South Africans.'

(52) 'I trained and worked as a journalist in Nigeria for five years before coming to Britain. I did reporting, script writing, and researching for radio and television. I also have two degrees but I have had no success in finding staff jobs since I came to Britain five years ago. I have made hundreds of applications and have had few interviews. I applied to a technical magazine in Shropshire; they didn't know I was black and when I turned up for the interview they were so shocked they didn't even bother to interview me. I was turned down because I am black. I have had to do freelance and other low-paid jobs in order to keep working'.

Even black newspaper editors found moving into the white media difficult:

(75) 'I worked my way up from being a reporter on a Black newspaper to becoming its editor. However, I don't want to stay with the Black press. I have been editor for two years and feel I want to move out into national newspapers but to my surprise I have been refused several times because they say I have no recognised training. Why should I need any more training after 10 years working for the Black Press and two of those as editor? I have learnt all there is to know. I believe all of this is due to racism and the only way to counteract

this is by a system of quotas for black people.'

(50) 'I edit a black fashion magazine and I do it because it gave me an opening. I worked on another black magazine before this one and I was so badly paid I left after two years. Then I got this job as editor. While this job is very convenient, for I only work two days a week, I want to get into mainstream periodicals. I have written several dozen applications but I have had only two interviews. They say they couldn't take me because I wasn't trained and they didn't count my experience because it's in a black magazine. I tried getting jobs in white magazines but was unsuccessful.'

EMPLOYMENT IN THE BLACK MEDIA

Nearly half of all respondents worked in the black media (49 per cent). Many found themselves trapped, not able to move up or out because there is little or no career structure within the black media. Some respondents reported that many white editors would not give them employment because they worked in the Black Press. Of the 49 respondents working in the Black Media 15 were newspaper reporters, 3 photographers, 1 sports editor, 2 sub-editors, 2 arts editors and 3 editors. There were 10 respondents working in black-only radio programmes, 4 were researchers/reporters, 6 reporters/reporter-presenters. In black-only television programmes there were 5 respondents working as reporters/presenters, 3 researchers/reporters and 3 producers. 2 respondents worked on black magazines, 1 as reporter and the other as editor/reporter.

Respondents working for the black media explained why they were there:

(32) 'I work for the Black Press as arts editor and it's an important and responsible post. I have been with the paper three years but there is no scope and nowhere else for me to go but out. I have learnt a lot with the paper but I haven't any organised training so I will have to depend on contacts and a good portfolio. I need to leave the Black Press and get into mainstream journalism.'

(45) 'I enjoy working for a black newspaper although I have not been trained. I am sure the experience I get here will put me in good stead for a job in the mainstream. If only I get the opportunity to be interviewed I will show them that I have the skill and can do the job. I believe experience is the key to getting good jobs.'

Some reporters with the black press have an entirely different view:

(61) 'Mainstream newspapers and television don't care how much experience you have if it's with the Black Press. They consider the Black Press not equal so any experience you have there as a reporter is not even considered . They believe you can only write about race and nothing else. I have tried getting jobs with the BBC and Independent Television but they didn't take me because of this fact and also because I have no recognised training.'

(71) 'Working for the black newspaper is sometimes a disadvantage even more so than not having training. I have been unsuccessful in my many attempts at getting jobs because I mentioned who I work for. They think I can only report on black issues. I will never mention again that I work for the black press when I go to a job interview. In the meantime I am doing freelance work for mainstream so I can put a portfolio together.'

Many respondents working for the Black Press saw few opportunities for career improvement within the organisation. This is not surprising because black publications are small and have limited resources and few openings. Because of this staff turnover in the Black Press is high. One respondent stated of the black paper she was working for

(21) 'My chances of promotion are slim in this paper. There are hardly any vacancies for the better jobs. People stay in them until they can get into mainstream and that isn't often. I must leave because even if I stay I don't think I will get a better job here. The competition is too great.'

(47) 'It's good to work in the Black Press but only until you can get into mainstream. It's a dead-end job and after a while you get frustrated. You need to widen your experiences and do other types of reporting. I want to work in mainstream television and I am determined to do so. I may have to do freelance work first of all but I will get in. I can't stay with the Black Press for much longer.'

Evidence from respondents seems to suggest that white media employers denied respondents jobs either because they have no training or they work for the Black Press. The issue of training has been discussed in chapter five and it was shown that while training is important there are many people who enter journalism jobs without recognised training, it should not in all circumstances be a reason for not employing black journalists. While the issues of discrimination are complex, it is clear from respondents that discrimination direct and indirect operates against many respondent when they seek employment in the white media. Such discrimination operates very effectively and keeps all but a few black people out of mainstream media and thus maintaining the 'colour barrier'. With very few black people having recognised training, some media employers can then demand that those whom they employed have such training. Some might see such a demand by media managers as deliberately putting up barriers so as not to employ more black journalists.

The result is that those blacks not accepted into mainstream training or jobs but who want to work as journalists are left with no alternative but to work in the Black Press with all the disadvantages that entails. However, the problem does not end there. Many blacks, although not all, find that after several years with the Black Press, learning their trade and gaining experience, they are once again refused jobs in the white media. The reason given to respondents is that their experience in the black media is not sufficient to be accepted in the white media. The black media is thus seen by some white media managers as inferior to the white media yet another reason not to employ black journalists.

The NUJ's Black Members' group has argued that some media employers are using the fact that many black journalists on black newspapers have no organised training as an excuse not to employ them (2). The NUJ conference report on black journalists in print stated that they were 'dismayed at the continuous discrimination against black journalists under the disguise of lack of qualification or training' and that 'this has been a contributing factor to the poor representation of black journalists in the news media'(NUJ 1986, 54). But is racial discrimination in employment only associated with the media, or is the media only a reflection of the British labour market's attitude towards black people in general?

(2) See The NUJ Conference Report 'Broadcasting and Black People', which condemns white media managers for not recognising the experiences of black journalists working in the black press. The report argues this is discriminatory.

In his book 'Racial Discrimination in England', Daniels stated in 1968 that employers had a generally consistent set of beliefs about the occupational and personal characteristics of black people, believing that they had a 'low level of skills and qualifications and a high degree of mobility based on their unreliability'. Consequently, black people are generally 'considered suited to only those jobs for which it was not possible to get white labour or to particular menial and unskilled jobs'(Daniels 1968, 97). Journalism as an occupation is neither menial nor unskilled and is seen as a white occupation in Britain. This might be one reason for the under-employment of black people in the media and other white-collar occupations. Daniels found in his research that in recruitment for managerial positions, stereotyped views of black people were held by employers who saw immigrants and their children as being incapable of taking up such posts. One employer, when asked why he did not have any black people in managerial or executive positions, said:

'We need high-powered people. This means not only people with academic qualifications - paper qualifications - or with experience, we want more than this. They need initiative, the ability to lead, the ability to enthuse and to guide. Let's face it, it's not many coloured immigrants who have these qualities'(Daniels 1968, 103).

David Smith's book 'Racial Disadvantage in Britain' found that even if black people were qualified, they faced racial discrimination in the labour market. When he examined the relationships between job level and degree standard qualification he found that 79 per cent of white men with degrees were in professional or managerial jobs compared with

only 31 per cent of black men and that, while none of the white men were doing manual jobs of any kind, 21 per cent of black men with degree qualifications were doing such jobs. Similar comparisons at other levels of educational qualification, though less stark, are still strong. They illustrate that while white people without formal qualifications may still rise through the ranks to professional and managerial jobs, this is less possible for black people (Smith 1971, 75).

During the early years of immigration the general reason given by many employers for not employing black people was that they were unskilled and could not speak English. These excuses could not be justified in the 1990s. Although there are still a number of black people who are unskilled, there is a growing black middle class emerging in Britain (3). This is especially true of Asians who are well educated, skilled and who have no problem with the English language. However, being middle class does not break the 'colour barrier'(Warner 1936). In fact, the majority of black people in Britain are not immigrants, over 55 per cent are black Britons.

(3) See Dayes, 'The Black Middle Class' (1987) an unpublished Ph. D. thesis which looks at the African-Caribbean middle class and their position in the British labour market.

However, it might be suggested that as black people acquire the qualifications needed to take up occupations like journalism, law and teaching, the criteria used by employers have shifted in their drive to conceal racial discrimination. Brunel University's study of 'Expectations of Higher Education' explained that 'employers frequently state that it is personal qualities rather than the possession of a degree which they are looking for in the recruitment of graduates'(Brunel University, Paper No 2, 1984). Judging personal qualities is arguably subjective and graduates could be judged on a race or class basis and if the qualities employers feel they need are found unevenly among different social groups then this could lead to systematic discrimination against them. The CRE 1990 report 'Ethnic Minorities and the Graduate Labour Market' found, as did David Smith in 1971, that black graduates were not given equal employment to suit their academic achievement as whites were. The report concluded,

'all ethnic minority graduates face a greater likelihood of being unemployed after graduation, and they report more difficulty in finding suitable employment .. although they are ultimately successful in getting a job, they are less likely than white graduates to be satisfied with it.. the quality of job obtained is likely to be inferior to that obtained by a similar qualified white graduate.' (CRE 1990, p.92)

The reason given by ethnic minority graduates for either their failure to obtain jobs as quickly as white graduates, or suitable jobs to their level of qualification and training, was said to be 'ethnic origin' (CRE 1990, 92).

RACISM, THE MEDIA AND EMPLOYMENT

Like ethnic minority graduates in general, many respondents believed that colour discrimination was the main reason why white media employers refused them jobs:

(12) 'Racism is the cause of under-representation of blacks in the media. It's a system which refuses to give blacks the opportunity. We need quotas to redress the balance and continuous campaigning and vigilance against racism.'

(33) 'Race is against you getting jobs in the media initially, but if you are given the chance to prove yourself and you are good at what you do things aren't so bad. I am a television reporter with proper training but it took me nearly two years before I got a job. I made dozens of applications before getting in. It is unfair that we have to try harder than whites to get a job.'

Some respondents gained extra qualifications in order to secure employment in the white media:

(13) 'I believed I needed more qualifications than my white peers to get a job, so I did two degrees. It didn't help me that much. I still had to start working in the black media in order to get on to mainstream. White journalists don't have to go on to specialist programmes. The BBC has a number of talented black people working for them but because of racism they fail to promote them.'

Many other respondents felt that they had to be twice as good as whites in order to get jobs in the media:

(36) 'Black people have to persuade editors that they are twice as good if they want to be employed because many think that if you are black you are no good. When I first began working with a local paper, people inside and outside the office were shocked to see that I was black and could write. They eventually accepted me but I was lucky. I believe that if black people want to get jobs they have to be twice as ambitious and twice as good. Newspapers have set views and if you are different they look critically at you. Once they get to know you, they see that you are not what they think.'

One national newspaper journalist was warned about racism when at school:

(87) 'My parents told me that if I wanted to get on in this country I had to be twice as good as whites. I have a first-class degree in European studies, including Spanish, and I still had to struggle to get a media job.'

This journalist found that some media employers were prepared to use unfair tactics to refuse her jobs:

'I applied for a job in a magazine and had the most racist interview you could ever imagine. I was continually being asked about my opinion on the problems in Grenada. It was just after the Americans invaded the country. This had nothing to do with the job I was being interviewed for.'

Another journalist found his interview very unfair and the questions unnecessary:

(90) 'I sent out nearly 200 applications and eventually I went for an interview with at a press association. At the interview I was given a test to see to see if I could pronounce Welsh names. I was born and brought up in India; why should they expect me to pronounce Welsh names when the English can't? I have had similar experiences with the BBC; at an interview they asked me about my parent's occupations and my politics. None of this has anything to do with my journalistic skills which they didn't ask me about.'

For some respondents racism in the media meant having to do freelance jobs instead of staff jobs in order to make a living:

(20) 'I am freelancing because I couldn't get a job despite having been trained. All the whites I trained with have good jobs. It took me years to establish myself as a freelancer and to be able to make a living. It will not be easy to get a staff job because of racism. I have tried the BBC several times, also independent television. I want to produce radio and television programmes so I will have to get a staff job but I know it won't be easy.'

One respondent believed that it is much easier for black journalists to get jobs in the liberal papers than it is in the right-wing tabloids:

(8) 'There is a bias against blacks in the tabloids. The broadsheets are different. If they could get blacks with the right qualifications and experience they would employ them.'

Despite the claim by this respondent that quality newspapers are more liberal towards black employment, many respondents to this survey with qualifications and experience have been turned down by such newspapers. Indeed, one respondent emphasized this point:

(24) 'There aren't enough black journalists in newspapers. You can count them on two hands. There is a lack of interest in hiring black people by the liberal papers. 'The Observer' has only one black journalist on staff. The paper I work for is seen as right-wing but it has three black journalists on its staff and the only black photographer on a national newspaper.'

Many respondents, in order to improve their chances of getting a job in the media, were willing to gain extra qualifications and to try harder. They felt they had to prove to white media employers that despite being black they could become good journalists. Many of these respondents pointed to the fact that white journalists do not have to be twice as good to be accepted. It might be suggested that because of discrimination black people have to be twice as good and even then there is no certainty of getting employment in the media or any other white collar occupation. The main reason lies in the British history of slavery and colonization and the race and class barriers in society.

Determination seems to be the key to getting a job in the media many respondents believed. Not only do black journalists have to be twice as good but twice as determined.

(92) 'I work for a scientific magazine and I had to write 150 applications before I got a job and I was fully trained. I can't say for sure why many didn't even bother to reply and why those who did give me an interview didn't take me but I guess it was being black. What else could it be? I have the qualifications they ask for and the training. However, I wouldn't give up I was sure in the end I would get through.'

The simple answer some respondents gave as to why they did not obtain jobs in the media was that:

(91) 'Media employers don't want to employ black and Asian journalists and they find excuses not to do so.'

Many respondents gave their experiences of direct racism:

(28) 'I tried getting a job in the BBC - "Newsnight" and "Panorama". They said they wanted people with journalistic experience yet they took on white people who had none.'

A radio reporter who was head-hunted by Channel 4 before they came on screen said,

(78) 'I sent them a tape of my voice and I didn't get the job. They said I sounded black. Instead, I was offered work as a relief presenter. I was employed for only six months. Channel 4, instead, gave the presenter's job to a white person who had no broadcasting experience.'

Another respondent explained that the problem is not always getting a job because even if you get the job there is no career structure and very little chances of promotion:

(70) 'I work in a mainstream newspaper. The problem is they have no intention of promoting me to leader-writer or to anything else than being an ordinary reporter. Yet after 10 years working for the paper I see young, inexperienced, white, Oxbridge graduates coming in and getting promoted. It makes me angry and I realised that if I don't leave, I will never get anywhere.'

A female reporter who had worked for many years on provincial newspapers explained the problems she faced even when in employment:

(73) 'I am a magazine journalist but previously I worked on various newspapers in the north of England. I was expected to do only race stories while I was on one paper and I was not promoted despite working on this paper for three years. When I wanted to leave I had difficulties getting a job despite my years of experience and training. I applied to dozens of newspapers before I got this job. Employers, I believe, want white males not black women.'

GETTING INTO THE WHITE MEDIA

A minority of respondents believed the under-representation of black people in the media is not a result of direct or indirect discrimination . They argue that under-representation is due to other factors:

(73) 'I am a radio reporter with BBC local radio. I got this job because I did a recognised training course at the Polytechnic of Central London. I got the job after three interviews and I don't think I was being discriminated against when I applied for other jobs and didn't get them. It was simply because I hadn't the experience.'

(8) 'Getting my first job was difficult but possible only because I was trained in a Fleet Street news agency and I knew my job well and had made a number of contacts. It didn't matter whether I was black or white. If I didn't have training and didn't know anyone in the business it would have been virtually impossible for me to get a job in national newspapers. There are a number of black people who think that because they have a black face they should automatically get a job. The problem is they have no training or experience for the job. They don't know how to interview a politician or how to stick their foot in a door to get a story. Nobody gets in without knowing how to do these things, whether you are black or white. I remember when I was asked by an editor why I wanted to become a journalist and I said because I can write. The editor said, "We can do the writing but can you get a story?" Getting a story is an art and if you are not trained to do it you are lost.'

(24) 'I had no difficulty getting into the media. Some people have a chip on their shoulders. I am black and proud of it, but some people, if they don't get in, say it's their colour and not their work or experience.'

(7) 'I got into journalism as a magazine reporter because I knew someone on the magazine. I had no training but learnt on the job as I went on. I had another stroke of luck in getting on to a national newspaper; a friend of my mother told me of an opening as an editorial assistant. She spoke to the editor and I was appointed. I learnt a lot in that position before I was given the opportunity to write for the paper.'

(14) 'Although I had contacts, I am successful because my employer could rely on me. Employers need to know that you are able to get out of bed each morning. I am now head of the paper's television section and in charge of one reporter and two secretaries and I am only 26.'

A black woman, who is chief reporter on a local newspaper,

related how she managed to break the traditional white

barriers in local newspapers and managed to be successful:

(83) 'You have to know your job, get the skills to write, which means training. When I am looking for work I make a conscious effort to apply everywhere. It is important to set out the letter of application properly. I may have written over 100 applications before getting this job. In the meantime, while waiting for full-time employment, I did a lot of freelance work, so I have a good portfolio. Once in the job I work hard for perfection. I am reliable and, above all, I know my job. I am a professional and the editor couldn't do anything other than promote me to chief reporter. I hope to be editor one day. When the editor is away I already act as his deputy. I believe if you want something bad enough you will get it, whatever colour you are.'

(57) 'I have had no difficulty getting jobs. I was properly trained and made contacts because of the college of journalism where I trained. I worked for five years in local newspapers before going into television and, while we know that there is racism within the media, it is up to black people to be good at what they do if they want to work in mainstream. They can't just sit about moaning about racism.'

(42) 'Getting jobs in the media isn't only about race. Sure, there is racism but you have to be prepared to work hard at what you do before you can get into mainstream. You may have to do the lowly jobs first, perhaps the Black Press, freelancing for national papers so as to learn the ropes. My case is not typical; I came into journalism by chance. I held an important position in the National Union of Students and after my degree I couldn't get a job because of my student politics. I was then asked to do research on a black-only television programme for London Weekend Television. I stayed in this job for five years before I got the break into presenting and producing mainstream programmes. I was with a

group of exceptionally talented black people who have all moved into mainstream television programmes. If you are clever it doesn't matter what colour you are, you can make it. I often get applications from black people who want to work in television who can't even spell. How do they expect to get such jobs?'

(11) 'When I first applied for a job as a financial journalist on television I was turned down, but it was not because I was black. It's because I didn't have the experience they were looking for. Television is very competitive and you have to be competent at what you do. I applied again to the same company some years later and this time they took me, since then I have had no difficulties in getting jobs.'

A minority of respondents criticised black people for expecting to get jobs in mainstream journalism for which they are not trained:

(82) 'It is not racism why there are not many blacks and Asians in the media. It's because we don't measure up. If you are better than your white counterpart you will make it. Newspapers, especially nationals, don't take stories from black people because they don't ring up with good stories. Their stories are usually about racism and campaigns, which national papers are not interested in. There is no need to promote blacks and Asians in the media. If you have a good story no newspaper will turn you down.'

These respondents proposed that training, experience, reliability, determination and having good contacts are ways of getting into the white media and these competencies are what black people lack. Firstly, it has been argued that many black people find it difficult to get journalism training, secondly, not many black people have contacts in the media with white media managers who are responsible for hiring. It is also not possible for black journalists to obtain experience without first having employment. It must also be stressed again that the position of black people trying to get into the media is made worse because many white media

employers do not accept any training or experiences a black person may have gained while working for the black media. The point made by some respondents that some black people lack determination and reliability is one to consider. Are all whites reliable and determined? There are some whatever the colour of their skin, who are reliable and determined and others who are not. So why are these characteristics being mentioned by a minority of respondents? It might be suggested that some respondents have become victims of the media stereotyped image of black people in general if not of themselves. The point respondents are making here is that if you are black you need to be as exceptional as they are to work in the White Press. But why should black people be exceptional to get employment in the white media? Could it be that blacks are not accepted as equals and therefore have to prove themselves?

MAKING THE RIGHT CONTACTS

Another significant factor which has emerged from the statements of some respondents is that contacts play a very important part in obtaining jobs in the white media.

(89) 'I have not come across much racism. I have had to work hard to get where I am. But it was important getting to know the right people. I got my first job by contacts and then, once in, I continued to make more contacts. Let's face it, most media employers would prefer someone who is referred to him rather than going through 400 applications and interviews. If blacks and Asians want to get in they will have to try and get to know the right people.'

(18) 'Getting jobs in television depends upon who you know. I knew someone at the BBC who I was at Oxford with and he put in a good word for me. That's how I got in. However, once in, you have to prove yourself or else you are finished.'

(1) 'If it wasn't for contacts I wouldn't have got a job so quickly in the BBC. My contacts were unusual as well. I went to an equal opportunity meeting where virtually everyone was criticizing but I supported the BBC. I didn't realise that someone from the BBC was there until after the meeting when he came up to me and thanked me for being so fair to the corporation. I told him that I was a trained broadcast journalist and that I was looking for a job. A few weeks later I was asked to come in for an interview. Two things were in my favour: I was trained at City University, well admired for its journalism training, and I was only 23 years old. They accepted me. I was the kind of person they wanted, as well as being black and a woman. It would do wonders for their image.'

One national newspaper reporter explained how he made it

through contacts:

(36) 'I made a number of contacts while working on a local paper. I became well known to national newspaper editors whom I would sell stories , so when I eventually wrote off to them for jobs they already knew who I was. Most black journalists aren't hard-nosed enough to do this.'

(78) 'Getting jobs in television depends upon who you know and upon politics. If at the time of your applications they need to get a few blacks in to show that they are an equal opportunity employer, you might get in. You have to be in the right place at the right time and, of course, if you have a friend there, you are bound to get in.'

(96) 'I got my present job because I had contacts in the BBC - someone I had worked with before. People only take on people like themselves. The funny thing was I had applied for that job before and did not even get a reply. But, once my friend had a word with the news editor, I was in.'

(60) 'After training in a Fleet Street news agency, I had made lots of contacts and didn't need to apply formally for jobs. I was head-hunted by many national papers, especially after I got a scoop on Elizabeth Taylor. Apart from training, I think contacts are the most important thing if you want to get work as a journalist.'

Getting employment through contacts is a well established practice not only in the media but in other occupations. But is obtaining employment in this manner fair competition to others who want the job? While some might consider this a fair and less expensive way of recruiting, others might argue that recruiting in this manner is discriminatory because it is unfair competition which can and does excludes many groups of people such as blacks, women and working-class people. In the case of journalism, this is even more apparent as those who hold the positions of power and can thus give jobs are invariable white, middle-class and male. It seems that those respondents who managed to get jobs through contacts are those who went to the right training courses or had the right kind of jobs within the media. These, however, are the exceptions to the rule. The reality for most black people trying to get into the media is that initially they have no contacts. As black people they are not likely to get their contacts from Oxbridge or to have gone to a well-recognised training school which has a high profile with media managers. Nor are they likely to be in media jobs which will give them accessibility to those powerful enough to offer them jobs. Many black journalists because of direct or indirect discrimination, are found working in the Black Press without recognised training.

RESPONSE OF MEDIA EMPLOYERS

Questionnaires were sent to 80 media employers covering the areas of news and current affairs on national and provincial newspapers, national television, radio and magazines. Questionnaires were also sent to media mangers whose newspaper, radio or television stations cover areas of large black population. Media employers were asked for information regarding the numbers of full-time black journalists they had employed over the past two years (see questionnaire in appendix). Of 80 questionnaires sent there were 37 replies. Of those only 10 had any black journalists or trainees in the past two years and the average numbers were between two and three. Some replies did not give the information asked for. One reply from a national newspaper read, 'I am enclosing some information of a general nature about newspapers. I realise that this may not be exactly what you require but I very much hope it is of some help.' There was no mention of black employment in this general information. One can only surmise that they have so few black journalists, or none at all, that they were embarrassed to discuss the issue. The editor of another national newspaper also had nothing to say on the subject. His reply was, 'I am afraid the pressure of managing and editing do not allow me sufficient time to answer questionnaires.'

Some media employers have a colour-blind attitude and so commented that counting black staff is belittling. One

replied; 'We have no policy of the kind you are seeking to research. We hire people according to our perception of their abilities.' Another newspaper editor stated, 'We consider it would be invidious to count and never have done. I guess we have ten per cent.' But he added, 'We will employ anyone suitable regardless of race, gender, religion etc.' Another said; 'We do not as a matter of policy reveal to outsiders the numbers of staff we employ. We do employ black and Asian staff. I am not prepared to tell you how many, since the only way I could discover this would be by counting the people involved. I think this would be an offensive exercise. We do not make records of people's colour.' Evidently the issue of race raises embarrassment and denial of a 'race' problem in the media and society in general. Replies from the broadcasting sector were less defensive, although not every one who was contacted replied.

The reasons given by media managers why they employed so few black journalists were the same as in 1983 when the Black Media Workers' Association survey was carried out. It is that black people did not apply for jobs. Yet, none of these media managers monitored job applications. One national newspaper, which has a total of 320 journalistic staff, had only three who were black. The editor's explanation for this small number was: 'We employ people on merit, not race. But we do not seem to get applications from black or Asian journalists.' However, he did not say what he was doing to attract black and Asian journalists, if indeed they are not applying for jobs. This

newspaper, like all others involved in the questionnaire, does not monitor job applications so cannot tell whether their job applicants are black or white.

Similar replies came from provincial newspapers. One Glasgow newspaper had only one black journalist in a city with a high number of Asian residents. The editor stated; 'In my nine years as editor I have received no applications from blacks or Asians as far as I am aware. We would certainly consider appointing anyone of whatever colour, race or religion, who was qualified for the post and won it in fair competition.'

But what is fair competition? Historically most blacks have never had equal access to education or training, so to judge them on the same basis as whites is not fair competition. However, one Liverpool newspaper had a better understanding of the problem. The editor who said that he had one black journalist out of a total of 80 explained,

'I would like to have more black and Asian staff and we have had internal discussions on how this should be achieved. Unfortunately we have trained only two journalists in recent years and have had very few black journalists apply to us. I look forward to the day when the ethnic origins of our staff reflect society as a whole.'

Despite the fact that this editor says he wants his journalistic staff to reflect the make-up of the multi-cultural society served by his newspaper, he seems to be doing very little to achieve this aim. He stated that he did not monitor applicants for jobs or training neither did he say whether he had seek help from the CRE in order to fulfil this aim.

Employers in the broadcasting media gave similar answers to the survey. One programme organiser at a BBC local radio in the Midlands put it simply: 'I feel that not enough blacks or Asians put in for BBC jobs.' It is interesting to note that most black journalist respondents stated that they had applied to the BBC several times and were turned down. BBC Radios One and Two, which broadcast nationally, claimed that they were 'actively pursuing positive action initiatives in order to encourage the numbers of black and Asian people to apply .. We recognise that we have some way to go to achieve a better representation.' Independent Television News was less helpful with its reply, saying that it could give no information on the numbers of black people employed. However, another ITV network, London Weekend Television, said that five per cent of its journalists were black.

The numbers of black journalists working in magazines are also low and the attitudes of editors in magazines are similar to those in newspapers. One national women's magazine stated; 'We operate an equal opportunity employment system', yet out of 200 editorial staff only two were black. Another magazine admitted that 'out of our present 185 permanent editorial staff one is of Afro-Caribbean origin; none are of Asian origin.'

Media employers seem to blame black people for not applying for jobs seeing this as the reason for their under-representation. It is important to note that none saw

racial discrimination as the reason for black under-representation in the media and none of those media employers who replied to this survey was involved in positive equal opportunity policies. According to NUJ figures, fewer than four out of every 100 new recruits into journalism are black. It seems that this is likely to continue until the media put into practice positive action equal opportunity policies.

Despite media manager's claim, respondents to this survey argued that they have made dozens, sometimes hundreds, of applications to media managers for jobs. While some eventually got jobs in the white media, most have to go to the Black Press in order to work as journalists. One editor of a Midland newspaper stated that of 500 speculative job applications he had had only one from a black candidate. But the question must be asked, if the paper does not carry out ethnic monitoring how can they know who is black? Heather Purdey, news editor of the independent radio station, Leicester Sound, compared the position of black people with that of women. She said; 'We didn't get many women applying for journalistic jobs until recently, in the same way we don't get black people applying because the media is seen as racist.'

Respondents explained:

(8) 'People in the BBC say they advertise jobs and they just don't get applications from black people. If this is true, how do you expect them to apply when they see the BBC as a white, middle-class institution?'

A former black presenter for the BBC described how she was treated:

(100) 'I was put in a position which I found intolerable. I was treated awfully and abominably trivialized. Television people exclude everyone who is not like them.'

Robin Lustig, former news editor and assistant editor of 'The Observer', wrote in 'The Guardian' that 'nothing short of hustling by black and Asian journalists will force national papers to employ more non-whites.' The reason why it is necessary for blacks to hustle where whites do not, according to Lustig, is familiar;

'too few black people apply for jobs and most papers don't advertise vacancies; they merely shift the applications already in their bulging file. Journalism is a highly competitive business. If you take out an ad., you are deluged with hundreds, perhaps thousands, of applications. Far easier to stick to the traditional method. It's not the way it should be, but it is the way it is'. (12/11/90).

The view that too few black people apply for jobs in the media has been brought into question by respondents who said that they applied for dozens of jobs in the white media only to be turned down. Without ethnic monitoring it is difficult to estimate how many well qualified black people have applied for jobs in the white media and have been rejected down. However, it is clear that colour prejudice, whether direct or indirect, is at least partially responsible for the under-representation of black journalists in the white media.

Like journalist training managers, none of the editors who replied to the survey conducted ethnic monitoring. They ignore any affirmative action which would mean taking on or increasing the numbers of black journalists in their

employment. It is fair to say that their inaction might be interpreted as both direct and indirect discrimination against black people. It would, however, be very difficult to prove because most respondents do not know why they were not accepted and secondly an employer might well say that the black person was not employed because they were not formally trained or have not sufficient experience. In such circumstances discrimination would be also very difficult to prove. However, the same employer might later accepted a white applicant without these qualifications, as was experienced by some respondents.

The view by editors and journalist training managers that black people don't apply for jobs and training is one that can be challenged. The BBC found that there was no shortage of black applicants when it advertised vacancies for black journalist training courses in the ethnic press. It had 900 application for six places in 1986. It could be argued also that if black people do not apply for jobs it is not that they do not want to, but, as Robin Lustig said, because most newspapers do not advertise vacancies; they fill their vacancies by word of mouth or sift through old applications. According to Lustig, simply applying for a job in the national papers is not the best way to get in. He explains to black journalists how to get jobs:

'There are three main ways journalists on nationals get their jobs: by being headhunted, by moving from casual, freelance and/or shift working to a staff position and by straight forward application.'

He pointed out,

'I got my first job on 'The Observer' after working as a stringer for them and then writing to ask whether there was any chance of a more permanent position. By sheer fluke, there was and I stayed more than 12 years'('The Guardian' 12/11/90).

Lustig's three main ways of obtaining national newspaper jobs were also mentioned by some respondents to the survey. However, before anyone can consider writing freelance or being a stringer for national newspapers, they must first have some training and experience. For many black people this is a catch -22 situation; as this report found, most black journalist respondents had no recognised training not because they lacked the necessary qualifications or because they did not want training but because they were simply not accepted by white media training courses.

Lustig commented that black people should use contacts to get into national newspapers. But as was stated earlier in this chapter, only a few respondents are in the position where they know people who can assist them to get jobs in the media. For others, the only way to get media jobs is by applying directly to the editor. Lustig advocated hustling as another way for black people to get national newspaper jobs. He stated that a clever black journalist who is prepared to 'keep offering ideas, phoning in with tips, show initiative and energy' can get a job with the nationals. While hustling does sometimes procure jobs in national newspapers, most staff journalists do not have to go to this extreme as most are head-hunted from provincial newspapers or taken from schools of journalism areas, as seen from this survey from where very few black

people are taken on. Lustig asked, 'Why should ethnic background dictate a career pattern any more than gender or sexual orientation? Does an ambitious young black journalist want a job in which his/her ethnicity is a dominant factor or one in which it is as irrelevant as height or shoe size.' However, it might be pointed out that being white, male and middle class does 'dictate a career' for many in our society. Robin Lustig, like other media employers in this survey, responds to the under-representation of black people in the media by blaming the victims, yet ignores the part play by direct and indirect discrimination for the under-representation of black people in journalism training and jobs.

In a letter to the journal 'Race Today' Clement Jones CBE, past editor of 'the Wolverhampton Express and Star', had this to say about the situation of black employment in the British media:

'There are now a number of alert young West Indians and Asians who would make every bit as good a showing as some of the white youngsters who offer themselves for selection and subsequent training as journalists. Much of the trouble is that dissuasion for blacks starts well before the selection stage, in fact by school careers masters and youth employment officers. That the majority of editors who are in the market for trainees certainly are not racist is happily true. However, they are content to take a passive line and to duck out from underneath with the familiar formula, of course if the right black boy or girl came along .. and in this way they are aided by the careers advisory system to preserve the status quo'(quoted in 'Race Today' 9/1975).

Channel Four chief Michael Grade in (1988) makes the link between the employment of black journalists in the media and programme making when he stated that there would not be any

real change until more black people are employed in decision making position (quoted in 'Black People and The Media', p.46).

And Michael Day former chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality, states that one way for television companies to alter their imbalance of ethnic minority staff is to 'consider a policy of positive action in the recruitment of ethnic minority production staff'(Day 1988, p. 25).

THE EXPERIENCES OF TWO BLACK JOURNALISTS WITH THE BRITISH MEDIA

One respondent talked about his experience of looking for employment in the British press in 1969 when he first arrived in this country from South Africa:

(84) 'I applied for over ninety jobs. Ninety per cent of these were advertised vacancies and the remaining a cross-section of Fleet Street papers which I thought or had heard might have a vacancy. Between the two sorts I tried the whole of Fleet Street except for about three or four papers. I informed all but 10 I was black. I got replies from these ten; three in the provinces offering me a job, the rest had already filled them. Because of the very low salary offered, I did not take any of the three jobs. Of the 80 whom I had informed I was a black journalist, 45 had the courtesy to reply. Some of those who did not reply went on advertising for the vacancies weeks afterwards. The standard reply from the 45 was that the posts were filled and they thanked me for applying for the post but they would retain my application in their files should a review of the position or another vacancy arise in the future. Others stated that they were seeking professionals from UK papers only. Five replied that they had no vacancies presently but would like to meet me. In relation to the advertisement for the same post, in at least half the papers it appeared two or three weeks after their replies to me. None ever contacted me again, in spite of the fact that numerous vacancies appeared in their respective papers. White South Africans,

Australians and New Zealand journalists who had never actually worked on UK papers before got jobs from these papers with no difficulty. When I went to see those employers who wanted to meet me it was clear that 80 per cent wanted to see me out of sheer curiosity. As one editor remarked to me; "It's the first time I've had the pleasure of speaking to a coloured journalist who is resident in this country." The remaining 20 per cent were genuine in their attempts to help me on a freelance basis as they had no staff jobs available.

'In my quest for a job, the papers I did not approach in Fleet street included 'The Telegraph' and the Beaverbrook press group. The reasons were obvious. These papers I had been told and believed were so right-wing, especially as far as race relations were concerned, that for a black journalist even to harbour the thought of contributing to them was a gross sacrilege. As my efforts to get a decent job on any British paper failed one after the other, I decided to go freelance. I took a pot shot at 'The Sunday Telegraph' for freelance assignments. To my surprise I found this paper had none of the hypocrisy which so many Fleet Street papers so vociferously suffer from when it comes to accepting contributions from a black freelance .. I also started freelancing for 'The People' at about the same time where I found a similar non-hypocritical atmosphere. Because of the political and racial atmosphere which then prevailed - Powellism was at its height - and the competitive journalistic market, there was no alternative but to specialize in race and community relations, even though one resented the Fleet Street assumption that black journalists were only good and expert on reporting exclusively about blacks.'

20 years later a young British-born black journalist reported:

(15) 'After three cloistered years at college I was offered my first job on a large evening paper in a town with a large black population. "They picked you for your name," said my friends. I thought they were merely jealous. I now realise that those white friends saw precisely how the rest of society sees black people - things to be used, or abused. My first week at the paper was spent dodging the resident race expert (white) who quizzed me constantly as though I was a visitor from Mars. Eventually I was not indentured. But all my life I had wanted to be a reporter and six months of letter-writing later I was in work once more. For two blissful years I was a reporter just like all the others on the group of Yorkshire weekly papers I worked for. Looking back I can see that I managed that by never revealing my real background and really being drawn into talk about race. Off again I went to a large evening paper. This time I was amazed to find two black reporters in the building. However, one almost immediately explained that he did not cover race issues. "That's all they think you can do if you do not fight and show them otherwise," he said.

'My name was spotted by numerous black groups, and letters and 'phone calls poured in. Eager for something other than inquests and golden weddings to cover I started to do some race reporting. Eventually I was made a specialist. The black community greeted me like manna from heaven. It became embarrassing to have to turn down invitations to weddings, meetings and meals. I did not have enough time. I could not satisfy their needs and they became frustrated. No editorial back-up. No proper coverage and no support leads to no contacts and no stories and you are soon left with no confidence. My work was either hidden away or not used. I was not even given any other work of note to do. In two years I had just three front-page splashes. I did not know what I was doing wrong and my boss could not tell me either.

'Two incidents typified their view of me. I was asked to point out a Chinese man to a photographer for a picture needed in an investigation. They assumed he would be at a Chinese New Year celebration put on by the council to teach non-Chinese people about the special day and they assumed I knew him but I had never heard of him. The news editor was astonished, until I explained that there were around 1,000 Chinese in the city and I only knew about 10. In another incident a famous black boxer donated a painting to charity and the news editor said, "Ask your mate if he did the painting". But I did not know the man personally but again the news editor was assuming that all black people knew each other. Demoralised, depressed and unable to think of a job I would rather do I tried to find another post. I was constantly told that Fleet Street would bend over backwards to get black reporters.

'Well, few Fleet Street editors replied to letters and if they did and you found yourself being interviewed it was for non-existent jobs. It was invariably a case of someone wanting to see what the Martians look like. Do we smell of curry? Do we have funny accents and so on. Getting away from race was an impossible task. I answered an advert for a general reporter's job on another evening paper. At least I will not have to cover race because I am black. But oh no, you do get off so lightly! I was asked if I would cover race relations as well as general news. So I let rip and told them what I have told you here, and more. They offered me the job. However, I exchanged one hell for another. I was told by one that the suspicion and reserve felt for me was because they constantly feared I would report them to the NUJ Ethics Council. I am the first black reporter employed by the company and the first any of them had worked with. I often feel like I am on trial.

'Again the local black community expects wonders from me. Many will not talk to me because of the white paper I work for. It is demoralising. I agree totally with their view that the papers will only change when black people are on all levels of the media and are making the decisions. But no matter how hard we struggle, few of us will find success. We must join together, to help ourselves and to prevent the misery we have encountered so as to stop it affecting those who follow us.'

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST BLACKS IN OTHER WHITE-COLLAR OCCUPATIONS

As was argued earlier, the media is not the only institution where racial discrimination is evident and where the 'colour bar' exists. Black people entering law and teaching find similar problems to black journalists. The concern regarding law and teaching is similar to that of journalism. The Law Society ethnic monitoring exercise 1986/87 revealed 618 ethnic minority solicitors in England and Wales (out of 48,494) 1.27 % of the profession. The Law Society Race Relations Committee, stated that it ' is seriously concerned about the wide gulf between black lawyers and white lawyers regarding racial problems within the profession'(The Law Society: 'The Race Report' 1989, p.3). The report also recommended that the Solicitors Complaints Bureau should deal with complaints of 'racial discrimination made against solicitors'(1989, p.2).
Blacks in the legal profession, like those in journalism, found that being black has its disadvantages. Lincoln's Inn provides a good example of racism in action in the legal profession: here black and white are separated into black and white chambers - 'a legal apartheid' - and, what is more, the separate facilities are by no means equal. Black chambers (a group of barristers sharing a suite of offices) are treated by many white barristers as slightly inefficient poor relations. Ethnic minority chambers tend to be less busy than white chambers and tend to specialize in less lucrative areas (The Law Society: 'The Race Report', 1989).

A Bar Council 1988 survey found that 182 chambers had no black members. In 1989, out of 296 chambers which answered a Bar Council survey 16 contained 53 per cent of all non-white barristers. The Law Society (1989) Race Report showed that solicitors discriminate against ethnic minority entrants when offering articles. They found that large commercial firms were the worst discriminators and, like the BBC, favoured Oxbridge graduates ahead of those coming from former polytechnics, irrespective of the class of degree, as well as ethnic minority candidates generally. The Society of Black Lawyers and the Society of Asian Lawyers have challenged the structures responsible for these inequalities. They believe what is needed is a two-pronged attack, to get more barristers, solicitors, magistrates and judges from black communities and to get the white criminal justice system to examine and change itself. Recent reports found direct discrimination in the law profession where firms refuse to recruit law graduates for article training if they graduated from a polytechnic. The institution where most black people get their law degrees.

There have however been some small changes. The Law Society, after years of denying that there was discrimination in the profession, accepted in a report published in 1989 that ethnic minorities were under-represented in the profession. It also admitted that there were barriers which operated to give unequal access to these groups when it came to getting partnerships. The report recommended that the Race Relations

Act should be extended to cover the legal profession which it did not, (as solicitors and barristers are seen as self-employed). An ethnic minorities officer was appointed to do outreach work to attract young black people into the profession and there is a strong recommendation that action should be taken on complaints about racial discrimination. The Lord Chancellor's department is suggesting race training for magistrates and other court officials.

In 1993 the Law Society not only admitted that there was racial discrimination in the profession but set targets for the admittance of blacks. It recommended that small law firms with between 6 and 10 'fee earners should have at least 1 fee earner of ethnic minority origin' and large firms with 11 or more fee-earners 'should have at leat 10% of their trainees and 5% of fee-earners of ethnic minority origin'(The Law Society, 'New Anti-Discrimination Measures' 1994, p.4).

Teaching, like law and journalism, has been criticised by organisations such as the CRE for its under-representation of black people due to institutional racism. A CRE survey found that only 2 per cent of teachers come from the ethnic minority communities. The survey also found that over half the institutions providing teacher training had either none or only one black student teacher (CRE 1988). The Swann Report concluded that ethnic minority teachers are discriminated against 'both in gaining initial employment and in subsequent promotion'. The Committee called on the DES to record and

publish statistics on the ethnic origin of teachers and those in training institutions. The Swann Report also welcomed equal opportunities policies which have been developed by many local education authorities and urged that all LEAs do the same. Swann saw the presence of black teachers as important for 'role models' and 'cultural resources'. However, the report opposed any form of quotas, although not against LEAs taking into consideration the ethnic, linguistic and religious background of a teacher when making an appointment. The committee accepted the potential role of the access to teaching courses for ethnic minorities as a method of recruiting more black teachers and recommended that such courses continue to be supported by the Government. It also called on the DES to recognise overseas qualifications so as to encourage more ethnic minorities into the profession (Swann 1985).

Both law and teaching show striking similarities to journalism regarding entry for black people. In law, as in journalism, black people face a selection process and having a degree is not enough. How and where you get the degree is also very important to obtain training. Most black people who attended former polytechnic or lesser universities, find that they were at a disadvantage. But it seems, even when black people manage to surmount the barriers and get into these occupations, they are then subjected to individual and institutional racism. The difference between these three professions is that while the Law Society and the teaching profession in general admit that

there are too few black people in these professions, the media, in general, has not yet accepted this fact. There is a lack of research in regard to black journalists and the British media, this survey being the first. Although media unions, including the NUJ, have equal opportunities policies, these have been criticised by black journalists' groups, such as the NUJ Black Council, as paper policies only.

ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE AMERICAN MEDIA

While there has been a lack of research and general interest in the under-representation of black people working in the British media there has been no such complacency in the United States. A survey of American Society of Newspaper Editors (ANSE) found that African-Americans represent 21 per cent of the United States population but compose only 7 per cent of broadcast and print news staff, while nearly 60 per cent of America's newsrooms employ no blacks at all (American Society of Newspaper Editors' 1989). While the percentage of blacks hired in other industries has improved, the numbers of blacks in the news media has increased only slightly since the late 1960s. In 1968, the 'Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders' (The Kerner Commission) reported that less than 5 per cent of America's journalists were black and that most newspapers provided poor overall coverage of black community issues. In response to the Kerner Commission's findings, the ASNE set a goal to attain minority

representation in newsrooms in proportion to the U.S. minority population by the year 2000. However, it was 1985 before the organisation formed the ASNE Task Force on minorities in newspapers to encourage blacks into journalism.

In 1988, the first survey of racial minorities and women in America's daily newspapers was carried out by the American Newspapers' Publishers Association (ANPA). It showed that blacks and other minorities filled 16 per cent of newspaper jobs. These included clerical and service personnel jobs, while women held 37 per cent. The national workforce was made up of 21 per cent minorities and 47 per cent women. In the executive managerial positions in newspapers there were 7 per cent ethnic minorities with 5 per cent of jobs held by African-Americans. However, among service workers in the newspaper industry the numbers of ethnic minorities were significantly higher: there 42 per cent of employees were minorities with African-Americans accounting for 30 per cent of the positions. In the newsroom however, the situation was quite different. For example, the survey found that decision-making positions were overwhelmingly held by whites, with 95 per cent as newsroom supervisors, 93 per cent in copy desk positions and 91 per cent as reporters and writers.

During the 1970s black people increased in numbers in print and broadcast newsrooms in America primarily because of pressure from the federal government and the black community. For example, leaders of Cincinnati's black community pressured

local television stations in 1972 to hire more on-camera blacks. They threatened to call in the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) which requires every television station to provide a service to the community to keep its operations license. Hasker Nelson, public affairs director at Channel 9 television station in the United States , stated that since the federal government under the Reagan administration, and subsequently Bush, stopped pushing aggressive affirmative action, fewer blacks have been able to get jobs in print and broadcast newsrooms across the country (Wright 1989).

Professor Vernon N. Stone in his 1988 survey 'Pipelines and Dead-End Jobs Held By Minorities And Women in Broadcast News' found that in the 1980s there was a drop in the numbers of ethnic minority men in the United State's media.

'The minority men workforce dropped from 10 per cent in 1979 to 8 per cent in 1986'.

The reasons Professor Stone gave for America's minority men leaving jobs in the media was

'their lack of professional advancement. They are under-represented in supervisory positions and are not even in the pipeline for management. Instead they are most often photographers and can easily remain so on a dead-end basis.'

By contrast, Professor Stone found that

'female, mostly white, share of the television news workforce grew from about 10 per cent in 1972 to 26 per cent in 1979 and 32 per cent in 1986. Women also moved ahead while minorities lagged in advancing to head news operations. Female television directors increased from less than 1 per cent of the total in 1972 to 14 per cent in 1986. The minority share of television news directorship was 4 per cent in 1981, the first year for which figures are available, and 3 per cent in 1986. Similar trends have been found in radio news'(1988, 1).

As in Britain, America's minorities formed campaigning groups calling for better opportunities for minorities to enter journalism and once there to be treated equally with opportunities for job promotion into management and positions of power. The largest of these groups in the United States is The National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ). It is said to be the largest media organisation for people of colour in the world and was founded in 1975. The NABJ's aims and objectives are:

'To strengthen ties among black journalists. To become an exemplary group of professionals that honours excellence and outstanding achievements by black journalists. Expand job opportunities for black journalists and assist in recruiting activities. Work with high schools to identify potential black journalists. Award scholarships and internships to college students pursuing careers in print or broadcast journalism, and sponsor an annual competition.'

The NABJ, concerned with the under-representation of black people in America's media, has joined with the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the American Newspaper Publisher's Association, the Radio and Television News Directors Association, and the National Association of Broadcasters to look at the issues of assisting black colleges and universities in training black and minority journalists and measures to increase the promotion of black newspaper and broadcasting professionals.

Britain's Black Journalists' Association (BJA), formed in 1988, while having similar aims, has neither the funds nor the capacity to do this. The BJA claims to have 300 working journalists as members but who it seems not to have the time to organise its campaign on such a wide scale as the NABJ in

the United States. However, even if the BJA gets the funds it needs for campaigning, it would still have to convince British media managers that there is a problem in the industry. At present most media managers argue that the problem of black under-representation in the media is simply that blacks are not applying for training and jobs.

SUMMARY

Respondents found that trying to get journalism jobs was more difficult than trying to get training. There may be several reasons for this. Historically blacks were not found in white-collar jobs such as journalism. There is also institutional racism. Although not designed with black people in mind it affects them doubly because of the colour and class division in society. There is also the fact that journalism jobs are scarce and this leads to competition and conflict between black and white. White editors might also be inclined to employ a white male instead of a black person because of tradition. Some media employers might also prefer to employ white journalists over black because they consciously or unconsciously want to maintain the white over black policy and the 'colour barrier' which has been established since European expansion.

Although there is fierce competition for white as well as black would-be journalists, evidence from this chapter

suggests that the under-representation of black people in journalism jobs, as in training, is partly due to direct and indirect discrimination. Some respondents with recognised training found mainstream jobs difficult to obtain. Others, hoping that extra educational qualifications would enhance their chances of obtaining mainstream employment, had engaged in further study. Some respondents stated they had written hundreds of letters and still were not offered a job. In desperation, many turned to the Black Press hoping to improve their chances of getting into the white media. Yet, when they attempt to return to the White media after a period working in the Black Press, many are turned down and told their experience there is insufficient.

A minority of respondents believe the under-representation of black journalists in the mainstream media is due to black people's lack of media training, experience and determination. They accuse some black people of 'having a chip on their shoulders' and expecting to get media employment simply because they are black.

Most respondents however, believe racism is to be blamed for their difficulties obtaining jobs in the white media. Although there is usually fierce competition for journalism jobs, it seems doubly difficult for those who are black. Those black journalists who are fortunate enough to get jobs in the white media and are given the opportunity to gain success are the exception rather than the rule. Their presence in these jobs

does not negate the claim by most respondents that they experienced discrimination when they apply for jobs in the white media. None of those editors contacted for the survey carried out any 'positive action policies' or said they intended to do so in the future. Their response was to blame black people for not applying for jobs, yet they had no way of knowing whether black people applied or not because the most basic of equal opportunity policies, monitoring, was not being carried out. None of the editors we approached believed that their failure to carry out positive action equal opportunity policies were at least partly responsible for the under-representation of black people in media jobs.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE BLACK AND WHITE MEDIA

INTRODUCTION

In chapter seven most respondents argued that their under-representation in media jobs was due to direct and indirect discrimination. As a result many respondents were forced to work in the Black Press. However, the white media is not simply accused of racism in its under-employment of black journalists but also in its race reporting. This chapter will examine how the white media reports on race and the role of the black media in redressing the balance.

THE WHITE MEDIA AND RACE REPORTING

The media is a powerful source of information which provides us with a continuous flow of images. However, on the subject of race reporting various writers (Hartman and Husband 1974, UNESCO 1977, Troyna 1981, Glover 1984 and Gordon and Rosenberg 1989) have concluded that the media's information about black people is, at best, fragmentary and at worst, distorted. They argue that most of the information provided by the media about black people is negative and 'associated with trouble'(Glover 1984, 32). This stereotypical portrayal of black people by the media is particularly disturbing because, although Britain's

black population is over two million, most live in inner-city areas and therefore, the white majority's contact with them is slight or not at all. It is crucial then that the media's representation of blacks is unbiased and not reduced to stereotypes (1). It can be argued that racial stereotypes serve an important function in helping to maintain the historical concept of blackness as negative and so make it more difficult for black people to be accepted in jobs such as journalism.

Emile Durkheim argued that 'essentially social life is made up of representations and they constrain our thought and behaviour'(1952, 40). The media is an important source of these collective representations which constantly 'map out for us the contours of our culture and society'(1952, 40). Arnold Gibson argues that the continuous use of negative black symbols 'may lead to dangerous consequences, not least upon the majority as well as those more intimately and directly affected'. Moreover, the fixed or frozen image of stereotypes are usually misleading and offensive and may give rise to social prejudices. 'Stereotypes mark out the accepted boundaries of our social world. They typically point to those who do not fully belong.' Thus, 'women, blacks and homosexuals frequently figure as stereotypes as this reflects their inferior position in society'(Gibson 1988, 1). Glover, in his

(1) However, more than two decades of research on the relations between the press and ethnic minority groups or immigrants show that the press has being the main 'foe of black and other minorities'(See Van Dijk, 1991).

book 'The Sociology of the Mass Media', argued that the portrayal of black people in films as Uncle Toms, faithful servants, comedians, criminals and savages conjures up the history of slavery, discrimination and colonialism. These images he said are a potent vehicle for 'the social advantage enjoyed by whites at the expense of blacks'(Glover 1984, 27).

Gordon and Rosenberg suggest that there are simple rules in the reporting of race. Editors can easily recall 'long standing assumptions, myths and stereotypes and reproduce them'. In so doing the media is not simply 'reflecting common place views' but is providing 'a platform for advancing opinions' for they 'recognise that they are in a position to influence attitudes and lend authority and legitimacy to stated positions'(1989, 24). On the subject of immigration newspapers have a number of writers who are supposedly versed in the issue and regularly give their opinion on black people in general and black immigration in particular. Writers such as George Gale in 'the News of the World', Roger Scruton in 'The Times', Peregrine Worsthorne in 'the Sunday Telegraph' and Andrew Alexander in 'The Daily Mail' have in their columns supported and justified policies which restrict the entry of black people into Britain. They have questioned the notion of a multi-racial society and have challenged the established definitions of racism. As white journalists themselves, with what might be called a racist stand, they might also challenge the idea that the media might employ more black journalists. Judging from their stance it is obvious that they do not

consider black people as equals. These writers have offered their own portrayals of different minority groups. Gordon and Rosenberg noted that the racism expressed in these writers' columns is not necessarily explicit or direct:

'They are sanitised or coded language peppered with denials of racism and their messages are conveyed as much by the factors they routinely leave out of their analysis as by their arguments and concern they include and focus upon. Thus it can be seen that their contributions on race issues are not objective but have rather reinforced racist analysis, myths and stereotypes' (1989, 24).

A Press which has constantly agreed with black immigration restrictions rather than discussed immigration per se is not likely to be in favour of increasing the numbers of blacks in its midst as journalists. Its columnists have concentrated exclusively on black immigration and have done so as if 'addressing a monolithic white audience with a common white interest'(Gordon and Rosenberg 1989, 26). Of immigration Paul Johnson wrote in 'the Daily Mail', 'Most of us now concede that the lax immigration policies pursued after the war were a mistake. They landed Britain .. with an intractable race problem'(29/10/86) and Ronald Butt denounced 'the repeated resistance on the grounds of alleged racism to adequate immigration control' as the 'harmful flouting of public opinion'('the Sunday Times' 31/7/83). George Gale was even more explicit in his condemnation when he wrote

'one topic above all others stirs reasonable men to swift anger, that of coloured immigrants .. their faces and beliefs, their ways of life are not ours; they are obviously neither our kin nor our kind; but this would not matter except that they are determined to settle among us. This we resent and their birth rate exceeds ours. This we fear. Their settlement thus poses a threat to the society we have grown up in'('The Daily Express' 2/2/78).

The argument put forward by Gale draws the boundaries of British nationality and citizenship on the basis of skin colour and pseudo-scientific theories of racial kinship which have their roots in European expansion. Gale, instead, could have created in his column a forum for balanced discussion on immigration, one which looked at why black people came to Britain after the war. Instead, he ignored the historical perspective and created a subjective and racist argument.

Lord Devlin, the Chairman of the Press Council between 1964-1969, explained that in the reporting of race 'news values cease to be the only criterion. The normal test becomes whether publication will or will not sufficiently raise the temperature'(1971, 10). The subject of black immigration is one which raises the temperature of white public opinion and where the media uses its power to capitalise upon and guide public opinion. Another is black crime. A study of 'Racism and the Press' by Van Dijk found that 'events that are seen as most problematic or threatening to the interest of the white majority' for example, immigration, and black crime including riots, are given prominent space in the media. 'Vice versa, events and situation that are seen as most problematic and threatening to the interest of minorities are covered less prominently'(1991, 117).

The production of news itself can be seen as being biased towards certain events and not simply anti-black. Stuart Hall and his associates explained that:

'News is shaped by being set in relation to a specific conception of society as a consensus; against this background newsworthy events are those which seem to interrupt the unchanging consensual calm. Crime marks one of the major boundaries of that consensus'(1978, 66).

The definition of what is essentially news seems to explain why negative actions by black people make news. If the concept of society is white then blacks will be seen as an alien force which makes them more newsworthy if they are involved in riots. Thus, it can be argued that any actions which go against the 'consensus' become news.

'The law, created by parliament, executed in the courts, embodying the will of the population, provides society with the basic definition of what actions are acceptable and unacceptable.'

The media's publicity and editorialising against deviant behaviour helps to 'stigmatize and punish those who break the law'(1978, 66).

REPORTING RIOTS

Crime is newsworthy in media culture whether committed by black or white and it would be unrealistic to expect the media not to cover such newsworthy issues and for television not to bring us pictures into our homes. However, the media has been accused of biased reporting and television, in particular, has been criticized for the dramatic pictures of the riots it brought on the screen in 1981 and 1985. Lord Scarman and Mary Whitehouse both claimed that the 1981 television coverage of the riots had produce a copycat effect. Mary Whitehouse eight

days after the summer riots of 1981, sent a telegram to the editors of BBC and ITN news saying 'please consider whether the current massive television coverage of acts of vandalism and violence is contributing to the spread of the riots'(quoted in 'Television and the Riots' 1982, 10-11). Lord Scarman in his report into the Brixton Riots, published in November 1981 agreed with the copycat effect, stating

'There is, however, one other factor which I identify in Part 2 as figuring in the causation of the disorders following upon Brixton - the "copy-cat" element. This raises the question of the role of the media, particularly the broadcasting media, in circumstances of major social disorder such as those experienced in Brixton and elsewhere'(Scarman 1981, 111).

While those in broadcasting are well aware of the power of the camera none give much credence to the copycat suggestion. Camera crews, journalists and editors generally dismissed the idea with the response that the dangers in not showing certain events far outweigh any possible dangers of showing them. John Humphrey in response to Mrs Whitehouse's criticism wrote,

'The fact remains, if there is rioting in the streets of Britain we have an absolute duty to show it happening. The public's right to be informed surely demands visual coverage. What does Mrs Whitehouse say to the man or woman who has read about the rioting in the newspapers(with still pictures), heard them reported on the radio and then does not see them happening on the screen? Might the public not ask what else is being held back for their own good'(quoted in Tumber 1982, 12).

Tumber in his report 'Television and the Riots' found that several of his respondents were 'concerned that the media sometimes sensationalized events and that this gave ammunition to people like Enoch Powell to turn round and say 'I told you so' (Tumber 1982, 12). Tumber found that the young people in the streets of Brixton and Toxeth were suspicious of the media

and saw it as part of the white establishment. They argued that the media never listened or publicised their plight, only coming to places like Brixton when there is 'war' (1982, 12). However, they did not think that the riots in 1981 were due to a copycat effect; indeed, one respondent told Tumber that the riots were due to 'a police vendetta' against them, while another said, 'We are reacting to harassment .. why don't the media show that?' The rioters were also critical of the way television represented politicians. They complained that politicians 'only go to police stations but on television it looks as though they go everywhere'(1982, 13). Some of Tumber's respondents believed that pictures taken by the media, including television, were given to the police and as a result they were raided. It was stated that this was the reason why a number of photographers and television crews were attacked. There were also concerns over descriptions 'used by broadcasters for blacks. In particular the word "immigrant"'. One respondent in Liverpool told Tumber, 'We have been here for generations, we are not immigrants'. Many of the young people in the streets also thought it unfair for the media to be calling the riots a race riot as the young people on the streets were both black and white (1982, 14). Many of the young people Tumber spoke to blamed the police for the riots 'it was survival not copycats which had led to people taking to the street: we were desperate, fed up and tired of being harassed'(1982, 13).

However, Stan Taylor in his explanation of riots states 'It is apparent that there is a plethora of theories available, most of which can be adapted to provide a prima facie "fit" with British experience'. He explained that a distinction could be made between two types of causes of riots: the long term preconditions and the more specific accelerators or precipitants. Among the former were factors such as class, race, unfulfilled expectations, political inadequacy and a local tradition of violence or a growing sense of cultural threat. Within the latter category he pointed to such variables as the 'stirring' activities of political movements, perceived provocation by other groups, perceived high levels of coercion and media-induced demonstration effects'(Taylor 1981, 171-172). Although there are many explanations of the precise causes of the riots of 1981, the media, including television, 'should not', as Tumber wrote, 'become a conveyor of simplistic analyses of complex social problems' for a 'balanced reporting of these issue is needed in promoting racial harmony'(Tumber 1982, 13). What is missing in the reporting of riots generally is the 'social explanations of the disorders. This is systematically denied or discredited by the right wing press'(Hall, 1987).

The controversy over race reporting led the NUJ in 1976 to draw up their first guidelines for reporting on race-related issues. It asked that journalists 'Only mention someone's race if it is strictly relevant'. The guidelines also recommended that journalists ask themselves, 'Would you mention race if

the person was white?' It also warns journalists not to 'sensationalize race relations issues' because this harms everyone. The use of language is another concern of the guidelines, appealing to journalists to become more aware of the words they use in describing black people as some words - such as 'half-caste' and 'coloured' - are considered offensive by black people; instead, journalists should use the term 'mixed-race or black'. The word 'black', the guidelines advise, can be used to 'cover people of Arab, Asian, Chinese and African origin', but the important point for journalists is to 'ask people how they define themselves'. Immigrant, the guidelines explain, is used as a 'term of abuse' and should only be used if the person or persons were born outside Britain. It goes on to explain that 'most black people in Britain were born here and most immigrants are white'. On the question of background information about black people, the 'Guidelines on Race Reporting' stress the need for investigating 'the treatment of black people in education, health, employment and housing'(NUJ 1987, 2).

Despite the NUJ Guidelines, many of its own members continue to flout the Union's codes. To take just one example, 'The Sun' was reported to the Press Council in October 1987 over a headline which read 'Freebie trips for blacks but white kids must pay'. The Press Council ruled that the headline was 'provocative and potentially racially divisive' and that the story contained 'inaccuracies, some of them significant and unsupported assumptions'(Press Council Press Release No

Y14378R/2161, p.2). In another case, journalists on 'The Daily Telegraph', like 'The Sun', broke their Union's code of conduct on race reporting when they identified a rapist and drug dealer as a black man in an American court report. The Press Council concluded that 'the Daily Telegraph' was wrong to do so and that it 'was a clear breach of the Press Council's repeated ruling that race and colour should not be used in a prejudicial context unless they are relevant to the story'. 'the Daily Telegraph's' defence was 'that the description of the man as "black" falls within an editorial discretion which the paper is determined to maintain'(Press Council's Press Release No AA17752/2501, p.3). Similarly, 'the Daily Star' in June 1990 broke the NUJ's third code of conduct on race reporting when it described a Chinese person as 'Chinky'. The Press Council rebuked the newspaper by stating that 'the derogatory term "Chinky" to describe a Chinese person was offensive'(Press Council's Press Release No AB118653R/2564, p.2).

It is perhaps unrealistic to expect journalists to abide by these professional codes of conduct because there are other forces over which they have no control that influence news production. News, as Glover pointed out, is 'produced in bureaucratic settings which have clear hierarchies of authority and formal rules and this has a decisive influence on the character of news'. Journalists do not search randomly for stories or wait for news to be made. They follow 'well-trodden paths and procedures laid down by the

organisation to which they belong'(Glover, 1984, 59). For example, newsrooms have what is called a 'news diary' which gives the date of important regular announcements like the announcement of the monthly unemployment figures or forthcoming visits by politicians.

Schlesinger, in his study of the BBC agreed with the view that 'most news is not spontaneous'(1978, 69). In television, news is run on a daily cycle called the 'newsday', which is controlled by editorial conferences at the beginning of each cycle. These conferences decide how to allocate staff and resources to meet the expected flow of news for a particular day. Deadlines play a crucial role in the journalists' day, described by Schlesinger as a 'stop-watch culture'. News bulletins are constructed around time and the need 'to keep the interest moving'(1978, 103). Another point made by Schlesinger is the extent to which the media is a rather closed and self-preoccupied world. For instance, the BBC gets a great deal of its information from Press sources. This kind of mutual dependency between different branches of the media can be an important factor in producing and sustaining exaggerated accounts of crime waves, for instance. This interdependence of the media also has important consequences for race reporting, for if one source gets the story wrong often others will. For instance, if the original news story of a race disturbance coming from a news agency lacked background information then it is highly unlikely that television, radio and newspaper newsrooms will seek out additional information

because of the pressure which journalists have are subjected to. They would not seek out background information unless they were doing a documentary (Schlesinger 1978).

THE BLACK MEDIA

It was established in chapter six that 49 per cent of respondents worked in the Black Press and that the black media plays an important role in providing training, employment and experience for black people wanting to follow journalism as an occupation. But does the Black media redress the balance of black under-representation and the general negative portrayal of black people in the white media? To understand the nature of Britain's black media it is important to look at its history.

The black presence in Britain goes back to Roman times but it is only since the second world war that black people have lived in Britain in sizable numbers. However, early black settlers in Britain included those interested in journalism and publishing. The first recorded 'Black' publications in Britain were those edited by Celestine Edwards during the 1880s. The journal 'Lux' appeared around 1893 and a monthly magazine 'Fraternity' was first published in Liverpool in July 1893 and lasted beyond Edward's death in 1894. 'Fraternity', edited by Edwards, was an organ of the 'Society for the Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man'(Johnson 1985, 75).

Early black publications soon went far beyond 'brotherhood'; they became vehicles for black opinions on colonization and its effect on the people of Africa and the Caribbean whilst giving black people opportunities as publishers and journalists.

By the late nineteenth century the concept of Pan-Africanism was well developed in Britain, a notion which called for the unification of Africa as one nation speaking with one voice against colonization. This led to the publication of 'The Pan African Journal' in 1900. This publication was soon closed but others took its place to carry on the cause, such as 'The African Times' and 'Orient Review'. Both journals continued publication until 1918. In 1920 they joined together as 'The African and Orient Review'. Another journal, 'The African Telegraph', began in 1914 and continued until 1919.
The weekly, 'West Africa', appeared in 1926 and by 1929 'The International Negro Workers' Review' appeared. In 1931 it was transformed into a monthly - 'The Negro Worker'. In 1933, the League of Coloured Peoples started publication of 'The Keys' and Marcus Garvey edited 'The Black Man' from the United States until 1937.

With the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in the 1930s came the establishment of the International African Service Bureau (IASB) which published 'International African Opinion'. This publication added to other black papers which condemned the Italian invasion and the general colonization of Africa. By

1951 the Anti-Colonial Movement had become an important force with Indian gaining her independence in 1947 and other countries in the Empire being given more democratic rights. Yet, by 1951 the Black Press in Britain was in decline.

One reason was that 'the scene of the anti-colonial struggle had shifted to Africa and the Caribbean through the return of personnel formerly active in Britain and through the founding of national organisations to carry on the mobilization and propaganda'(Johnson 1985, 76).

The foundations of the Black Press as it exists in Britain today were laid in the 1950s with the publication of 'The Caribbean News' and later on 'The West Indian Gazette'. The former was published by the Caribbean Labour Congress and was the first black publication to appear after the Second World War, beginning in 1952 until it ceased publication in 1956. Buzz Johnson in his book 'The Life and Times of Claudia Jones' explained the aims and views of 'the Caribbean News'. It was the first publication in Britain 'to raise the issues in the Caribbean and the role of Britain within these to an audience in Britain itself'. 'The Caribbean News' sought to be a people's paper:

'A paper that professes to serve the interests of the people must express their desires and hopes, must write them in the struggle for high ideals, and expose the designs of those who would befuddle the people with lies and distortion to keep them confused and defenceless. "The Caribbean News" has been created as a link in a strong chain to securely bind the oppressors of the West Indian People. It shall illuminate the dark corners by printing the truth'(Johnson 1985, 76-77).

'The West Indian Gazette,' launched by Claudia Jones in 1958, was one of the most important black papers of the 1950s. Not only because it gave the opportunity to blacks to become publishers and journalists but because it was said to be

'the concrete expression of the dreams of many blacks in Britain who thought it important to develop a newspaper whose content reflected the Caribbean, African and British conditions as they relate to blacks .. but also bringing a broader international dimension'(Johnson 1985, 79).

Claudia Jones, who edited, ran and managed the paper from 1958 until her death in 1964, was world-renowned for her resistance to what she saw as political tyranny. She had been jailed several times in the United States during the McCarthy era for her Marxist views and was subsequently deported, arriving in Britain as a last resort when the colonial government of her native Trinidad refused to take her back.

It was in 1958, the year of the Notting Hill riots, that she launched 'The West Indian Gazette'. She worked 'ceaselessly with other people to get blacks out of jail, defend people at court, offer support to those who suffer as a result of racist attacks'(Johnson 1985, 82). 'The West Indian Gazette' was an important tool for information and change. In Johnson's own words, it was

'A major effort designed to stimulate political and social thinking, to serve as a catalyst, quickening the awareness, socially and politically, of West Indians, Afro-Asians and their friends. Its editorial stand is for a united and independent West Indies, full economic, social and political equality and respect for human dignity for West Indians and Afro-Asians in Britain, for peace and friendship between all Commonwealth and world peoples' (Johnson 1985, 82-83).

The paper marked a new development in Britain's black community; it was the first popular newspaper to campaign about the conditions of black people in Britain and the Caribbean. It also campaigned against the 1962 Immigration Act.

Many other black individuals followed Claudia Jones's example, launching newspapers and magazines in order to carry on where she had left off. These included 'The Flamingo', a glossy magazine for West Indians in Britain published in the 1960s but which lasted only a few months. This was followed by the fortnightly journal 'Daylight International', which lasted a year. Then, in 1971, Aubrey Baynes launched 'The West Indian World' under his editorship with a team of journalists and advertising people drawn from the West Indies. Like Claudia Jones, Baynes worked an 18-hour day. 'The West Indian World' survived until 1984, having a series of editors and owners. It continued the tradition of campaigning against racial injustices, while training and employing many black journalists of the day.

Although most of these black publications closed because of lack of advertising revenue and the high cost of publishing, the difficulties of producing ethnic newspapers have never deterred determined individuals from starting newspapers and magazines and by the end of the 1970's and the early 1980's several black publications were launched, several of which have since closed. Yet others, like 'the Caribbean Times' and

'the Voice' are still publishing and are open rivals for readers as well as council advertising. 'the Caribbean Times' was launched in 1977 by Arif Ali, a West Indian Asian. It was at the time the leading African-Caribbean newspaper in Britain until 1982 when 'the Voice' newspaper was launched. 'the Voice' newspaper presents itself as the 'Voice of Black Britons', while many associate 'the Caribbean Times' as the paper for older immigrants. Like earlier black publications, those of the 1990s provide a forum for black opinions on race relations in Britain and in Western society generally, while giving training and employment to many of today's black journalists.

TABLE 6: THE POST-WAR AFRICAN-CARIBBEAN PRESS IN BRITAIN

NAME	FOUNDED	CEASED PUBLICATION	CIRCULATION
Newspapers			
'The Gleaner'	1951	-	not known
'The Caribbean News'	1952	1956	not known
'The West Indian Gazette'	1958	1965	not known
'The Flamingo'	1960	1960	not known
'Daylight International'	1960	1961	not known
'West Indians In Britain'	1973	1973	not known
'West Indian World'	1971	1984	not known
'Afro-Caribbean Post'	1975	1979	not known
'The Caribbean Times'	1977	-	22,000
'The African Times'	1981	1990	not known
'The Voice'	1982	-	50,000

Magazines:

'West Indian Digest'	1971	1985	not known
'Race Today'	1980	1987	not known
'Black Beauty and Hair'	1983	-	not known
'Scope'	1989	-	not known
'Candice'	1989	-	not known

THE ASIAN PRINT MEDIA

Publications aimed at the Asian community tend to be of two types: those written in English and those in the languages of the sub-continent. There are peculiarities and exceptions to various vernacular papers but in general they follow similar patterns in terms of production and distribution as well as similarities in their approach to news. At the last count, the CRE listed 32 vernacular publications in Britain, catering for an estimated 300,000 settlers of Asian origin. There were nine Urdu papers, four Gujarati, two Hindi, four Punjabi, two Tamil, one Telugu and eight Bengali. The major role of the vernacular papers in Britain is to unite immigrant communities. They have played an important part in maintaining psychological and community links between immigrants scattered across different parts of Britain. These presses also help in maintaining the languages and cultures of the Indian sub-continent. The political role of the vernacular press falls into two areas: first, the politics of the countries of their origin and, second, the politics of Britain. For

instance, the Punjabi Press concentrates on news from the Punjab, the Gujarati Press on news from Gujarat, while the Bengali press is mainly associated with Bangladesh and the Urdu Press is concerned mainly with events in Pakistan. As far as British politics are concerned, many of the Asian papers, like the African-Caribbean ones, mainly concentrate on matters concerning the problems of race and immigration. Asian papers also deal with the cultural identity of Asians in Britain.

Like the African-Caribbean Press, the Asian papers provide many job opportunities to aspiring Asian journalists but, again like the African-Caribbean Press, the working conditions, pay and career structures are limited and many journalists working for the Asian press have no formal training. The distribution of Asian papers is mainly through grocery stores, video shops, Asian restaurants and other small business establishments. This is complemented by mailings and household distribution in areas of heavy Asian concentration. Many of the vernacular papers have very limited financial resources as most papers are run by families and the owners and editors are not in the position to hire staff. British advertisers normally ignore the Asian papers, especially the vernacular ones, and, without adequate information about distribution and circulation, advertising agencies are not prepared to put them on media schedules. Ninety-nine per cent of Asian papers' revenue therefore comes from Asian businesses. Although they have had some public service advertising, it is too little to sustain many publications.

Urdu is said to be the second most-used language in Britain and as a result, outside of Indian and Pakistan, the largest number of Urdu newspapers and periodicals are printed in this country . However, because of financial hardship many of these publications last only a few years and in some instances a few months. At present London has one daily and two weekly Urdu newspapers with a circulation between them estimated at over 100,000. The first regular Urdu periodical started in 1961. It was the weekly 'Mashrig'. The Punjabi Press began in the mid-1960s when only a small minority of Sikhs spoke English. One of the first Punjabi papers in Britain was 'The Punjabi Weekly', which was started in the 1960s by a collection of Sikh businessmen. 'Des Pardes', its rival, also began at this time. The initial success of these papers soon attracted many other new publications, such as 'Manta', 'Nawan Sandesh', 'Awaz' and 'Kiran'.

In the early 1970s 'the Punjabi Times', formerly 'the Punjabi Weekly', and 'Des Pardes' were the two most popular Punjabi papers in Britain. Although many of the Punjabi papers which started in the 1960s failed, the desire to set up more publications in order to make a profit continued in the 1970s. In 1979 'The Punjabi Post' was launched and later 'The Punjabi Guardian'. However, not all Punjabi papers are driven by profit, political considerations have been as important as commercial calculations in the founding of many weeklies and monthlies. In general Sikh politics in Britain and Punjab revolve around three distinct tendencies: the Indian

Workers' Association (IWA), the Communists and the Indian Overseas Congress (IOC), a branch of the Indian-based Indian National Congress. Though all three of these tendencies are politically organised, in reality they are highly factionalized and there is considerable overlap (Singh and Singh 1989, 172).

In 1986 there were eight Bengali papers listed by the CRE today there are three (one weekly). These papers are Bangladeshi-owned and political developments in the home country get pride and place though there is also significant coverage of Bangladeshi life in Britain. People from Indian Bengal invariably belong to the professional classes and are consequently bi-lingual. Many rely on the British news media for information, but those with special interests and ties with Bengali politics and culture get such news from the Bengali papers. There are also two popular Gujarati weeklies which are reported to be divided on a class basis, with 'Gujarat Samachar' catering for the rich business class and 'Garavi Gujarat' for the professional middle class.

The problems associated with the vernacular press do not exist with Asian papers published in English. On the contrary, these papers are mostly geared to Asians and the problems they face in Britain. These papers are targeted at second-generation Asians rather than at their parents. The one exception to this is 'India Weekly' which carries a mixture of Indian and British news. 'New Life', a sister publication of 'Gujarat

Samachar', began in 1976 and since then the last decade has seen a number of new publications. One is 'New Citizen', a quarterly which covers a wide spectrum of topics from food to technology. Other publications include 'Asia News', 'Eastern Eye', 'the Asian Post' and 'Asian Times', a weekly newspaper which takes up issues confronting Asians in Britain. It also has regular columns promoting Asian arts, cinema and theatre, as well as coverage of Third World news. The estimated circulation of all the vernacular periodicals and newspapers is 500,000, as compared to 40,000 for those published in English. The difference in circulation is partly due to the fact that there are more papers/periodicals published in Asian languages than there are in English and, secondly, many of the Asian language papers are free. Asian papers in English face the same financial problems as other ethnic newspapers.

TABLE 7: THE ASIAN PRINT MEDIA 1960-1992

NAME	FOUNDED	LANGUAGE	CEASED PUBLICATION	CIRCULATION
'Mashriq'	1961	Urdu	1986	not known
'Daily Jang'	1961	Urdu	-	14,000
'Akhbare Watan'	1970	Urdu	-	100,000
'Ravi'	1970	Urdu	1988	not known
'Milap'	1972	Urdu	1989	not known
'Punjabi Times'	1965	Punjabi	-	not known
'Des Peredes'	1965	Punjabi	-	40,000
'Sandesh International'	1972	Punjabi	1988	not known
'Indian Times'	1980	Punjabi	-	not known
'Perdesan'	1984	Punjabi	-	17,000
'Garavi Gujarat'	1968	Gujerati	-	not known
'Gujarat Samachar'	1972	Gujerati	-	not known
'Jagoran'	1976	Bengali	-	20,000
'Navin Weekly'	1966	Hindi	-	70,000
'Aamar Deep'	1971	Hindi	-	not known
'Asian Times'	1977	English	-	15,000
'Asian Herald'	1985	English	-	not known
'Asian Observer'	1986	English	1989	not known
'Eastern Eye'	1989	English	-	25,000

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN BLACK PRESS

Like the Black Press in Britain, the American black press was born out of struggle. An estimated 3,000 African-American newspapers have been founded in the United States over the past 150 years. The first of them, named 'Freedom's Journal' was first published in 1827. It began because of the 'crisis of slavery which kept blacks as property in much of the United States'(Wilson & Gutierrez 1985, 179). The paper was started by the Rev. Samuel E. Cornish and John Brown Russwurm, the first black person to graduate from a college in the United States. After an attack on the abolitionist and black leaders in 'the New York Enquirer' the two decided it was time for blacks to start their own weekly newspaper. As they declared in their first edition:

'We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us. Too long has the public been deceived by mis-representation in things which concern us dearly, though in the estimation of some mere trifles; for although there are many in society who exercise towards us benevolent feelings, still (with some sorrow we confess it) there are others who enlarge upon that which tends to discredit any person of colour' (Freedom Journal 1827).

The 'Freedom Journal' carried news of general interest to African-Americans as well as strident opposition to slavery and calls to protect the rights of free blacks in the northern states of America. The newspaper was often described as aggressive in its campaigning journalism, however it

'was not just an abolitionist or black civil rights periodical. It also built a sense of black consciousness and community identity among blacks throughout the United States. It was able to do this because the newspaper reflected the broad interest of blacks'(Wilson & Gutierrez 1985, 180).

By the 1880s there was a rapid increase in the numbers of African-American publications. It was during this period that newspapers such as 'the Washington Bee', 'the Indianapolis World', 'the Philadelphia Tribune', 'the Cleveland Gazette', 'the New York Age' and 'the Chicago Defender' began. The main tasks of the African-American press, like those of the black press in Britain, were and still are to oppose racial inequalities, to portray positive images of black people and to provide the opportunity for black people to become publishers and journalists. Before the First World War, African-American publications like 'The Chicago Defender', backed immigration to the North from the South as they wanted to encourage black people to leave their situation of racial oppression in the South. These publications believed that urbanization would offer black people more opportunities. During the wars they continued to advocate the cause of civil rights. They attacked the American army for its segregation of black troops and for racial injustices on military bases (Ploski 1989).

By 1920 there were more than 400 African-American periodicals being published in the United States. Half of these were weekly newspapers with a local readership like 'the Pittsburgh Courier', which had the largest circulation, estimated at 140,000 weekly. But it was during the civil rights movements of the 1960s that these publications were at their height. They ran stories on the Black Power movement, black achievements, black gossip, politics, crime, stories from

Africa and black organisations. They also continued to provided opportunities for black people to train and work as journalists. However, by the 1970s the political atmosphere had changed and African-American publications declined from to 165 by 1979 (Paneth 1982). These publications declined mainly because of their inability to attract advertising and the general economic decline of the period. This is similar to today's black publications in Britain. However, the 1990s have seen a revival of African-American newspapers. There are now 300 black papers in the United States. This has been achieved because

'progressive publishers completely restructured old publications and created new ones to push the black agenda into the 1990s .. making them into super-competitive publications'(Black Enterprise 1989, 142).

The first native American newspaper, 'the Cherokee Phoenix' was established in 1828 and like the first African-American paper, was established during a period of crisis, when the Federal Government decided to displace the Cherokee nation from their land. The paper was printed in a bilingual format making use of both English and the 86-character Cherokee alphabet. The first editor of 'the Cherokee Phoenix' was a Cherokee school teacher, Elias Boudinot. The publication served the desire of missionaries to use print media to spread Christianity among the Cherokees and the desire of the leaders of the Cherokee nation to unify their people in support of the fight to keep their homelands.

Both the American and the British Black Presses were established out of the need to oppose racial discrimination and to maintain black culture and black pride. The Black Press in both countries gave blacks the opportunity not only to redress the negative portrayal of blacks by some white papers but provided the opportunity for black people to train and work as journalists. However, beyond these aspirations, there were always the problems of finance and circulation.

BLACK BROADCASTING IN BRITAIN

Ethnic minority broadcasting is as important as the print media in terms of the training and employment of black journalists. Like the print media, it is also seen, and sees itself, as having a general duty to work towards the elimination of racial discrimination and to promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups. As Peter Newsam, ex-Chair of the CRE, explains,

'there are two main aspects of the relationship between the ethnic minorities and the media. The first concerns the way in which ethnic minorities are presented and portrayed. The second concerns the opportunities provided to the ethnic minorities, especially those who have difficulty with English, to obtain information, entertainment and cultural satisfaction from the media'(Newsam 1983, 7).

How does ethnic minority broadcasting fulfil this role as trainers, employers and race relations promoter? Because broadcasting, especially television, is an expensive medium there are no national black-managed television stations in

Britain, although in 1993 two black owned cable television station started, one Asian and one African-Caribbean. In the United States by contrast, there are nine black owned-television stations though this is relatively few considering that there are 1,000 television stations altogether in the United States. Black radio stations in the United States are more numerous. In the 1970s there were only 30 black-owned radio stations out of 9,000 radio stations in the United States but by the mid-1980s there were 200. One reason for the increase is

'Proportionally blacks were found to be a more responsive audience than whites. As a result, astute advertisers were able to tap into a lucrative marketplace, often at the expense of traditional avenues including black newspapers and magazines. Many major corporations were among those sought to reach the ever-expanding black buying power traced back to the black community'(Ploski & Williams 1989, 276).

The only black-owned black-run radio stations in Britain at the present time are 'pirates'. These stations grew in the 1980s not simply out of the need for black people to own and run their own radio stations. With readily available equipment, these stations provided programmes, mainly musical ones, for young blacks whose tastes were not catered for by mainstream white radio. However, by the end of the 1980s black radio stations were discouraged by the new 'incremental' contracts from the Independent Broadcasting Authority which provided the opportunity for the establishment of more specialised local radio services in areas already serviced by commercial radio. There are now nine 'incremental' radio stations serving areas such as Bradford, Coventry, Manchester

and London. Although these stations are ethnic-led, they are owned jointly by black and white shareholders. As in print, black-only broadcasting offers some training and employment for black journalists but they are also poorly financed.

Unlike the Black Press, the history of black broadcasting is more recent, dating back to Elizabeth Welch, a black actress and singer who had her own radio series with the BBC in 1934. However, black people were also to be found at the opening of BBC Television in 1936 when the American song and dance duo Buck and Bubbles starred in a variety show. During the late '50s and early '60s, the actor and calypso singer Cy Grant became one of Britain's first black television stars with his nightly appearances on the BBC television programme 'Tonight' singing the news in calypso. During the 1950s and '60s, Pearl and Edric Connor, both actors, set up an agency to 'represent and promote black talent in Britain and to press for non-stereotypical roles for blacks in the performing arts'(Pines 1992, 9). However, in the early years of television drama there were some important landmarks such as John Elliot's 'A Man From The Sun' in 1956 which was one of the first attempts to look at the 'West Indian Immigrant experiences .. rather than focusing simply on the white British reaction to immigrants and immigration'(Pines 1992, 9). Although such programmes were seen as radical, Jim Pines argues that they were only permitted by the television establishment to exist on the 'margins of mainstream programme making' and 'precious little impact on overall institution thinking' (1992, 10).

The early '60s also saw a number of plays and television series which gave black actors the opportunity to work in mainstream drama. They included 'Coronation Street' (1963), 'Z Cars' (1964), 'Passage to India' (1965), and 'Fable' (1967), which explored inter-racial relationships. Another play of significance to race relations on television during this time was 'Rainbow City', which dealt with a racially mixed marriage in Birmingham. It showed that television felt that it safe at the time to portray different experiences of black people in Britain. This was not to last because by the late 1960s, soon after Enoch Powell's 'River of Blood' speech, opportunities for black people in television drama and on the staged dried up. White broadcasting managers were becoming sensitive to the black presence in Britain or, as Desmond Wilcox refers to it, 'to a screaming level of prejudice'(1992, 12). Carmen Munroe talks about the problem she and many other black performers faced then:

'After three successful plays in the 1960s things started to dry up and suddenly I was doing nothing .. I felt as though I was being ignored, put away, shut up somewhere' (1992, 62).

Joan Hooley, who appeared in 'Emergency Ward 10' in 1963, said that once she had been written out of the series suddenly she found that

'for some unknown reason there wasn't any work around .. all black actors and actresses were very concerned, we couldn't put our finger on the problem none of our work was being put out'(1992, 100).

Pines argued that this barren period was due to a 're-emerging sense of anxiety about the black presence' (1992, 12). During this racially sensitive period the only programme to feature

the racial theme was 'Till Death Us Do Part' and it achieved this without many black actors. The anti-hero, Alf Garnett, was described by Pines as Enoch Powell's alter-ego and a liberating force for certain sections of the white working class (1992, 12).

The 1970s were characterised by a number of multi-racial documentary programmes which set out to explain various aspects of so-called immigrant life. These programmes demonstrate the power of television to 'operate in tandem with the state in managing what was seen as a growing race relations crisis'(Pines 1992, 12). The answer to 'Till Death Us Do Part' was the sit-com 'Love Thy Neighbour,' which ran from 1972-75. The black actor Rudolph Walker, became nationally famous for his role as Bill Reynolds, the self-assured black neighbour of the 'irritating white bigot' Eddie Booth (Jack Smethurst). Walker said that at his audition and interview, 'I actually laid down certain conditions I would only do the part if my character wasn't made into an "Uncle Tom"'. He insisted that if his white neighbour hit him 'I would hit him back'(1992, 78).

The 1980s saw the emergence of a number of black-led programmes which gave training and employment to black journalists. They included 'Skin' 1980, 'Eastern Eye' and 'Black On Black'. 'Skin' was a series of half hour documentaries which were described as for and about the African-Caribbean and Asian communities in London. The series

gave employment opportunities to a number of black journalists, including Trevor Phillips, now editor and presenter of the 'London Programme' and Samir Shah now part of the senior management of BBC news and current Affairs directorate. The problem with 'Skin', Shah thought, was that the programme 'tended to focus only on problems, on defining black and Asian people in terms of their antagonistic relationship with white people'(Pines 1992, 157-158). Phillip's view of the programme was that it tried to deal with the experiences of 'African-Caribbean and Asians in one programme and that this was not satisfactory'(in Pines 1992, 147).

Channel 4 was the first mainstream television channel to institute equal opportunity policies in its programming when it started in 1982. The channel implemented two important current affairs programmes for black people 'Eastern Eye' and 'Black on Black'. Although the decision to produce these programmes came under criticism from independent black film makers, the programmes were generally well received when they began. They were targeted at African-Caribbeans and Asian families and dealt with current affairs and the experience of the non-white community in Britain. The programmes were cancelled by Farrukh Dhondy in 1985 when he became the new commissioning editor for Channel 4 ethnic minority programming. He instead established a new independent production company 'The Bandung File', to produce African, Caribbean, Asian and/ or Third World news and current affairs.

However, the mainstay of the channel's black/ related drama is situation comedy. Although these programmes have been written and produced by black people, the channel has been criticized for limiting black imagery to comedy. As Norman Beaton, one of the best-known black British actors, stated:

'There are very serious black people out there but these roles are not being written. This is either because the white man does not understand where black people are coming from and therefore doesn't know how to write about black people; or it's because we black people don't have the confidence in our own existence and destiny, so we are not writing that kind of material for ourselves'(in Pines 1992, 118).

WORKING IN THE BLACK MEDIA

The black media, especially the Black Press, is seen as a social and political communicator for the non-white communities in Britain. It also plays a vital role in the training and employment of black journalists. But how well does it actually prepare black journalists for working in the white media?

(45) 'As a reporter on a black newspaper I think it's very important for you to freelance with mainstream papers or television so as to get some credibility. Working in the Black Press you are seen as not quite a journalist but second best. What is needed if the Black Press is to gain recognition is a firm structure just like the White press. Black papers should seek professionalism in their work and appearance. Having said that, black radio and television programmes often look to the black papers for their stories and their journalists. The problem is you could get trapped just working for the Black Media.'

(62) 'There is no future in the Black Media for me. I need to build a proper career and the Black Media I fear will prevent me moving on. You get ghettoized and people believe all you can do is race stories. I have also been disappointed with the

so-called black programmes, their quality and contents leave a lot to be desired. I believe that the BBC, which finances these programmes, does it on a shoe-string because they want it to appear that blacks are inferior. That's why I never work on those programmes.'

One reporter working on a black newspaper obtained experience

in writing but said,

(61) 'The Black Press in particular complains that it haven't the money to train black journalists properly or to seek out good stories but they don't need much money for either. What they need is the willingness to help black people get training and move on. They could organise courses on the paper. I know that they would have to pay a trainer or college to set up courses but that should not be a problem. I know of one particular paper which is making a hugh profit and they should put some of the money back into the community by giving black people the proper journalism training they deserve. Instead, the profits go into the proprietors' pockets.'

(98) 'I worked with a black newspaper for two years after finishing my degree but I didn't learn anything. I just did the same kind of reporting every day. I was fed up and had to leave. I think the Black Papers can do better, like giving training and taking up stories that are not about race.'

(9) 'The black media means ghettoization. I'll keep as far away from it as possible. I have done some race stories while doing my journalism training but it had to be balanced. The black press has gone too much the other way, too much in favour of blacks. That's not healthy in a mixed society.

(58) 'There is a lot of disadvantage working in the Black Press. They are supposed to help black people but they don't give any training and we don't even have a kettle here to have a hot drink. Pay and conditions are bad and I think that working here isn't doing my career any good. Managers of the Black Press are doing quite well, yet they don't pay us well. I am not quite sure who is worse, the black or the white capitalists who exploit black journalists.'

Like the respondent above, there are many others who see the

black press as exploiting black journalists:

(64) 'The black media may be the only way of getting into journalism or getting a job but black editors as well as the BBC take advantage of black journalists who work in these areas. For instance, the BBC under-paid them and put them on short term contracts. The Black Press always pay their staff

badly saying they haven't the money, yet owners of the Black Press live in big houses in the best parts of London or the suburbs. I worked for five years in one of the BBC local radio black-only programmes and in the first year all they paid us was our travelling expenses. We worked a whole year for nothing and eventually when they did pay us, it was very little. They see these programmes as inferior so spend as little money as possible on their production. They put them on only because of pressure from the community.'

A female journalist used the Black Press to fill the gap while she looked for mainstream work:

(6) 'I worked for several months on an Asian paper which gave me time to look for a job in mainstream. I would not have stayed there long. The wages are bad and there is no training. I think that this is bad and the Black Press should get their act together if they expect to be taken seriously. They are supposed to represent the community and there is no reason why they can't do that and be more professional.'

(90) 'I came to England from India as a political refugee and I needed a work permit. I was offered work with an Asian publication. They then went on to exploit me. I was forced to do several journalists' work 18 hours a day and when I complained they said they would sack me and I would lose my work permit. At first I gave in because I wanted the work and I also wanted to stay in Britain. If I was sent back to India my life would have been in danger because I was an enemy of Mrs Ghandi because of the things I wrote about her government. Eventually I could not continue to work such long hours for so little money and I told my employer. He sacked me. I was a union member and with the help of the Union took him to an industrial tribunal and won substantial damages. It was sweat work conditions in the small office with little ventilation and light.'

(15) 'Many blacks have no choice but to work in the black media. White newspapers won't train or employ them and the black media is their only saviour. I don't work in the black media but I can see why many have to. It is hard to get mainstream jobs because of racism.'

Some respondents did not regard the black press as a good alternative to mainstream. They saw it as restrictive and those who work for it as being in danger of ghettoization. For example,

(14) 'I don't like the black media. It is journalistic ghettoization. Why should there be separate press, television and radio programmes for blacks and Asians. Most of us were born here; we can speak English and what affects whites affect us too. Media employers should be forced to improve the numbers of black people they take on and to make programmes which fulfil the needs of a multi-racial society.'

(68) 'I don't see the Black Press as an alternative. Most are small and very restricted journalistically. I remember being offered five pounds by the Black Press for an article that I spent nearly a week writing and researching. That is exploitation. I would not work for them because of this.'

(77) 'The black media is only a stop-gap. You can't work on black-only programmes and the Black Press and expect to move on in your career. The black media is not seen by mainstream as professional and if you look at some of the Black Press's stories, for instance, you can see why their stories are badly written. They need to get their act together.'

(82) 'The black media should only be used as a launching pad for black journalists who can't get into mainstream. I don't think people should stay there too long or else they will get type-cast. I have never and will never take that route. I want to write about everything, not just about race. After all, we live in a multi-racial society. The Black Media is only useful to a point; after that it becomes a disadvantage and if you get stuck there, like some people, your career is over.'

(86) 'As a reporter in the black press I find advantages and disadvantages. It gave me a foothold in the media. Provincial white newspapers don't take blacks or very few and it is from these that you get into the nationals. While it is difficult to get into mainstream newspapers from the Black Press it would be worthwhile for the Black Press to give proper training. Although working in the Black Press I have learnt a number of skills, I would have liked more preparation for mainstream newspapers. Another disadvantage working for the black media is the problem of ghettoization . White editors think you can't write anything but black stuff and they don't want to employ you.'

(32) 'It is good to start in the black press but it is hard to move on. It's a kind of trap. You don't get training and you are only expected to write black stories, which in turn reduces your experiences. Mainstream media does not value your experience writing for the Black Press.'

Other respondents thought that the whole notion of a black media is wrong. They believed that living in a multi-racial society there should be no need for a black media and no need to write black-only stories:

(24) 'The black media is useful to a point but we live in a multi-racial society, with blacks, Asians and whites, so we shouldn't need to have a black media. We don't want segregation but integration. People who work in the black media, like those who go on black-only training courses, do a disservice to themselves. They have to work with whites so they should train and work in mainstream if they are not to be ghettoized .'

(8) 'The Black Media is all right as far as it goes, but it sets up the "them and us" problem. While I understand that the black media is supposed to redress the balance in news reporting about black people, sometimes it isn't done well. The biggest problem is that people in the mainstream will believe that black journalists who work in the Black Press can only do race reporting, which is very limiting. It would be better if we did not have separate media but I suppose we do.'

Other respondents thought the black media is important especially in terms of redressing the balance:

(71) 'I have always wanted to write for the Black Press, although I knew that opportunities there are limited. Working in the Black Press is for me more than a job; it is a principle. I think that it is important that we bring into the media a black perspective, especially in the news where black people are either portrayed negatively, or in areas where we are left out.'

(87) 'Although I work for a national paper, I have once worked for the Black Press. They gave me a foothold in journalism and for that I am grateful.'

(53) 'The Black Media is important because whites have stereotyped images of blacks and Asians. They don't know us and cannot portray us properly.'

(83) 'The black media is important for re-dressing the balance against biased reporting. White journalists know nothing about the black communities and they don't want to know unless we are rioting or involved in arranged marriages. Biased reporting was the spur for me to work in black broadcasting. I want to help redress the balance.'

(13) 'I run a Third World publishing business and write many of the pamphlets and newspapers about Third World news. I think that it is essential to bring to the wider public what is being written by blacks and what is going on in the Caribbean, Africa and Asia. The white media don't care so we must care about ourselves. However, there are many whites who don't like what I am doing. My shop was fire-bombed but we are not going to stop. We will just set up somewhere else. I don't mind being ghettoized , as some say, because it is important that black people and their issues are taken seriously. Europe is a racist place and it is going to get worse after 1992, so we have to get together and having our own media is one way.'

Similarly, the editor of one black newspaper gave his view

(73) 'As editor of a black paper, I believe that the Black Press is very important to the black community. My sister paper in Jamaica is in a much better position than the paper here in Britain. Here we have to redress the balance. We have to see what the White Press is saying about stories concerning us as black people and give these stories a different angle, although not necessarily in favour of blacks, but to show what black people feel and think about these issues. Because of mainstream media racism it is vital that the Black Media is operating, for it is not just a method of communication but a way to campaign for our rights in Britain.'

(23) 'The Black Media offers a great advantage to black journalists. It helps them to get into journalism. It is more than can be said of the White media. However, the pay and conditions on some Black Newspapers are abysmal and something needs to be done. But it is not just the black newspapers that do this. White employers who produce black-only programmes, like the BBC, do the same. Many black journalists working on black-only radio programmes get virtually nothing and those who are paid get the minimum, many are working as freelancers or on short term contracts. There is also no job security in these black-only programmes; you move from one job to another if you are lucky.'

(88) 'Working in the Black Media is a good thing. The problem is that mainstream media have ghettoized the black media and they don't rate anyone who works for it. The BBC, for instance, does not put enough money into making good black programmes. Channel 4 is doing a little better with programmes such as "Bandung File".'

(40) 'I think the black media is very important in helping black people into journalism. I started in the Black Press before I was able to get training then I moved into a local paper. Without the black media most black people would not get a look in. The white media takes on very few blacks so we need the black media to give opportunities to black journalists.'

(47) 'People who talk about ghettoization are silly. If black people don't write about blacks white people will do it and they only see us as an interesting study, not as human beings. The black media is important too as a role model for young blacks and well-made programmes about the Third World help to educate and inform not just blacks but whites too of our contribution over hundreds of years to Britain. Many journalists now in mainstream started with the black media. I did and I am a presenter-producer of a mainstream television programme.'

(67) 'Employers think the black media is sub-standard but at the moment it redresses the balance. It helped me to get a job although I don't hope to stay in the black media all of my career.'

(41) 'I learnt a lot working in the Black Press and working there you learn a lot of skills and many people, because of their experiences with the Black Press, have moved up and out. I don't believe working with the Black Press is a disadvantage. What is important is to get a job which will give you the journalistic skills required to get a job in the mainstream and the Black Press does that.'

Another journalist who saw the advantages of working in the

Black Press explained,

(17) 'Working in the Black Press is good for me. I don't care whether I am being ghettoized or not. I left school with only four CSEs but I wanted to be a photographer. I did City and Guilds examinations in photography, applied and applied for mainstream jobs, but they did not want me. The Black Press offered me a job and gave me the opportunity to get the experience I needed for my career. I have also worked for black magazines and I don't care if mainstream never give me a job as I hope eventually to work for myself, although I eventually want to photograph all aspects of life, not just black people.'

(96) 'The Black Media does three important things: firstly, they give a balanced view towards race reporting; secondly, they give the opportunity to black people who want to become journalists to gain experience and, thirdly, they provide jobs for black journalists. The White Media takes on a few black tokens and, as to their reporting, they are racist.'

(93) 'The Black Press is important to give blacks a start, which the White Press is not doing. It is also important to put over blacks' point of view. I began with the Black Press; now I am with the BBC.'

(84) 'I worked for the Black Press for many years and, although I don't work for it any more, I think the Black Media is a good thing but it needs to be organised on a firmer basis. It needs to offer training and better working conditions but this needs money and as most black papers are financially insecure, they depend largely upon council ads. Despite this, I think that more should be done by owners to improve the Black Press.'

However, despite the Black Press's attempts to redress the balance and serve the black communities, there were those who believed it was not doing a good enough job. One respondent complained:

(57) 'Some of the Black Press are as bad as 'The Sun'. Their pages are filled with sensationalist stories, beauty queens and hairdressing products. If they are supposed to be redressing the balance, it is imperative that they concentrate on the racism blacks and Asians have to face in this society instead of copying the right-wing tabloids.'

Of the 60 per cent of respondents to this survey who worked in the broadcasting media, half worked on black television and radio programmes and had mixed opinions regarding black-only broadcasting programmes:

(87) 'Radio and television programmes about black people I often find embarrassing. Most are un-professionally done, although in the last couple of years programmes like "Bandung File" have improved the image of black television programmes. I would like to see more serious subjects tackled, like racism in education, the media and so on.'

(70) 'Asian television programmes, like "Network East", should look at the Asian community from a different perspective. They should portray Asian girls rebelling against their parents. There ought to be more good human stories. The programme seems to be afraid of tackling the negative side of the Asian culture.'

(81) 'Black television programmes such as "Bandung File" and "Ebony" are not representative of the black community. "Bandung File" goes abroad for stories when the black community here in Britain has a number of stories. They are afraid to tackle racism in Britain in case they upset their white masters.'

It is true that 'Bandung File', the ethnic news programme put out by Channel 4, covers stories from the Third world but it also covers stories about Britain's black communities. It is also true that the programme so far has not tackled any serious race stories in Britain. That is not to say they will not do so in the future.

(35) 'Black media, especially television and radio programmes, are too restrictive. They don't do enough on things that matter - race relations, jobs and racism. Most of their programmes are on the safe subjects of food, dance and music - no real hard news. It's no good for a journalist's career to work on such programmes.'

One respondent observed,

(48) 'I think Black television programmes are improving but they are not given enough money and their scheduling is too late. Their journalistic standards are not too high and their managers should give journalists on the programmes proper training so as to improve the quality of programmes. Such programmes should be able to draw upon the resources of the community. There are many good stories out there. The Asian newspapers are not very well developed and many of them are too specialized to help Asian people trying to break into the media. "The Voice" newspaper is more developed but the black media, I think, is essential to the whole community.'

Some respondents believed that, like the Black Press, black television and radio programmes are not taken seriously by white media managers and programme makers. One respondent explained why:

(78) 'Black-only programmes come under education and not news. They are about music and culture, not about what is happening economically to blacks in Britain. We only make news when something goes wrong. The BBC and ITV should take the opportunity to use black-only television and radio programmes to make whites know how blacks feel.'

(13) 'Some black-only programmes, like "Ebony", are token gestures by the BBC. They think that black people want separate programmes - a kind of apartheid. What they should be doing is taking on more black journalists and covering stories

pertaining to black people in a more responsible and fairer way. Stories about blacks should be incorporated in mainstream programmes. We need more blacks in the BBC right across the board, not just in the canteen.'

Similarly, a female producer of a black-only programme stated:

(7) 'Working for a black television programme was how I got into the media. I came in as a researcher and I am thankful for that. However, as a producer of a black-only programme, I must say that there are a lot of problems. We are restricted in what we can do. Our bosses are white and have very different views from us as to what black audiences want.'

Although black broadcasting provides some opportunities for black journalists in getting jobs and experience, many respondents believed that white managers were preventing them from making programmes of interest to a black audience:

(27) 'I worked on a black-only radio programme in London and I gained a lot of experience but the programme was limiting because bosses at the BBC wanted to always control the programme. They never leave you alone; they were always telling us what should be in the programme. I was sacked because I told the white producer what I thought.'

(80) 'Some black television programmes are inferior and don't do any good for the community, nor for the career prospects of black journalists who work for them. Not enough money is given to finance them properly and so the programmes are not good. White broadcasters then turn round and say, "I told you blacks can't make television programmes". Some black radio programmes I know are run entirely by a group of friends. They have no training or experience - no wonder the programmes are such a mess.'

It is not only white media managers who were criticized by respondents regarding black programming:

(99) 'I do research for a black television programme and one problem is that those blacks working there have no contact with the black community. They don't know what the black community feel. They are coconuts doing the white man's job. Worst of all, they fight amongst themselves for power. The other problem is that the executive producer is always white and brings a white perspective to a black programme. He doesn't know what black people want and is not prepared to listen to black journalists.'

Because of these and other problems some respondents were not prepared to work on black-only television programmes.

(82) 'I would not work on one of these programmes. They are inferior. White technicians call these programmes the "Wog Prog". It's ghettoization. If you want to make it you must get into mainstream.'

Not all respondents agreed, as several had used black-only broadcasting programmes for experience until they obtained jobs in mainstream.

(46) 'I moved into researching for a black television programme. It was the easiest way for me to get into television and to get some skills. I am hoping that this will lead me into mainstream.'

This route into a journalistic career left some of those who had taken it with an unqualified endorsement of minority programming:

(22) 'As a reporter on a multi-racial television programme, I have nothing but praise for these programmes. They gave me and my colleagues the opportunity to get into television. It is now up to us to move on having learnt the skills.'

(65) 'Black television and radio programmes have given more opportunities to black people getting into broadcasting than any other area. Although the BBC don't put a lot of money in these programmes, those working on the programmes are able to get skills.'

(14) 'I produce an Afro-Caribbean radio programme for the BBC and I am quite happy with my situation here. I don't think that I am ghettoized and I have power here. I decide what goes into the programme and because of the response I get from black people about the programme I know that it is good. We also as a programme give the opportunity to many black journalists to develop. The BBC is not perfect but it isn't as bad as some blacks make out.'

Another producer commented:

(37) 'I am a presenter and producer of an Asian radio programme. I am a specialist in my field of Asian culture and languages. Whites listen to my programme. There is something in it for everyone. Black-only programmes don't have to be for blacks only and you don't have to restrict yourself to doing only black stories. I often find general stories for the news desk. You can work for the Black media and still make it if you are good.'

SUMMARY

The Black Media in Britain began, as in the United States, out of the need to give positive representation to black people and to report the problems they faced in white society. Because of the historical relationship of white over black, the white media generally portrays black people negatively and seldom writes about the problem of racism from a black perspective. The black media, however, has a number of problems and some of these are due to direct and indirect discrimination. Firstly, the Black Press depends mainly upon sales to finance its operation rather than advertising. Although it gets some private advertisement, the Black Press depends heavily upon public sector advertising such as the BBC and local councils who use advertisements in these papers as part of their positive action equal opportunity policies. There are five national Black Papers in Britain and all are competing for public advertisements. 'The Voice' newspaper is at present the paper which gets the bulk of these advertisements. One reason for the comparatively low sales figures of black newspapers is that the white public rarely buys them because whites are not generally interested in black issues. This in turn means that white advertisers do not generally advertise in the Black Press.

As has been stated, the black media provide not only training but jobs for aspiring black journalists and so play an important part in maintaining the numbers of black journalists

in Britain. However, because of financial problems the black media, especially the Black Press, are unable to give their journalists similar training, pay and working conditions as the white media. Many respondents also found that white editors discriminated against them because they had worked in the black press. This is doubly discriminatory because many aspiring young black journalists first turn to the white media for training and jobs and were rejected. They are then forced to work in the black press in order to get training and experience, yet after they had done so some white media managers still refuse them jobs. Such actions maintain the white over black attitude and the 'colour barrier' in society. Despite the 1976 Race Relations Act, discriminatory acts of this kind go generally unchallenged because they are difficult to prove and the CRE has not the finances to carry out detailed investigations.

The Black Press had its critics among respondents, many of whom believed that, despite its financial difficulties, the Black Press could give, for instance, better training to its journalists if it wanted to. However, supporters of the Black Press argue that, like all other papers, it is a business which needs to make a profit and if it had to hire trainers for its journalists it would reduce the papers' profit and make their financial position worse. The problems of black radio and television programming are somewhat different. These programmes, although staffed mainly by black journalists, are controlled by white executive producers who instruct black

journalists on how stories regarding black people should be interpreted, Usually the two sides are at odds. Some respondents working in such a situation stated that white media managers are far too removed from the black community to know what they need. They criticised white television and radio managers of black-only programmes for putting on 'safe programmes', such as those relating to food and music. Respondents believed instead that black television and radio programmes should challenge racism in society.

Although this situation was more common in the 1980s, the 1990s have seen a shift in the content of black television programmes. Since the views of respondents were taken, the BBC has screened several series which challenged British and European racism. In 1991 such series as 'Black Britons' dealt with racism in Britain since the Second World War, while 'Black on Europe' dealt with racism in other European countries. Another series screened by the BBC, 'Redemption Song', dealt with the history of slavery in the Caribbean and its effect on the Caribbean and its people, while 'Eastward', an Asian programme, dealt with news and current affairs of Asians in Britain and the Indian sub-continent.

CHAPTER NINE

MEDIA UNIONS AND BLACK JOURNALISTS

INTRODUCTION

Any research regarding the under-representation of black people in the media cannot be completed without the examination of trade unions in general and the media unions in particular, regarding their policies and practices on equal opportunity. The main objective of any union is to negotiate the best wages and conditions for its members. During the 1980's unions came under great pressure from black workers and women to include equal opportunity in their negotiations with employers. Some union officials and members have responded by arguing that campaigning against sexism and racism is not part of trades unionism's remit. Following the passing of the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act and the 1976 Race Relations Act however, many unions have taken on, at least at the level of declared policy, a commitment to equal opportunities but find it difficult to put this into practice.

Colin Brown's 1984 PSI survey found that in post-war Britain black immigrants and their children joined trades unions in higher proportions than white workers. This can be explained partly explained by the fact that more black people were in organised work places, such as public transport, hospitals and local government services. 'Black and White in Britain', found

that 57 per cent of white men were in unions compared to 61 per cent of Asian and West Indian men. For white women workers, 35 per cent were members of unions compared to 48 per cent of Asian and West Indian women (Brown 1984, 182). The number of West Indian and Asian women who are now members of unions can be partially explained because of the jobs black women generally undertake and the fact that proportionately more African-Caribbeans women than whites, work full time.

Despite the relatively large numbers of black people in unions, the 1984 survey by the Greater London Council (GLC), 'Racism Within The Trade Unions' had this to say of the trade union movement:

'Despite policy documents, resolutions, race relations courses,conferences and public statements by the TUC and the unions, blacks, particularly the young, are still distrustful of the trade union movement. They believe that the unions have no firm intention of realising those policies where it matters most, opposing racism in the workplace'(1984, 4).

The GLC's survey confirms the suspicion with which many blacks regard trade unions and their commitment to equal opportunities. It went on,

'equal opportunities simply do not exist for blacks within the unions despite all the sympathetic propaganda from the TUC and a number of unions. Their recruitment policies do not take account of the need to recruit black employees. Race Relations courses and conferences are poorly attended and for most of the time are found boring and irrelevant to the real issues of racism'(GLC 1984, 4-5).

According to the Labour Research Survey of 1985, 'Black Workers, Trade Unions and the Law', only four per cent of black members held union posts at local, district or national level, compared with 11 per cent of white members. However, in

1991 , Bill Morris became General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), the first black person to head a union in post-war Britain. While his appointment is welcome, it should not disguise the reality that still too few black people are employed as union officers and unions in so doing help to maintain the 'colour barrier'.

The findings of the reports by the GLC and the Labour Research Department (LRD) both indicated that unions were not putting equal opportunity policies in practice. The LRD report found that some unions were beginning to change, although slowly. For example, in 1981 the TUC issued a 'Black Workers Charter' (1) and in addition it encouraged member unions to adopt equal opportunities policy which states their commitment to ensuring equality. The policy, the TUC said, should be one which is agreed by unions as well as management. The TUC, with the involvement of the CRE and the Equal Opportunities Commission, drew up a code of practice which most unions agreed to in principle. It recommends that details of unions' equal opportunities policies be included with the employee's contract of employment and form part of any staff training programmes and that overall responsibility for the implementation of the union's equal opportunities policy be given preferably to an Equal Opportunities Officer (TUC 1981).

(1) The TUC issued another 'Charter' in 1987 which recommends that particular attention be given to encouraging black members to become shop stewards, branch official, regional and national officials. However, evidence suggest that there are very few black people in these positions in unions.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF JOURNALISTS

The National Union of Journalists (NUJ) is said to be the largest journalists' union in the world with 28,000 members. Other media unions which represent journalists are the Institute of Journalists (IOJ) with 2,000 members. The Broadcasting and Entertainment Cinematograph Television Union (BECTU) has less than 1,000 journalist members working in broadcasting only.

The NUJ was established in 1907 at a conference convened in the Acorn Hotel, Birmingham. Clement Bundock recorded that

'the conference was an event of deep significance in the history of journalism and journalists in the British Isles. With no danger of exaggeration it may be said to have begun a revolution in the conditions under which journalists do their work and particularly in the payment they receive for the work they do'(Bundock 1957, 1).

prior to this conference in 1906 a group of journalists calling themselves The Working Journalists of the United Kingdom

'expressed the strong conviction that there should be established a new organisation capable of safeguarding and furthering the interest of working journalists and suggested the title "The National Union of Journalists". The union should be opened to all journalists (not newspaper proprietors, managers or directors) who are or have been for three years regularly engaged in the profession, and its objects should be to defend professional interest by taking action to remove definite grievances with regard to salary, conditions of employment and tenure of office; to establish out of work benevolent and superannuation funds; and to deal with questions affecting professional conduct and etiquette'(Bundock 1957, 8).

Because the NUJ represents the largest number of journalists in Britain, it is necessary to look at this union in some depth. The NUJ represents journalists in every sector of the media and has expanded since its early beginnings when it only represented newspaper journalists. The structure of the Union is such that every member can belong to a chapel at work and a branch which covers the area where the chapel is located. The day to day running of the geographical area is undertaken by area councils. Delegates are elected to area councils from branches.

The Union has seven Industrial Councils and members of these councils are elected by members working in the appropriate occupational area. The Industrial Councils cover national newspapers, provincial newspapers, broadcasting, magazines, books, public relations and freelance. Industrial councils are responsible for the promotion of negotiations and agreements with individuals or groups of employers on wages and conditions and allied matters affecting members within their sector.

The NUJ in 1986 issued an equal opportunities statement as part of its agreement with the TUC guidelines on equality. It states:

'The National Union of Journalists is an equal opportunities employer. The aim of our policy is to ensure that no job applicant or employee receives less favourable treatment on the grounds of race, colour, nationality, ethnic or national origins, religious beliefs, sex, marital status, gender, sexual orientation, or is disadvantaged by conditions or requirements which cannot be shown to be justifiable. There will be no discrimination against persons with disabilities

who have the necessary attributes for a post. Selection criteria and procedures will be frequently reviewed to ensure that individuals are selected, promoted and treated on the basis of their relevant merits and abilities. All employees will be given equal opportunity and where appropriate special training to progress within the organisation. The Union is committed to a programme of positive action to make this policy fully effective as set out in our objects of the union. The Union will also observe the letter and spirit of the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act.'

THE EQUALITY COUNCIL

As part of its equal opportunities policies, the NUJ has an Equality Council which deals with equality for women in journalism and publishing. The Council is made up of seven members elected at the Union's Annual Delegate Meeting and seven members who are elected to serve as equality representatives both on the Union's industrial councils and on the Equality Council. In theory there should be an equality officer in every branch and chapel to aid the union's equal opportunities policy. The responsibility of these officers is to ensure that the issues of race and gender are fully represented in any negotiation.

THE RACE RELATIONS WORKING PARTY

The NUJ's race equality policies began in 1974 with the setting up of the Race Relations Working Party (RRWP). This committee lasted for 16 years and was replaced by the 'Black

Members' Council'(2). The work of the (RRWP) in its early years involved campaigning against racist reporting. The public often wrote to the Working Party regarding items they had seen, heard or read in the media which they considered unfair or biased against black people. By the mid-1980's the RRWP broadened its work. It began campaigning on three fronts - race reporting, training and recruitment of black journalists in media jobs. In 1986 its Chair stated,

'We believe that it is vital to get more black people into newsrooms where they will have some influence over the way race is reported. At present there are very few black journalists working in the national press and television and even fewer in editorial positions. The way forward is to get more black people into recognised journalist courses and to make sure they are employed in different sectors of the media. We aim to get the media reflecting the multi-racial society which it serves'(Ainley 1986, 8).

At the NUJ's 1986 Annual Delegate Meeting the RRWP proposed a motion which was passed asking industrial councils to have in their house agreements clauses which would encourage the employment of black journalists in their sector. The Chair of the RRWP followed this up with meetings with the various councils. She explained that

'They were all sympathetic with the idea but some felt that it was impossible for them to implement equality targets. The reason given was that they believed that white members would oppose this action.'

(2) The Race Relations Working Party was replaced because black members in the union wanted an exclusively black group who they believe would represent their interest. They argue that the RRWP was not effective because it was controlled by whites.

This confirms what was earlier argued in this chapter that many white trade unionists were against black equality a important reason why unions' equal opportunities policies are generally ineffective. The RRWP also campaigned for ethnic monitoring and in 1986 the NUJ began monitoring all new members. This was obligatory upon joining the Union. Many white and some black members saw monitoring as an 'apartheid policy' and argued against it.

The RRWP proposed and argued for the Union to sponsor black people in recognised journalism course and in 1988 the George Viner Memorial Fund was set up as a charity for the sponsorship of at least one black person per year into recognised journalism training. Sine the setting up of the fund more than 50 black people have been completely or partially financed by the union

In a conference in 1988 called 'Black People and The NUJ', the Chair of the RRWP in his opening address had this to say:

'I don't think that the NUJ as a whole takes the issue of race equality seriously. It is regarded as a marginal issue, which should be left safely in the hands of the Race Relations Working Party. Race equality issues do not permeate through the organisation and structure of the Union. How many black members are in the NUJ? Why are there so few and what are the causes? Ask these questions and you will get all sorts of answers except the one that points the finger directly at the racism which is present both in the Union and in the profession as a whole. How can the Union be structured to make it more acceptable and relevant to potential black members? These are the questions which need serious answers if the NUJ is to mean anything to black journalists'(NUJ 1988, 4).

The view that the NUJ was not taking equal opportunities seriously was echoed throughout the day by black members in different workshops. Conference agreed that the NUJ must consider and come to terms with three overlapping and interrelated issues, black members within the NUJ and trade union movement, the black employee and representation of the black employee in the workplace and the way the black community perceive the NUJ. Conference discussed several issues affecting black members, including NUJ structures, training, employment and the black press.

On NUJ structure and policy, conference made it clear that equal opportunities policies were not being pursued by the Union because it feared losing white members who objected to equal opportunities. The conference gave as an example the ineffectiveness of the Union's Ethics Council, which 'fails to enforce its own rulings'. On training, there were many views expressed but generally it was agreed that the Union should do all it could to put pressure on organisations like the BBC to take on more black people on its training courses (3). While members welcomed the NUJ's George Viner Memorial Fund, they wanted the Union to finance short courses in journalism for black people. On the subject of black employment in the media conference called upon the union to place greater pressure on media employers to employ more black people.

(3) However, the NUJ was criticised by its black members for its reluctance in organising short journalism courses for black people. See The NUJ (1986) Conference Report on 'Print Journalism and black people'.

Conference concluded that the most effective way to carry out these proposals was to consider the setting up of a black section within the NUJ. This proposal was taken to the NUJ's Annual Delegate Meeting in 1990 and approved. The Black Members' Council (BMC) replaced the RRWP in 1991. The Council is made up of eight black members, one member from each of the Union's industrial councils, and in addition one member from the Scottish and Irish Council. The BMC is similar to the RRWP. Its long-term strategy will be to 'increase black NUJ membership and involvement in the Union and to have a black full-time official'(Discussion Paper for the Race Relations Working Party Conference 1989).

THE ETHICS COUNCIL

The NUJ Ethics Council was another step in the NUJ's strive for equality. This committee was set up in 1987. Its aim is to promote and enforce the Union's Code of Conduct. The Code forms part of the Union's rule book and members are bound by it. In theory members can be disciplined if they breach the code. The union's Code lays down the rules relating to how race and gender should be reported by NUJ members. In its 1987 publication 'Media Standards' the NUJ explained that the Ethics Council aimed to promote the 'Code' through education but anyone in the public who objects to what they see, hear or read in the media can complain direct to the Ethics Council which will seek to resolve the complaint:

'The Ethics Council will seek redress through, for example, the right of reply, an apology and/or correction or an agreement to prevent recurrence of the breach. Wherever, possible, the Ethics Council will deal with complaints as a collective issue by involving the journalist's chapel. The Ethics Council's duties are to promote the NUJ's Code of Conduct among the general public and high ethical standards among NUJ journalists, to publicise breaches of the Code both inside and outside the Union and to enlist support from other news media unions. The Council can and does receive complaints from NUJ branches and individual members and from members of the public about the work and behaviour of NUJ members. However, the Ethics Council does not deal with complaints involving advertisement as those responsible are not NUJ members. It also cannot force those who run the media to put right a breach of ethical standards, that would require legislation'(NUJ 1987, 2).

The Ethics Council had the right to discipline members found guilty of breaching the Union's Code of Conduct. Members breaching the Code can be fined or dismissed from the Union. After 7 years and hundreds of complaints very few members have been fined, although many had been found guilty. Only one journalist was dismissed because he refused to pay his fine. The work of the Ethics Council did not prevent NUJ members from breaking the union's Code of Conduct. The Council's work was criticised for being harsh to its own members yet did not stop racist and sexist reporting by NUJ members. Consequently, at the Union's 1991 ADM the following proposal was agreed:

'That ADM recognises that the disciplinary approach to ethics has failed for many reasons and that the enforcement of the Code of Conduct is primarily a collectively responsibility, in particular a matter of education and of chapels pressing editors and proprietors to adopt policies favourable to the implementation of the Code as opposed to policies which encourage journalists to break it. ADM instructs the NEC to remind chapels and members that the Code of Conduct is part of the Union's rules. ADM nevertheless recognises that there will be certain occasions when a journalist's behaviour is so bad that the NUJ will want publicly to dissociate itself, and that in such cases a Rule 22 procedure would still be appropriate. ADM therefore instructs the NEC as a matter of urgency, to amend the rules in order that the Ethics Council shall deal

with education and propaganda on ethical matters ..
While the Ethics Council shall still be empowered to receive complaints from members of the public, its role shall be restricted to enquiring into and making comments about those matters if it deems it helpful to the union's overall work of promoting the Code.'

ADM also asked that the Ethics Council be given a proper budget for its educational work (NUJ 1991).

It is argued that pressure from members who objected to the 'Ethics Council' and equality issues generally ensured that the NUJ abandoned its policy to discipline members who flout its Code of Conduct. The 'Ethics Council' is said to have 'lost its teeth' now that its role has become educational Although education has an important part to play in raising people's consciousness, what will the NUJ do if members refuse to listen and continue to flout its Code as they are still doing? The union argue that Rule 22, which deals with complaints against members, will be used instead. But Rule 22 did not in the past stop members from ignoring the Union's race and sex Code. This was part of the reason for establishing the 'Ethics Council' in the first instance.

Some have argue that too many NUJ members, are breaking the Union's Code to discipline them all. If this were to be done, the Union would lose hundreds of members, and their subscriptions, at a time when union membership is down and finances are severely depleted. It is increasingly argued that the NUJ cannot afford equality and at present this seems to be the dominant message given by union actions.

The NUJ employed its first Equal Opportunities Officer in 1987, a white female who left in 1990 and has not been replaced. The NUJ stated that it could not afford to employ another. However, during the years that the NUJ had an Equality Officer many argued that nothing changed. Her role was limited. Her main function was to service the Union's equality bodies, and attend equality conferences and meetings.

BROADCAST UNIONS

Before its amalgamation with BETA in 1991 the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians (ACTT) outlined its equal opportunities polices in a 1988 'Code of practice on Racism'. This stated that the Union was

'strategically placed to intervene against racism both in terms of media content and also in terms of job opportunities in films, television and other areas where the Union organises'.

ACTT identified two main areas which concerned them - the under-representation of black members and the 'racist images and assumptions .. which proliferate on our screens'(ACTT 1984,1). The Code called on ACTT members not to work on material which incites racial hatred or stereotyping. It calls on members working in news and current affairs to ensure that coverage of the black community is fair and accurate. In particular, members should make sure that a person's race or colour should only be mentioned when strictly relevant to the story. If racist allegations are made or racist views expressed, black or anti-racist organisations should have an

automatic right of reply and sympathetic presentation of racism or racist ideas should be discouraged.

The ACTT Code ask members to press for equal opportunities for all people regardless of race and colour. Where members are involved in recruitment and promotion they should ensure that the procedures involved follow good equal opportunity practice, eg. job advertisements should be placed in the ethnic press. Those members working in drama and light entertainment should, if its in their power to do so, ensure that black actors and actresses are considered for all roles on the basis of ability not race.

In addition to their code of practice issued to members and their TUC agreement, ACTT has made a number of policy decisions on race at their conferences. In a report called 'Ten Years of ACTT Equality Policies' a list of proposals and resolutions on equality at yearly conferences gave a picture of how ACTT conference reacted to equal opportunities policies throughout the 1980s. In 1982 ACTT employed its first equal opportunities officer. At conference that year a proposal was put forward for consideration to be given to positive action for women and ethnic groups in respect of union membership. This was turned down by delegates. However, they voted for four seats to be reserved on the equality committee for black members. In 1984 ACTT conference welcomed the sub-committee on racial equality but refused to strengthened the Code of Practice on race. In 1985 another proposal for updating the

Code on racism was defeated. This proposal not only wanted the race Code to be strengthened but for equality officers and shop stewards to attend racism awareness courses (ACTT 1988).

ACTT has 18 full-time officers and, like the NUJ, none is black. Does this mean that no well qualified black people had applied , or did the selection process go against them? The Union's Equal Opportunities officer in 1989 explained that the vacancy for the post was advertised in the ethnic press as is the policy of the Union. Of the 65 applicants, 17 were black, but during the selection process only two black men were given a second interview while no black women were given this chance, although some were considered to be good. The reason, she explained, was because those interviewing did not have anti-racist training and did not follow the procedure.
She stated that many trade union officers did not want anti-racist training because they did not think that they needed it.

Another problem ACTT had in the past, according to the former-Equal Opportunities Officer, is the low numbers of black people applying to join the union . One reason she stated was that new applicants used to require four members to sponsor them. However, after complaints, the union stopped this practice, deciding instead on a membership committee.

One of the most positive achievements of ACTT equal opportunities policies is their involvement with the training

scheme 'JOBFIT'. This is a joint Board for Film Industry Training and was set up in May 1985 by ACTT, the British Film and Television Producers Association (BFTPA) and the Independent Programme Producers Association (IPPA). The Advertising Film and Video Producers Association (AFVPA) and Channel 4 became sponsors of the scheme in 1986. 'JOBFIT' is the first systematic industry-wide training scheme in the freelance film-making sector.

Trainees are attached to various film production companies over a two year period. They are taken into the scheme in groups of twelve at intervals which are compatible with production cycles in the industry. On satisfactory completion of the two year programme trainees are eligible for ACTT membership and are then more likely to get employment in the industry. 'JOBFIT' is committed to an equal opportunities policy and strongly encourages and supports applicants from women and ethnic minorities. The training scheme is financed on an industry-wide level by all film production made under agreements between the Employers Association and the ACTT.

After the amalgamation of ACTT and BETA in 1991, a conference was called by black members of both Unions to discuss the new Union (BECTU) position on equal opportunities. The conference called 'Black To The Future' dealt with training, employment, monitoring and media racism, inside and outside the union. The conference urged officials of the joint union to address the issue of a black members forum whereby black members could

have a voice. They criticised union structures for not being 'accessible to black people'(BECTU 1991, 2). On the issue of employment, the conference recommended that BECTU build a profile of companies who were not interviewing / employing black freelances. It was felt that the equality laws should change and that what was needed was a law similar to that in Northern Ireland which gave Catholics increased opportunities in employment.

Conference also called for a form of contract compliance to be adopted so that the BBC and Independent Television can only give work to independent television companies who implement equal opportunities. It also urged that commercial companies be challenged with figures to show that black people form a significant part of their viewing audience and so should implement equal opportunities policies. It was stated that in London nearly 40 per cent of people under 25 who watched London Weekend Television were black. The conference condemned word of mouth recruitment, pointing out its unfairness to black people.

RESPONDENTS' VIEW OF MEDIA UNIONS

Colin Brown in his third PSI survey found that the majority of black workers are members of trade unions and evidence from this research reinforces his findings. 83 per cent of all respondents to this survey were members of a media union and

only 17 per cent were not members of any union. Of those who are members of unions, 75 per cent were members of the NUJ and 8 per cent members of BECTU. But how did respondents regard media unions ?

(46) 'Unions can't go telling editors to employ more blacks when they, the unions, employ very few, or in some unions, like the NUJ, none at all. Many union officials come from the old school. They haven't much push for equal opportunities.'

(45) 'The NUJ is not doing enough on equality. They don't see blacks as a special case. They haven't done much for me or other black journalists I know. I see them only as a passport for certain jobs. I don't expect much.'

(62) 'Unions should have a more flexible approach to black people. For instance, ACTT have a jobs list which only goes to members and you can't be a member if you haven't got a job. That means although you want the job, you can't get it unless you are a member. In fact, what happens is that jobs go to friends and relatives.'

Many respondents had no faith in the unions to put into practice their own equal opportunities policies and some saw the union as hypocritical for expecting employers to train and employ more black journalists when unions are not doing so themselves. Other respondents questioned whether the media unions genuinely cared about black equality :

(99) 'Unions are not concerned enough about racism in the media. Black journalists have to do more for themselves to change the system. They should use the union to help them campaign. They must put pressure on unions to do more. I believe that unions should campaign for quotas.'

(57) 'The media unions have to be forced to put equal opportunities into practice and they do so grudgingly. Yet they say they are doing something. Their hearts are not into it. They don't care about us blacks.'

(3) 'Although I am a member of the NUJ, I don't go to chapel meetings. The few times I went those there were only interested in pay and conditions for whites, not about blacks and equal opportunities. The people there did not even notice a black face was there. They ignored me. Even when I asked a question I felt as if I wasn't wanted there so I didn't go back.'

(24) 'The problem with the Union is that even if the officers want to, put equal opportunities into practice the ordinary members don't want it.'

(86) 'The NUJ is weak. After having a race group and Ethics Council there is still a lot of racism in the media and not enough black journalists.'

The union hierarchy and the majority white members are accused by several respondents of not putting equal opportunities into practice. In addition, some respondents claimed that they faced racism in chapels and branches:

(40) 'As far as I am concerned unions do nothing for black people. My chapel is useless and the father of chapel doesn't see equal opportunities as an issue for the Union.'

(6) 'Media unions need to educate white members about race and equal opportunities and to support positive action in colleges and universities where journalism is taught.'

(64) 'The Union's code of conduct on race is being broken all the time. If the Union is serious about equal opportunities they should level severe penalties against members who flout the code. It is the only way black people will believe what the Union says publicly regarding race.'

(29) 'The NUJ does little about biased reporting. The RRWP has little teeth and is underfunded. The Union, I believe, does this deliberately to make sure the work of race bodies is unsuccessful.'

(9) 'Unions need to look at and put into practice positive action. This is the only way to get more black people into the industry. Positive action must become a part of Union structure and policies and not be seen as peripheral.'

(17) 'The NUJ has the wrong priorities. They have become heavy-handed with the black press about pay and conditions yet they fail to do anything regarding racist reporting on 'The Sun' and other tabloids.'

Many respondents argue that media unions are afraid to put equal opportunities into practice for fear losing white members. Others thought that the Union should at least educate their members about race and equal opportunities:

(65) 'The unions are only scratching the surface of equal opportunities - talking not acting. They can't go too far. While equality is all right for a group of lefties, it is not for the vast majority of white members. The NUJ's Ethics Council is a good example. As soon as it started members complained that it was a witch-hunt against them by their own union and that was only because the Ethics Council's brief was to try and stop racist reporting.'

(49) 'If media unions were serious about racial equality they should challenge racist reporting especially in national newspapers.'

(13) 'Media unions should be more forceful regarding equal opportunities. I don't think the will is there. Neither the media unions nor the press council seem to have the power to stop the press and its racist reporting.'

(8) 'Quotas and monitoring I think will help to increase the intake of black people in the media but we also want some action on racist reporting by the unions.'

However, some respondents believed that the slow uptake of equal opportunities by media unions was deliberate because unions have no intention of helping more blacks get into the media:

(14) 'Unions are not concerned with having more blacks in journalism. The political concerns that they are interested in don't include the equality of blacks. They want to keep this aspect of things the same.'

(63) 'The NUJ pays lip service to blacks and women on the subject of equality. The Union is not very strong, neither is the press council. They both allow racism and sexism to continue. The NUJ should be calling for changes in the law to stop racism in the press but they won't do this because it would be against their own members.'

(59) 'I am a lapsed member and I won't join the union again. They don't do anything for black people. They should have more teeth to tackle racism in the media but they don't bother themselves.'

Some respondents argue that the unions have failed to educate their members on equal opportunities:

(21) 'Unions have failed not only their black members but white ones as well. There is not enough educative process in the unions. Union officials should be forced to have anti-racist training. There should be more conferences for black journalists to put over their point of view and more research within the Union to see what people think.'

(31) 'The unions have half-baked ideas - too sloppy. They have policies but do nothing about them. They need to come up front and campaign on their policies of equal opportunities. They should make sure policies are, put into practice. They should be supporting blacks and Asians trying to get media jobs and supporting them in their struggle to get into mainstream media training.'

There were many suggestions given by respondents on how media unions may best serve their black members. Although there is plainly a need for media unions to support journalists in training and reporting these are not the only concerns of respondents. Racist reporting is just as important.

(77) 'To stop racist reporting the Union as a body should be writing to editors and managers of newspapers and demanding that such practices stop.'

The problem with the Union demanding that editors make sure their publications embrace objective writing is that it is difficult to achieve. The question is will newspaper managers/editors take any notice of unions such as the NUJ and if not what can the unions do? Have they the power to do anything? On the question of equal opportunities, this respondent said:

(83) 'The NUJ and other unions should promote equal opportunities. They should challenge members who write overtly racist stories and should not give up campaigning because people hate change. But I suppose they can't do this because they are racist themselves.'

(97) 'The NUJ isn't doing much but they should be making sure that the independent sector monitor job applications. Pressure should be put on local chapels, which in turn should pressure management. They need further schemes in training. The NUJ needs to set up its own training scheme to help black people and women.'

(69) 'I pay my subs to the Union but I don't know what I get for it or what they do with it and I feel I ought to get more information about Union activities. Although the NUJ is giving some money to sponsor black people into journalism training I think it's peanuts. They should be giving more and not asking chapels to pay. I think the Union should also send black members out into schools to encourage young black people to become journalists.'

(74) 'I joined the Union for the card, the prestige. As to them doing anything for black journalists, I don't expect it and I am not disappointed. I was never a Union person. On the whole unions are racist so I was never in favour of them. If they were serious about helping black people they should make sure that there is a certain percentage of black people in the profession. They should also set up courses of journalism for black people, but they are not likely to do this.'

(25) 'The NUJ is not doing much although they shout a lot. They ought to do more to help black people get into journalism. They should visit schools and colleges and workplaces to inform people of what they do and are doing. Black people want to know what the Union is doing for them. As far as I am concern they are doing nothing for us. They should especially help their members in the black press where there is a lot of exploitation.'

It seems the media unions are in a no-win situation. While some respondents call for the NUJ to intervene in the black press to make sure that its members are getting fair pay and conditions, others criticised the Union when it tried to help for being 'heavy handed'. It might be that the general lack of confidence in the media unions doing anything substantial for the improvement of the position of black people in the media is so low that some respondents will see the NUJ intervention in the black press as interference rather than help.

Another repeated criticism of the NUJ is their lack of information to their members, as this respondent complained:

(32) 'Although I am a NUJ member I have never received any information about what the Union does. I pay my subscription but get nothing for it. They should give more information about their sponsorship and what, if anything, they are doing for black members. On the whole I think unions haven't much power to change the system but at least they should try.'

(72) 'I am a Union member but I don't know what the Union is supposed to do for me. I have seen little of them. They should at least let individual members know what the Union is doing The Ethics Council should have more power to stop racist reporting.'

(10) 'I am a member of two unions but I don't get the impression that the unions are doing much about equal opportunity. They don't give much support to black journalists as far as I know. They need to give more sponsorship for training.'

(26) 'I am not too interested in unions although I am a member. Although I think that their sponsorship of black people into journalism training is a positive step and their ethnic monitoring of new members, I think this is not enough. They have to take more action so as to get more black people into journalism.'

(30) 'The Union cannot be trusted to change anything. Many members are racist. It's all talk about equal opportunity but they do nothing. The NUJ in particular has a lot of power and could help more black people secure jobs and training but when it comes down to it they look after themselves not blacks. They keep us out.'

Some respondents complained that the NUJ gave them little or no help when they sought it's assistance.

(53) 'The NUJ didn't help me when I lost my job at a black-only radio station so I am not a member any more. White members are helped if they are in trouble not us.'

(85) 'I have no belief in the Union although they did help me a little. In general they have no power with management. Many Union officials are racist so how can they represent blacks?'

(66) 'I am a member of the NUJ but they are not useful. They are not doing sufficient to get more blacks trained or employed in the media. They should insist on quotas and set up their own media short courses for black people and women'.

(95) 'Some individuals in the union are genuine but the Union on the whole pays lip service to equal opportunities. The Union I work for as press officer has recently passed a motion about quotas of black people and this is left for white people to implement so nothing will ever be done. The Union should start by educating its members regarding black people. They should know about imperialism, slavery and colonialism for this can explain a lot. As for the NUJ, they should sponsor more black people into journalism courses.'

(51) 'There is a conflict between union policies on equal opportunities and what white members want. While officials might want equal opportunities, white members don't want things to change. I would like to see more pressure placed on management for quotas. Unions should be working for that. It has worked in America.'

Many respondents, while they agreed that one positive aspect of the NUJ was their sponsorship of black people into journalism training since 1987, said that this was not sufficient. They wanted to see the unions sponsoring more black people into journalism training and the union setting up its own courses for the training of black journalists. Secondly, respondents wanted an extension of ethnic monitoring where it existed and its introduction where it did not within the union organisation.

(12) 'The NUJ sponsorship of three black people yearly is not enough. There should be more black involvement in the NUJ. They should be helping to get more black people into mainstream journalism jobs.'

(91) 'The George Viner Fund sponsoring a few blacks for training is just a crumb. The NUJ should employ black people in their organisation and be more available at black members' conferences to answer questions on the organisation. The NUJ officials should be lobbying media training organisations forcing them to look at their practices.'

Some respondents believed the media unions, especially the NUJ, are powerless to stop racist reporting and the under-representation of black people in the media.

(36) 'The media unions do what they can. Equal opportunities can only apply to the unions not newspapers. Unions could have done something through their closed shop but now their influence is dwindling.'

(79) 'The NUJ is trying but they have not been effective because their members won't co-operate. What they should do is to get the black papers unionised and to support those people who are trying to get more black people into the media.'

(68) 'Unions can't do much. Newspaper proprietors are much more powerful and they take little notice of unions who are losing their power. However, the unions should at least be running short courses for black people so as to help them get media jobs.'

(73) 'The unions haven't the power to change things whatever they may say. It's management who calls the tune. That's where the power lies.'

(50) 'The media unions can't do anything for black people. They are ineffective. They have lost their power.'

(34) 'Unions are not effective agents for change. They cannot influence employers to take on more ethnic minorities. It depends on management being convinced that equal opportunities is important. Ethnic minorities have to be twice as good to get to the same starting place as whites. We can't expect once we are in to sit on our backsides. We have to work hard. I sometimes work 14 hours a day. Unions have not done much and are not able to do much.'

(35) 'Equal opportunity is alright in theory but very difficult to implement. You can't blame the Union because their members come from a society which is racist and who don't want equality.'

Other respondents believed that the reason for the unions' failure to bring in effective equal opportunities policies is not only due to their increasing powerlessness but due to the fact that racism does not touch the lives of most union officials and members.

(56) 'The union is doing their best under the circumstances. Race is not high on their agenda. Racism doesn't touch their lives. Unions are not the solution to getting more black people in the media but they could help more. They could make race a priority, putting pressure on members who write racist copy and managers who employ no black people.'

There were a few respondents who reported that the media unions had helped them individually.

(70) 'I have no idea what the media unions can do to get more black people into media jobs but I do know that being a member of the NUJ was good for me. They helped me when I was beaten up when I went to get a story. The Union supported me emotionally and legally. I can't praise them enough.'

(36) 'The Union does represent blacks and Asians to a certain extent but they should do more. They should give all members and officials anti-racist training and should ensure that members resist racist reporting or stereotyping. To help this process the Union should hold regular courses on racism for reporters.'

(37) 'The Union is OK. If I have a problem I go to them. I scream and they listen but I don't expect them to get jobs for me; I do that myself. Some blacks expect unions to give them jobs and training, well everything, and if they don't get that they shout racism.'

(98) 'I am not sure what the NUJ's policy on black people in the media is but they helped secure a decent wage for me. I was the lowest paid researcher on a television programme. I went to them and they negotiated a better wage so I don't mind unions now.'

(23) 'It is difficult for unions but things are changing. Journalism is no longer a white male dominated profession for there are some blacks and a number of women in the Union. It is up to black people to change the Union for their benefit.'

Some respondents believed that black journalists were expecting too much from unions while others believed that black people do not need unions.

(21) 'I can't see what the unions can do to help black people. It is up to the individual. Management don't have to listen to the unions and they don't anyway. The unions are just as bad. How many blacks do they employ as officials and how much do they put into equal opportunity?'

(90) 'People expect too much from the unions. For a start they can't help you get jobs and they are not particularly interested in equal opportunities, no matter what they say, for when it comes to it they don't do much.'

(75) 'We can't just blame the union management. For a union is as strong as its members. Journalists are individualistic. Many are weak on the subject of race and sexism. They don't want to know. If a chapel wanted to do something about getting more black people in their publication, television or radio station they could go to the editor and achieve more but most NUJ members don't want this.'

(82) 'Unions should not have to promote blacks and Asians in the media. If they are good enough they will get in. No newspaper will turn you down because you are a black or Asian journalist if you have a good story.'

(7) 'My Union has helped to get ethnic monitoring into the BBC but apart from that they have done nothing for blacks. However, as an intelligent black woman I believe that you can move into a journalism job and even administration if the climate is right and you are good at what you do. The problem is, especially with Afro-Caribbeans, blackness means deprivation, but not all of us are deprived. We don't need unions.'

(60) 'I have never asked the unions for anything and I don't expect a lot from them. I made it into journalism myself, with hard work. I don't need unions to get me jobs. My own ability does that.'

Some respondents believed the only way forward is for black journalists to start campaigning for better representation in the media. They can no longer depend upon unions.

(76) 'My chapel is very inactive. Not many people at my paper are in the Union because if you are active in the Union you don't get promotion. You have to be selfish if you want to move up. My employers don't like the union or the Press Council. Media unions are no longer able to help black people so they must push for better opportunities themselves. It is not in the interest of whites to get us a better deal so we have to do it ourselves.'

Other respondents believed that a black-led campaign should be carried out within the union:

(84) 'Black journalists should join the Union and fight from within. I have been active in the NUJ for 30 years and have reached high positions although I have not been a paid officer I have managed to put black politics on the union agenda, so I believe it is no longer possible for the union to ignore the views of black journalists.'

(93) 'The NUJ needs a black section to inform black journalists and the black community. We can't leave our liberation to whites. That is what is happening in the NUJ. We must have a strong black section within the NUJ. To do so we must encourage more black journalists to join the NUJ and to become active in changing it.'

CASE HISTORY

This respondent was able to do a journalism course because of sponsorship by the NUJ:

'I am one of five children and needless to say my parents were poor immigrants from the West Indies. I had always wanted to be a journalist since I was a little girl. I think it began when as a child I began to admire all those reporters bringing back stories from all over the world and I remember saying to myself one day I wanted to be like them. When I saw people like Moira Stewart and Trevor McDonald I felt that if they could do it so could I. It never occurred to me that I couldn't just walk into a journalism job because I had always dreamed of being a journalist.

'I soon found out how difficult things could be if you are black and a woman and want to become a journalist. While I was at university I collected all the information that was around about journalism, but when I spoke to my careers officer he told me that journalism was too difficult and that maybe I should be a nurse instead. I told him that I didn't do my degree to become a nurse; I wanted to travel the world as a journalist. I never went back to him again and of course I took little notice of his advice. I began to wonder though about how difficult it may be to become a journalist because, apart from a few black faces on television, everyone else was white. After finishing my degree I applied to every journalism course in Britain that I knew of and I was eventually interviewed by one and given a place but to my astonishment I found I was not automatically entitled to a grant.

'I applied for a discretionary grant but was turned down and panic struck. I didn't want to lose the place at the college of journalism but unless I found the fees I would not be able to do the course. I needed £5,000 for fees, books and travelling and I didn't have a penny. My parents couldn't help me - they were struggling to support my younger brother and sisters. I frantically began writing for help to newspapers like "The Voice" and "The Guardian", which I was told might sponsor me - Channel 4 and many black business establishments - but to no avail. I was just about to give my place up when

the college informed me about the NUJ George Viner Memorial Fund. Although the fund couldn't give me the £5,000 I needed, it paid for my books and course fees and I borrowed the rest from a bank.

'I am grateful for the opportunity the NUJ has given me for without their sponsorship I would not be in the job I am in today. I am a senior reporter on a provincial paper and I am hoping to move into television soon. If the NUJ had not given me the money I would not have been able to do the course and that means I would have had to do freelance work or work voluntarily in the media to gain experience and a foot in the door. But even if I did this there would always have been the stigma that you are not properly trained which means that certain jobs in the media are out of your reach.'

SUMMARY

Many respondents to this survey argued that media unions' equal opportunities policies were merely paper policies and that these unions either cannot or will not put equal opportunities into practice. One reason given is that unions and most of their members are racist and not interested in race equality. An example of media unions racism quoted by some respondents was that neither BECTU nor the NUJ, despite proclaiming they were equal opportunities employers, have any paid black officers. Other respondents felt that black journalists should not expect the media unions to carry out equality policies, firstly because their members do not want it and secondly, because the unions have very little power to force employers to train and hire more black journalists.

But are media unions powerless to put equal opportunities into action even if media managers are reluctant to do so? It seems not. The union has taken some initiatives on race equality, for example introducing ethnic monitoring and training sponsorship. However respondents to this survey want unions to do more. They argued the only way to achieve race equality within trades unions is for black members to create a black section from which they can campaign on equality issues.

Media unions, like other unions, face enormous problems trying to implement equal opportunities policies. While many individuals, black and white, have tried to get unions to improve their equal opportunity policies, their efforts are frustrated by the reluctance of the majority of white members to embrace racial equality. Such a situation is in keeping with the rest of British society which is divided on a race and class basis. White union members are willing to challenge class barriers through campaigns for better wages and conditions but are not prepared to simialrly challenge racial barriers. Those against racial equality argue that positive action equal opportunity policies are not the remit of unions, or that Britain is already a fair society or - less disingenuously - they believe that equality of opportunity should not be given to certain sections of the community. It means that the generally white memberships are at odds with black members and women who want equality. Although media unions have had some success during the last decade most of their equality proposals have not been put into practice.

In the meantime black members and women are demanding more equality within the unions. Black journalists groups within media unions are demanding more access to training and employment. It seems a battle ground has been established. However, some positive measures have been implemented by the NUJ towards equal opportunities, such as the setting up of their race and equality committees, the Ethics Council, and at the time the appointment of an Equal Opportunities Officer, ethnic monitoring and the sponsorships of black people into journalism training. While these achievements are to be welcomed, many have argued that they are not enough; they want to see media unions tackling racism in the newsrooms throughout Britain but, above all, they want to see the unions setting an example by employing black people as officers and officials.

Because of government's anti-union stance and the financial difficulties of unions such as the NUJ, some of the progress already made in equal opportunities will probably be eroded. One example is the NUJ no longer has an Equal Opportunities Officer; the union stated that it could not afford one. Black members have argued that this confirm their fears that the union is not serious about its equal opportunity obligations and that such action can only maintain the 'colour barrier'.

CHAPTER TEN

BLACK WOMEN IN THE MEDIA

INTRODUCTION

Before the 1980's journalism was seen generally as a male dominated occupation and in some sectors of the media industry this is still the case. An Institute of Manpower Studies survey in 1989 concluded that in television, video and films 'the industry was predominately male. Three-quarters of broadcast employees, two-thirds of freelances and television journalists are men'('Skill Search' 1990, 2). Despite this, the overall numbers of women in the industry have increased. A survey undertaken by the Trade Union Research Unit in 1989 on new applicants to the National Union of Journalists reported that 41 per cent of those applying for membership were women. In some areas of journalism there were more women than men. The 1989 Trade Union Research Unit (TURU) survey of 295 new applicants to the NUJ revealed that 39 per cent of females worked in provincial papers compared to 36 per cent of males. The survey showed also that there was a small difference between the proportions of men and women working in freelance journalism - 22 per cent compared with 19 per cent males. Some journalism training establishments have also began taking on more women students (1). City University in London, for

(1) Despite the increased numbers of women coming into journalism there are still very few women covering 'hard news' and even fewer as editors of local or national newspapers.

instance, stated that at least 50 per cent of their intake are now women. However, they did not mention how many women applied for their journalism courses. The 1990 Newspaper Society's survey also indicated that the gap between women and men in the industry is narrowing. It reported that in the previous year there were 277 male entrants to journalism as compared to 201 female entrants, a difference of only 76.

WOMEN RESPONDENTS

Whilst women are increasing their presence in the media, can the same be said of those from the visible minorities? This study has argued throughout that there is a general under-representation of black people in the media. In this survey, of 100 respondents, 56 were women and 44 men. As respondents were not chosen because of gender the assumption may be that there are more black females in journalism than males. However, as the survey included only 100 black journalists, it does not claim to be representative of all black journalists in Britain, although it does give some indication of the differences between black male and female journalists.

The study found too that more female respondents had recognised journalism training. Of the 56 females, 33 had training. Of the 44 males only 18 had training. Looking at another key area, that of education - 49 of 56 female

respondents had a first degree, four a second degree and two a third degree. For male respondents, 26 of 44 had a first degree, 11 a second degree and three a third degree. While there were therefore more women with a first degree, there were more men with a second degree.

While the total number of women journalists is less than that of men, the study suggests that there may be more black female journalists than there are black males. Does this mean that black female journalists face less discrimination than white women and black men? The explanation might lie in the fact that more female respondents have first degrees than males and more received recognised journalism training than male respondents. Another factor underlying the difference in numbers of female and male respondents might be age. Journalism is known to attract the young. So is age the reason why there were more black female respondents in the sample than males?

Of the 100 respondents to this study none were below the age of 21; this reflects the high numbers of degree qualified individuals found among this group. However, there were nine female respondents between the ages of 21-24 and 31 between 25-29. There was a significant drop between the ages of 30-34 to 11 and there was only one female respondent over 40 and none over 50. For males there were six between the ages of 21-24 and 15 between 25-29. In the age group 30-34 there were 11, only a small drop, but between the ages 35-39 there was a

significant fall to three. There was a slight rise in the numbers of male respondents between 40 and 49 to four, but this figure remained among the age group 50-59. There was one male respondent over 60. The median age of female respondents was 30 years, 6 months and that of males 40 years, 6 months - a ten years difference.

TABLE 8: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS

Age	Males	Females
21 - 24	6	9
25 - 29	15	31
30 - 34	11	11
35 - 39	3	4
40 - 49	4	1
50-59	4	-
60+	1	-

Overall, women respondents were younger even though in the age group 24-29 there were twice as many women as men, but in the 30-34 age grouping the numbers were the same. Between the ages of 39-59 there are more males than females. Comparing this with the Trade Union Research Unit (TURU) survey of new recruits to the National Union Of Journalists in 1989, there are some similarities and differences in age grouping. For instance, the TURU survey found that half its female respondents were under 25 and that between the ages of 26-36 there was a drop to 32 per cent. In this study there were only nine female respondents under the age of 25. Yet there is some similarity in both surveys which suggest that after the age of thirty there is a drop in the numbers of female journalists. TURU found that 37 per cent of male respondents were between the ages of 18-25 and 43 per cent were aged 26-35, an actual increase in the numbers of male journalists in this older age group. This is in comparison to the fall in female journalists in this age group. However, there is also a significant fall in male journalists that TURU found between the ages of 36-45, a drop to 14 per cent, and five per cent between the ages of 46-65.

Both surveys generally found that male journalists are older and that they stay in the occupation longer than women (2). The TURU report concluded that 'the drop in the females aged

(2) Women usually take career breaks to have and rear children and many are unable to return to work because of problems associated with childcare, problems which men do not generally have.

26-35 may be partly explained by this being the age group in which women may tend to take a career break'(TURU 1989, 1). Another explanation for the fall in female journalists between the ages of 40 and 60 is that it is only recently that women in significant numbers have been accepted into the occupation.

These findings suggest that if you are young, black and female with a degree you are more likely to get recognised journalism training and jobs, than if you are black and male without a degree. But how easy is it for black women to get into the media or in any white-collar occupation? Firstly, it must be remembered that although 33 female respondents out of 56 were accepted for journalism training, another 23 were not and many of these had a degree or were educated up to 'A'-level. What are the experiences of black women journalists in the media regarding education, training and employment?

BLACK WOMEN AND EDUCATION

The fact that journalism is becoming a degree-entry occupation means that anyone wanting to take up journalism must have higher education qualifications. In some cases having a degree is not enough to get into journalism courses; where you get that degree is also important. It was argued in chapter four that if you had an Oxbridge degree you are more likely to be accepted than if you went to a former-polytechnic. It was shown too that black people are more likely to receive their

degree at former-polytechnics and so are at a disadvantage. However, as was discussed in chapter three, one of the biggest problems for African-Caribbean children is that they under-achieve educationally which disadvantaged them from entering profession such as journalism.

However, in dealing with respondents who are mainly educated to degree level, those who are African-Caribbeans, both men and women, are the exception to the rule. This does not apply to Asian children who achieve on a par with white children. In the discussion regarding female respondents and their high educational achievement, it could be said they are even more exceptional when it is considered that black women are doubly disadvantaged. How then did female respondents manage to achieve in an education system which is frequently seen as sexist and racist?

The findings from this study suggest that black women are doing better than black men in higher education. Is this generally the case or are the female respondents to this survey the exception? As was stated earlier in this chapter, 49 out of 56 female respondents had a first degree as compared to 18 out of 44 males. Female respondents stated that their high academic qualifications were due in part to their determination to succeed, but male respondents reported the same. To put these findings in context, it is important to look at the educational experiences of female respondents.

Although there have been two major government inquiries into the under-achievement of African-Caribbean children - Rampton 1980 and Swann 1985 - which both demonstrated that African-Caribbean children were under-achieving at school compared to Asians and others, what has been less well documented is the educational achievement of African-Caribbean girls as compared to boys (3).

Sally Tomlinson commented in her case studies of black women in higher education that

'girls of West Indian origin have tended to perform rather better than boys in educational tests of ability and their school achievement does seem to be slightly superior to that of West Indian boys'(Tomlinson 1984, 66).

A study by Houghton in 1966 showed Jamaican girls scoring higher than boys on reasoning tests. Also in the Inner London Education Authority, research first published in 1968 (by Little et al) showed black girls performing better than boys on tests of reading and verbal ability. Payne and Phillips reported that West Indian girls performed better than boys on reading tests (Payne 1969, Phillips 1979). Driver (1977) reported greater school persistence of West Indian girls compared to boys and in a report in 1980 claimed that a rank overall achievement order at five schools showed West Indian girls coming first six times, boys only twice. A study by Sharpe (1976) on teenage girls in four London schools found

(3) For example, Mirza (1992) argues that, despite the educational success of African-Caribbean girls as compared to boys, they have been virtually ignored in race and gender research.

that the response of black girls placed more importance on the acquisition of qualifications and education than either black boys or white girls.

Both Asian and African-Caribbean girls experience double discrimination in education and both find ways of dealing with conflict. Mac an Ghaill (1988) described a group of Asian and African-Caribbean young women who called themselves 'The Black Sisters' as 'pro-education' but not 'pro-school'. At school they showed limited resistance which was carefully measured so as to avoid open conflict with teachers (1988, 27). Asian girls however experience added conflict not met by African-Caribbean men and women or Asian men. Wilson described the cultural conflict Asian girls are subjected to particularly at school. Many are unable to converse with white girls whose discussions are around boyfriends. Asian girls also find it difficult to expose themselves in the shower as white girls, as they find this behaviour shameful (Wilson 1978).

Heidi Mirza's study 'Young, Female and Black' confirmed other findings that African-Caribbean females do relatively well at school. She found that they do better in their final examinations than their male peers: five per cent received good grades in five or more subjects, compared to the boys, both black and white, none of whom attained such a result. Black boys did least well, 20 per cent receiving no graded results. Only two per cent of African-Caribbean girls left school without any qualification (Mirza 1992, 10). Although

limited, such findings supports what this study found of its black female respondents, who were much more likely to have better educational qualifications than male respondents. If these studies are accurate, why are black girls achieving educationally? Fuller explained in her 1980 report, 'Black Girls in a London Comprehensive School', that the black girls she interviewed had an acute awareness of their double subordination as women and blacks accompanied by a refusal to accept subordination. The acquisition of educational credentials was thus a means of gaining control over their future. Another explanation for black girls' success was put forward by Mirza who suggested that

'West Indian migrant women were influenced by their parents' orientation to work and education' and that 'Positive attitudes towards education and the lack of constraints on female labour-market participation, within West Indian families, was found to account in part for young black women's high social class aspirations'(1992, 190).

The achievement of black girls in comparison to black boys does not stop in comprehensive school but extends to higher education,

'where there is some indication that the chance of black girls entering higher education to pursue a degree course is rather higher than boys'(Tomlinson 1984, 67).

The suggestion is that the relative success of black women in education is due, firstly, to a reaction by black women against their double subordination and, secondly, that they are orientated by their parents to education and hard work. This double oppression theme assumes that while black people and women are disadvantaged compared to white people and men:

'the facts of racial and sexual disadvantage in Britain mean that whatever their social class, black women and girls are in a doubly subordinate position in the social formation'(Fuller 1980, 52).

Sally Tomlinson's study of eight black women in British universities, the first of its kind, was carried out between 1978-82. The aim of the study was to gather information regarding students' schooling and family background and to enquire into any specific factors which had made their educational success possible (4).

Three of the girls studied came from middle-class backgrounds, five from the manual working class and in one family both parents had degrees. The study found that the girls were encouraged by their parents to achieve academically whether the parents had higher education or not. Tomlinson reported that her respondents went to schools which had only few blacks. One respondent to Tomlinson's study said,

'"My mum thinks that in a school with lots of black children the standard goes down. In my sheltered middle-class area my parents were actually pleased I didn't know any blacks."'

Another respondent who had achieved a grammar school place said

'"I loved it .. it was like being at a private school .. there were only three black kids in my year"'(Tomlinson 1984, 74-75).

The students in Tomlinson's study all studied traditional

(4) Bryan et al, (1985) explain in 'The Heart of the Race' that education has always been a burning issue for the African-Caribbean woman viewed in the aftermath of slavery, as virtually the only means of escape from poverty and exploitation (p.85).

subjects, taking 'O'- and 'A'-levels, and this had enabled them to get university places while their fellow pupils did CSEs and other new integrated courses of studies not required for university places. Tomlinson concluded that other factors which contributed to the academic success of these young women were

'Parental encouragement and support, particularly from fathers, appears to be crucial, not merely verbal encouragement but willingness to move house to "better schools" (which in practice usually means a white area), to work with or confront teachers, and generally to take action on the child's behalf. Attending schools with very few black children .. having a sympathetic teacher with high expectations of pupils .. teachers acting as mentors helping the pupil .. in choosing subjects and university courses .. and avoiding CSE streams'(Tomlinson 1984, 76-77).

Having got to university how do black women view themselves and their position in higher education? Tomlinson found that many felt isolated and alienated. One student said,

'"Black women can be isolated and alienated from their black contemporaries in the process of getting to university."'

Another said,

'"at college if you are the only black woman, and you usually are, you either mix with whites or you mix with overseas students who are going back to Africa .. and have their future mapped out."'

While another student stated,

'"black people easily feel isolated at university, being such a minority, its not easy - some tutors are racist"'(Tomlinson 1984, 77-78).

On the question of why black women seem to be more successful academically than black men, Tomlinson found that while there was some sympathy for black men as the more obvious target of discrimination in Britain, the women also pointed to certain black male characteristics which they believed were

incompatible with the effort needed to get to university. One student said,

'"Men seem to be in the forefront for discrimination but the peer group also is an important influence on them - they want immediate gratification and to keep up a good front with their friends."'

Another:

'"Black boys stagnate - they are into having fun - drinking. Girls aren't so rowdy, they are more settled. Black boys always say the system is against them. I know they have a hard time, but I worked - it can be an excuse."'

One student believed that the reason for black women's educational success is

'"possibly black women are more willing to fit into the white system and conform than men are, they don't cause the same amount of trouble - but boys do have more pressure from their peer group to misbehave"'(Tomlinson 1984, 78-79).

The educational achievement of black women in Britain has certain similarities and differences to that of the education of women in the Caribbean. It must be remembered that the sexism and sex-stereotyping which were a part of the British system were transmitted to the Caribbean in the image of the male head of household and bread-winner with economic responsibilities for the family, while the ideal woman was 'housewife and mother, frail and feminine, helpless and genteel' [these were] 'values of a British middle class which ignored the plight of working-class women in Britain. They were nonetheless thought right and proper for the colonial societies of the Caribbean'(Ellis 1986, 91).

With the expansion of education in the twentieth century, girls in the Caribbean began to participate in larger numbers and between 1960 and 1970 their numbers had increased significantly at all levels of the education system. Following the introduction of free secondary education in Trinidad and

Tobago, female attendance surpassed that of males by 78 to 77 per cent. Female attendance in primary as well as secondary schools improved between 1960-1970 from 75 per cent to 77 per cent (Ellis 1986, 94). Female educational performance also improved relative to men. In 1971 53 per cent of all 'O'-level passes were by females in Trinidad. However, in higher education there is still a considerable drop-out due to a high incidence of teenage pregnancies which not only interrupted but more often than not put a premature end to girls' education. For example, teenage pregnancies in Jamaica in 1975 accounted for 37 per cent of all births (Ellis 1986, 94).

Although in Britain black women face discrimination they at least have the opportunity to get higher education (5). According to Constance M. Carroll, this is not so in the United States. In her essay, 'The Dilemma of the Black Woman in Higher Education', she stated that in the past two decades a wealth of material has appeared on the subject of blacks in higher education but most of these studies concern only black men. This, she said, was

> 'understandable since the great majority of blacks who have received advanced degrees in higher education are men. In a 1968 survey of doctoral and professional degrees conferred by black institutions it was found that 91 per cent were awarded to black men and nine per cent to black women.'

(5) For example, Return to Study and Access Courses have gone some way to confront the kinds of difficulties black women encounter over the years on traditional courses. Nevertheless, black women had to struggle to reach the required standards and 'the notion that positive discrimination makes things easier for black women is a fallacy'(Bryan 1985, 85).

Carrol said such

'data militate against the general assumption that black women have been included on an equal basis with men'(Carrol 1982, 116).

One reason why so few black women in the United States, as compared to men, are not receiving higher education is 'That black males have had greater access to more prestigious institutions of higher learning. This means that the occupational opportunities of black females have been limited'(Jackson 1972, 99-106). Just as in Britain, those black women in the United States who have managed to defy the system found too that they were isolated and alienated. Carrol stated,

'There is no more isolated sub-group in academe than black women. They have neither race nor sex in common with white males who dominate the decision-making stratum of academe; black males in academe at least share with white males their predominance over women'(Carrol 1982, 118).

Carroll suggested that because of double discrimination African-American women under-graduates have a fierce single mindedness in their preparation for careers despite plans for marriage. Findings by Ladner (1971) and Noble (1956) suggested that black women undergraduates feel the pressures of both racial and sexual discrimination and choose education and the hard struggle for career mobility as the way out. The United States findings are consistent with those in Britain of Tomlinson and this survey regarding the academic achievement of black women.

Some female respondents reported that they were not encouraged by their families to do well at school because they were females:

(25) 'When I was about six I began to like reading books. I liked all the stories and was fascinated by them but later I began reading all kinds of stuff including newspapers. It was then that my interest in the written word came. At school, a large comprehensive, I suffered the usual racism but this did not deflect me from books and learning. What spurred me on was ambition. I didn't want to be poor like my mother. I have always thought her a fool to have had so many children. She worked hard with nothing to show for it. That wasn't going to happen to me. It wasn't easy studying when you had to share your bedroom with two sisters who were not interested in books and a mother who thought I should be working instead of doing 'A'-levels. It caused lots of arguments and resentments in the family but it was worth it. Getting a degree and moving into television made it all worthwhile.'

(30) 'I come from a large family of eight and I saw how difficult it was for my parents, especially my mother, who had to work in a factory all day then come home to wash, cook and clean; she had no rest all her life and I didn't want that to happen to me. I had always thought my mother a fool to have had so many kids. I vowed that I would never be like her. I experienced a lot of racism at school but I didn't let it get me down. I knew if I studied hard I would make it. We lived in the north of England and I wanted to leave the area with as much qualification as I could get. My parents didn't expect me to do so well but they were surprised as well as pleased when I received my degree. I was the first one in my family to have achieved academically.'

(95) 'I was always told by my mother that education was important. But my brother never took this advice seriously as I did; he thought it was a joke. He would say that his mates had good jobs and they did not have to pass exams. My parents split up when my brother and I were little and my mother had to bring us up single-handed. It was important that we both had education if we were to get good jobs. My brother and I went to the same inner city comprehensive school which was very tough. He had it harder than me; he was often involved in fights because of racism. I experienced racism too but I ran away from the insults as much as I could. I only wanted to study, get my exams and get out of the school and the area as soon as I could. From day one into the comprehensive I wanted to learn. Apart from wanting to leave I had always wanted to become a journalist and see myself on telly and for another reason - I wanted my mother to be proud of me. However, when I told her that I wanted to become a journalist she laughed and said women like me didn't become journalists. She was probably right because at the time there was no black woman on British television but later Moira Stewart came and I was sure if she

did it I could. My mother didn't agree. I found out later that my mother's ambition for me didn't extend beyond me becoming a nurse. Maybe it was because she worked as an auxiliary nurse. I was top of every class and I enjoyed it. I think my mother was frightened that I was cleverer than her. Even when I went to university she still didn't believe that I could get a degree. I did and that was when it finally sunk in that I was educated, and was going to become a journalist. Eventually she was proud of me. I think it was hard for her because my brother was not educationally successful and consequently didn't get a good job while she didn't expect much from me being female.'

(40) 'My family didn't mind me achieving because the more qualifications I received meant that my price as a bride would be more; that's the way they thought. What they didn't expect was that I would want to go to university. My parents were not planning for me to get any further than the sixth form. getting 'A'-levels would be enough. My brothers, on the other hand, were expected to go on to higher education and both of them went to private schools from 11 to 18 while I was sent to a comprehensive. When I told my parents that I was going to university and that I would never marry they thought I was mad. I went on to university without their consent and approval and the man they had chosen for me to marry had to marry someone else. But it didn't stop there: after my degree they found another man who I also rejected, not only because if I married my career in journalism would be at an end but because I don't want to marry.'

Some female respondents had no encouragement from teachers either:

(63) 'I had no encouragement from teachers at my secondary school. As black girls they didn't expect much. We were told to sit down and shut up if we complained . They didn't treat black boys like this because they would be challenged but most black girls would do as they were told; they didn't want to make trouble and so we became almost invisible. It also gave some of us the opportunity to study quietly. But whether we were good at lessons or not the teacher expected us to end up in Tesco. I probably achieved academically because nothing was expected of me so I had to do the opposite.'

(72) 'My careers teacher was shocked when I said I wanted journalism as a career. She said people like me don't do journalism. It was then that I realised how racist some people in the education system were. She never did give me any information on journalism although I knew she had it. Instead, she gave me a list of secretarial colleges. I left that school with nine 'O'-levels, then went on to college to do my 'A'-levels before going on to poly. I guess I had to achieve because if I didn't do it no one else could do it for me.'

(32) 'I went to a state school and had to work hard to achieve. Teachers expected very little from Afro-Caribbean pupils but they expected even less from the girls. Those I met seemed to think that all we were capable of was whoring and breeding. But my parents expected a great deal from me and I had to deliver. Sometimes it was very hard but I stuck it out and succeeded.'

(10) 'I achieved at school because I came from a middle-class Nigerian family who believed in education. They did not expect me to out-achieve my brother in education and employment so when I did there was great tension in the family. My father even told my brother that they were not real men because they allowed a woman to be better than they were. I found that very insulting and difficult to live with when I remembered how hard it was for me at my private school being the only black pupil of 400 girls. After my degree I hardly spoke to my parents because of this but eventually they recognised and admired my achievements now that I am a television producer.'

(26) 'I come from Africa and my parents have very fixed ideas about the position of women and that is we should be wives and mothers first. They were not interested in me achieving academically, if I could read and write that was all right. I remember telling my mother that my teacher had said I was good enough to do 'O'-levels instead of CSE; she laughed and said I wasn't capable. It was a challenge so I did it to prove that I could although I was only a girl. I did my 'A'-levels against her wishes and was only able to do so because I worked during my holidays and did Saturday jobs in order to help maintain my self. Despite my father's view regarding women he never discouraged me and was pleased when I went to college to do a degree and was even prouder when I became a journalist and he saw my name in print. I don't think my mother ever forgave me for doing better than she did but I feel sorry for her; it's what she has been brought up to believe.'

Other female respondents were actively encouraged to do well

educationally by parents and/or school:

(68) 'I had no problems getting the qualifications needed for journalism. I went to a private school and had all the educational advantage this brought, then I went on to university. I believe this was why I achieved.'

(50) 'I got a degree purely because I went to the right school - an all-girls grammar where discipline and hard work was the norm. There were no boys to compete with so we had all the attention. The school was geared up for science subjects and the teachers, who were mostly women, encouraged us girls to do well and most did.'

(1) 'I went to a private girls-only school. It was the only way as a black female I could have achieved the education I did. My parents were also determined that I should have a good education. That helped. Once at school I knew that I had to work hard for my parents and myself. Especially when they had to pay so much money for my education, I could not let them down. My mother warned me how difficult it was for black people but for black women it was worse. Most black women, she said, worked as cleaners or cooks and she didn't want that to happen to me.'

(18) 'Being a black woman who went to Oxford gave me a distinct advantage. I was also advantaged by going to a single-sex grammar school so I can't complain. Because of my educational background I had no problem getting a good education and then getting post-graduate journalism training.'

(38) 'I achieved as a black woman simply because I had an advantageous background. Both my parents were teachers and my sister and I were expected to do well and go on to university. We were sent to an all-girls boarding school to ensure we did well. Despite being at boarding school, we suffered racism from some pupils. However, I found the teachers very encouraging - they expected the best from us as they did white kids. I knew I was different from other black kids, especially the girls I used to know before I went to boarding school. I knew of some black girls who had to attend secondary schools and who frequently missed lessons because they had to stay home and mind younger brothers and sisters while their mother went out to work. Conscious of my advantages I worked harder.'

Having overcome racism and lower expectations from some

parents and teachers, what are the experiences of female

respondents trying to get journalism training?

(39) 'It's not easy to get journalism training if you are a black woman because you have to compete with white men, white women, and black men, so it is very competitive trying to get in. I tried for two years before I was accepted. Later on I was told that I was only taken on because the course had no blacks and that the CRE was beginning to ask questions.'

(72) 'I eventually got into journalism training after trying for three years and it wasn't that I didn't have the right qualification - I had a first class degree in English from a red-brick university, but that wasn't enough to get me in; once they saw my foreign name that was it. When I eventually got in it was on a course where 90 per cent of its journalist students were from Oxbridge. Racism more than sexism was to blame for my rejection all these years.'

Some female respondents reported that, while they believed high academic qualifications are important for acceptance into journalism courses, other factors are equally important:

(97) 'I was accepted into journalism training because of positive action by the radio station I was working for. Myself and a Scottish woman were chosen to go to the National Broadcasting School. It was at a time when equal opportunity was the in-thing and equality organisations were beginning to look at the mix of the workforce and ask why the station had so few black people, so I was sent on a training course which I was grateful for. I had previously asked to go on that course but was told that the station could not afford it. The station I believe did this as a public relations exercise to demonstrate their equal opportunities policy. But I am not complaining - I know I could not have received this training anywhere else and the station paid me full wages while I trained for two years. I was promoted to producer after my training. That would not have happened if I did not get training.'

(66) 'I was accepted without much effort on a post-graduate course. I was only 21 at the time and had just gained a good degree. I deliberately applied for this particular course because I knew they were publicising themselves as equal opportunities employers and I also knew that they did take on a lot of women.'

(19) 'I had no difficulty getting on to journalism training. I suspect that this was because I was in the right place at the right time. The journalism school I went to at the time had an unwritten positive element to take in a certain number of black people and women. That year there were six black students and 15 women out of a total of 32 students. But it didn't last - after a few years the course went back to taking only one or two blacks, although it has kept up the numbers of women students.'

However, not all female respondents with degrees had the opportunity to get training and, like male respondents who have no training, had to learn journalism by other routes:

(2) 'Although I have a degree I never got into an organised journalism course despite trying for many years. The BBC, who say that they are equal opportunities employers, has turned me down several times and has never said why. As blacks and women we are disadvantaged, especially in places like the BBC who prefer to employ white males from Oxbridge. Because I don't have any training I have to work in the black press and hope that one day I will be able to get a job in mainstream.'

(6) 'I have three degrees and I can't get into a journalism training course. They tell me that I am too qualified; what they mean is that they don't want an intelligent black woman because I do not fit in their stereotyped picture. I have tried every course I know of but none was willing to take me. I have had a few interviews but as soon as they saw who I was they said no. I eventually got into television as a researcher and I didn't mention the fact that I had three degrees - only one, in case they thought I was over-qualified.'

BLACK WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT AND THE MEDIA

Although this survey found more women respondents than men, it does not necessarily mean that it is any way easier for black women to find employment in the media. In general, the position of black women in the labour market is one of low-pay and low-status. Traditionally they have been concentrated in very particular sectors of the economy. During the 1950s and 1960s the National Health Service absorbed a large proportion. The 1980s and 1990s still found a number of black women in the service industries and while there are more black women journalists in this survey it must be remembered that the vast majority of black women in the BBC, for example, work as cleaners and cooks.

The Labour Force Survey of 1990 found that the majority of black women did manual or clerical work, not professional occupations. It found that 28 per cent of West Indian Women and 30 per cent of Indian women were employed in clerical and related jobs, while 38 per cent of West Indian women and 38 per cent of Indian women were in manual occupations as

compared to 32 per cent of all other women ('Employment Gazette' March 1990). In the United States the position of minority women is no different:

'In economic status minority women have been and continue to be on the lowest rungs of the nation's economic ladder. They earn less money and own less property than white women and men in their racial group and are perceived to have limited economic power'(Rhodes 1989, 114).

The two largest journalist unions, the NUJ and BECTU, stated that they have between 1.5 and 2 per cent black membership. Unfortunately, they have not broken this down by gender so the only figures available of black women in the media are those presented in this survey - 56 per cent as compared to 44 per cent males. Does the higher percentage of black women as compared to men found in this research mean that there is a move towards giving black women equality in the media? There are at present four black female newscasters on national television as compared to one black male, evidence which may be interpreted as a tendency by media managers to employ more black women than men, especially in high profile areas of the media. A cynical view of the higher proportion of black women in the media might be that media employers are merely, as one editor put it, killing 'two birds with one stone'.

Sally Tomlinson in her study of black women in higher education talked about the 'Token woman syndrome', where an employer might be delighted to take on a token 'two in one black and female'(Tomlinson 1984, 79). Beverly Bryan in her book 'Black women's lives in Britain' stated that, despite the

growing numbers of black women in the media, it is not enough and like black men,

'black women who work in the television industry are still concentrated in the jobs which offer the lowest pay and the least decision making power'(Bryan 1985, 191).

Many female respondents found that their education and training did not necessarily assist them in obtaining media employment. Journalism jobs, like places on journalism courses, are over-subscribed so competition is fierce. Female respondents reported their various experiences:

(9) 'I applied several times for work as a fashion journalist but each time I was turned down despite the fact that I was trained. I found it very difficult to break into fashion journalism because I have to compete with white females who believe that black women should not be in the business. They even believe that they and not black women should report on ethnic fashion. I had to start work on a black magazine, which I didn't mind doing because it gave me experience, contacts and the opportunity to do freelance work for mainstream magazines. I am now editor of the magazine after three years.'

(69) 'I was trained as a journalist in America where being a black woman journalist is less unusual than it is here, but when I got back to Britain I found I could not get a job. When I applied for jobs I was told that they did not recognise my American training, so I did a second training course here but it wasn't enough; I was still not getting work. I had to apply as an editorial assistant, a high-class secretary, in order to get into journalism and after a year doing that I applied for a job as assistant producer on television. Two years later after hard work and further training I became a producer.'

(6) 'I had postgraduate training in a well-known university and I had expected to leave my course with a job offer but I didn't. It was significant however that all their white students had jobs, while the blacks had none apart from one black male who had a three months' contract for a black television programme. I had to write to the BBC and ITV begging for freelance work. Eventually the BBC took me on a short-term contract. But I only work two or three days a week and I am not paid for sickness or holidays. I have been doing this for two years and all that time I have been trying to get full time employment.'

Some female respondents reported that getting a job was not the end of the story. They said they were often subjected to race and gender stereotyping which mean little or no chances of promotion:

(3) 'I think the media stereotype women in general but for black women it's worse. All I am expected to do as a black woman journalist is to work on programmes which either involve food, children or black people. I would like to produce serious documentaries but I am having difficulties getting the opportunities to do such jobs. The media establishment don't see people like me producing such programmes so they don't give us such jobs.'

(33) 'As a television reporter I have suffered discrimination in my job as a black woman. At first I didn't believe my sex or race had anything to do with it but it emerged that it does. I am not saying that everyone is the same but there are those, especially white males who run the station and who believe that black women should not be in television reporting. They would feel more comfortable if I joined the numbers of black women who clean the BBC canteen. They limit the kind of work I am given so I end up doing black music or black sports.'

(41) 'I have been a researcher in television for six years and I have tried to get promotion to assistant producer but have never been able to. I am not sure whether this is due to racism, sexism or both, but black men and white women have come into the station with less experience and qualification and have been promoted. The BBC proudly talks about equal opportunities but this means only promoting white women into good jobs and blacks, both men and women, are at the bottom of the pile.'

(64) 'I suffered a lot of discrimination because I am black and a woman. I remember working on a community radio programme producing a programme for two years and suddenly management brought in a young white man to take over. He had just left Oxford and didn't know anything about radio or producing and they expected me to teach him so he could take my job! - I refused. The programme had become popular and they felt that they no longer wanted a black woman to run things; I wasn't good enough. What they didn't think about was that it was I who made the programme popular. I knew what the community wanted. The worst thing about this was that this white man they gave my job to didn't know or care about the black community yet he was supposed to produce programmes for black people. I left but needless to say they had to change the content of the programme which meant that it was no longer a black programme.'

(38) 'I worked as producer of a black television programme but my white male series producer kept interfering with my ideas for programming. He could not accept the fact that I had good ideas of my own but above all he felt that as a woman he should have power over me and my work. He had to change everything I did. We had several quarrels and I eventually left. I knew that was what they wanted. They employed a black male after I left. I believe he is more accepted than a black woman.'

(67) 'I got a job in the BBC and I thought the door had opened but it wasn't. I worked as a researcher but my ambition was to become a producer. I applied for producer's training in the BBC but was turned down. I knew that there were producers there who had worked their way up without training so I hoped to do the same but those in power had no intention of promoting a black woman as a producer on a mainstream programme. I may have had a chance had it been a black-only programme. It was different for white women who came and after a short time got promotion.'

(92) 'I worked for five years on a mainstream magazine. There were only five of us including an editorial assistant. Of the reporters I was the only woman and black person there. Both the editor and his deputy were men. Twice the deputy editor's job came up and twice I applied and was not even given an interview. When I asked why, they said I hadn't the experience, yet when the deputy is away I am expected to do his work. I later found out that I was not considered for the deputy editor's post because the editor did not want a black woman in such a position; he thought management would not have liked it.'

One female respondent recalled her difficulty trying to get work as a sports journalist, an area of journalism which recruits almost exclusively white men:

(88) 'I had always wanted to become a sports journalist since I was ten or eleven but was laughed at by everyone I told. Many pointed out rightly that they had never seen a black person reporting sports, never mind a woman. I thought I would change all that. One career advisor literally laughed in my face saying I should re-consider my choice of career, but if I was determined to get into the media why don't I settle for a general reporter's job. She was right, it has been difficult. I can't get staff jobs as a sports reporter and I know that is because I am a black woman. I was told at one interview that coloured women do not generally apply for such jobs. I managed to get some freelance work covering a football match and I had a horrific experience of sexism and racism from white male reporters and those in charge of the match. First they wouldn't let me in because they didn't believe I was a

reporter, then, after I produced my press card, they allowed me in but throughout the afternoon made racist or sexist jokes against me.'

(38) 'At my interview the editor said taking me on meant that he was killing two birds with one stone, but once on the job I realised why they needed to have a black reporter. Some black people did not like to talk to white reporters and so I would be sent to get the story. I got some good stories that way. On the other hand, once word got around that I was a black woman on the paper black people who had any grievance would expect me to write about it. I remember a group of black women on a housing estate who were always wanting me to write stories about their plight. They could not separate the fact that I was a reporter from the fact that I was black which is as it should be, I think. Dealing with the police as a black female reporter was an experience. The only blacks these police met were those they arrested and meeting a black person on professional terms was as much an experience for me as it was for them. In fact, their attitude was of a bunch of men to a woman, rather than to a black. They were incredibly sexist in some cases and began with the attitude "This silly little girl can't do her job so we will go out of our way to help her". Realizing that not all blacks wear woolly hats, there was a slight shift in their thinking. With another reporter they'ld say, "two niggers were picked up for mugging an old lady". For me it was "two muggers were picked up".'

Some female respondents reported that being black and female

was no disadvantage to job opportunities and promotion in the

media:

(98) 'Being a black woman has not hindered me as a journalist. I am a young black woman with a degree and a post-graduate training certificate in broadcast journalism. I was chosen because I had the qualifications needed and I will continue to move up in the profession because I am good at what I do. If you are good no one cares about your colour or gender.'

(24) 'I find no disadvantage as a black woman in journalism. I edit a page of a well-known newspaper and had to work hard to get there. By average I should have at least two children, be unmarried and living in an inner city tower block, but not all black women are like this. I agree that some people in the media as well as in society generally stereotype black women in this way but not all black women are like this and I am clearly not. Black people are also to blame; they put themselves into little boxes instead of taking opportunities. I am proud of being black and a woman but I am not expecting it to get me a job. Many blacks - men and women - have chips on their shoulders and that's why they can't get on.'

(35) 'I don't believe in the racist or sexist claims. I am a black woman who has reached the top of my profession by hard work and talent. I am not there because I am black and a woman. Of course, I have experienced racism and sexism but I have never let it get in the way of my progress. The BBC is getting better where equal opportunity is concerned and it's up to women and black people to take up the opportunities.'

There were two points of view expressed by female respondents. The majority complained that media managers have stereotyped views of them as black women and as a result were kept in junior positions as researchers and reporters. They were rarely considered for more senior jobs such as producers in mainstream television or radio. A minority of respondents stated that they have not had any personal experienced of racism in the media, but more importantly, they believe that their race and gender is not a disadvantage to getting jobs and promotion . Whatever respondents' personal views and experiences, there is little doubt that racism exists in British society and the media . While the majority of respondents reinforced this view observation of British television and newspapers will confirm the view that the media discriminates against black people and women. A possible cause for the under-representation of black women and men in the media.

Racism as well as women's domestic responsibilities are often a disadvantage to their career progression. For women in journalism the problem is more acute. All journalists are sometimes required to work unsocial hours, but the female journalist who has children can only do so if she has flexible

childcare facilities. Most media employers do not even provide the normal nine-to-five childcare facilities, much less that which is needed to help women journalists with children keep their jobs. Finding suitable childcare facilities is not usually a problem for men, black or white. Because of the difficulties of coping with children and a career, some women journalists have had to give up their careers or the hope of career progression by doing either part-time work or freelancing. This is evident from the smaller percentage of women in journalism jobs between the ages of 25 and 60 and even smaller numbers who have acquired senior positions.

Although most female respondents had no children, they were aware of the difficulties they would encounter if they had. Those respondents who had children often found it difficult to cope with journalistic careers and domestic responsibilities:

(83) 'Women should not have to decide whether they want a career or babies. Men do not have to make those choices. Men should take their fair share in looking after their children. As a mother and a journalist I find it very hard to do the jobs I would like to and move up in my career. After my child was born I didn't tell my new employer at my interview that I had a baby because I knew he would not have employed me so I kept it quiet. I was lucky because I had a good childminder during the week and at the weekend my parents would look after my child if I had to work. What hurt was when I was offered a job with BBC television and I could not take it because it meant working outside London and I couldn't leave my child for so long.'

(43) 'Being a woman journalist is very hard especially when you have children but this goes for all women whether black or white. I hope to get married and have a family but I need first to work out how the child is going to be cared for while I am at work. I know that in this business you can't stay away too long or else you will lose out. This is where I believe that there is a difference. Men don't usually have a career break to look after their children which may cause their career to suffer and white women don't suffer as much as black women when they take a career break.'

One female respondent explained how she planned to keep her career going when she had children:

(89) 'I wouldn't dream of having children until I have built up my career on a sound footing. If you have children before then you are bound to fail as a journalist. You can't just take a year off and expect to start where you had left off. If you are employed at all you have to start at the bottom. This is not so if you are well known and have built up contacts. Anyway I want to stay independent. I will have a child later but I don't want to marry. I am intelligent and I can make it without men.'

Some female respondents reported that finding the right childcare facilities was not the only problem they had; a greater problem was their partners:

(94) 'My husband and I started a community radio programme. We did everything: researching, reporting and producing. After six years I became good at my job and I was asked to join a mainstream programme as a researcher and my husband ordered me not to go. He felt threatened that I was moving up and he wasn't. We began to have quarrels and in the end I chose my career. I couldn't live with a man who was jealous of my progress. My case is not unusual. There are several women I know in journalism who have the same problem as there are many men out there who are afraid of women taking up careers, especially journalism.'

CASE HISTORY

(7) 'Since I became a journalist I had to divorce my husband who is a television producer. When I decided to become a journalist I thought that he would have been happy for me and encourage me but this was not the case. He is much older than me and was married before. We married when I started university and after my degree we had two children. During this time I did part-time teaching but began writing small articles on education and languages, which was what I was interested in. I decided to extend my writing and began making quite a good living from what I was writing. One thing led to another and I decided that if I wanted to write for a living I better get on a journalism training course. I was lucky - I was accepted on a black-only radio journalism course and this was when my troubles with my husband began.

'After being accepted I told my husband about the course and my plans to become a full-time journalist. He was clearly shaken by the prospect of me being a journalist. He said that I could not do the training because I had to look after the children. I realised that the course was full-time and I would sometimes work late but I expected him to fill in for me when I was away as he worked mainly from home. He had previously looked after the children when I did my part-time job as a teacher; now he was saying that he wasn't even going to do that. There was all kinds of tension in the house and of course the children picked it up. Because of my husband's attitude I was determined more than ever to do my course. His reaction surprised me and I knew then that he did not see me as an equal so I had to show him that I was. I made arrangements to have a childminder but that did not work out well because I often had to be on assignments late in the evenings due to my course and my husband refused to help; he wanted to make it so hard for me I would give in and at one stage I nearly did when the children both had chickenpox at the same time.

'After that I decided to have an au pair. That worked very well. The children liked her and she liked them. My husband objected to this too but there was nothing he could do. We continued to quarrel about the course and consequently our relationship suffered. Eventually I finished my course and was offered a radio reporter's job. I did this for two years and during this time did an in-house producer's training; after that I was made a producer. This was the final straw for my husband. He could not contain himself. He accused me of leaving the children to be brought up by strangers while I pursued a career and I must admit that this made me feel very guilty. But when he said that I would not be able to cope with such a demanding job because I didn't have the intelligence or the stamina I knew for sure that he was only using the kids to get at me because he couldn't stand the idea that I was capable of doing the same job as he. What bothered him most was that he could no longer see me as the inferior little wife at home; his power was gone. Eventually I told him to leave for I could no longer live with such a man. My job as a producer allows me to work flexible hours so I can see the children and take them off to school but I still need the help of an aupair if I am to continue working as a journalist.'

IMAGES OF BLACK WOMEN IN THE MEDIA

Many have argued that black women in high profile media jobs can serve as role models not only for young black girls but

for the general community. It can provide the view to young blacks that 'if you can do it so can I'. Black women in high profile media jobs can provide evidence for the general population that black people and in particular , black women are capable of doing professional jobs. These role models will encourage more black women in the media and help to redress the balance. Yet do these women provide a cultural image which black women can identify as part of a different culture from that of European women? Bryan has this to say about what it takes for a black woman to succeed in the media or any other occupation outside sports and music:

'To succeed in any other profession, a black woman must dress, think, talk and act white. In other words, she must first lose all sense of her black cultural identity if she wishes to find acceptance from the mainly white audience which determine TV ratings in this country'(Bryan 1985, 194).

Such criticism seems to be directed at black women newscasters, who apart from their differences in skin colour, present no other physical differences from white women newscasters. However, can these women be blamed for how they are forced or asked to look and does it mean that because black women newscasters are not in cultural attire with sari, plats, or Afro-hair, they are not fully representing the cultural differences found in Britain's inner-cities?

In order to get a fuller understanding of the issue it is important to understand society's and the media's view of women generally and why they present this view. Gaye Tuchman argued that relatively few women are portrayed positively in

the media. Women, she said, are

'trivialized, they are symbolized as child-like adornments who need to be protected or they are dismissed to the protective confines of the home. In sum they are subject to symbolic annihilation'(Tuchman 1983, 3).

Marjorie Ferguson argued in her book, 'Forever Feminine', that women's magazines 'by means of their titles, cover photographs, subject matter and advertisement', help to define the position of women in society.

'As a social institution women's magazines play a part in shaping the characteristics of femininity, because they themselves are part of, and contribute to, the culture of society as a whole .. They also confirm the extent to which their ultimate editorial credo is that femininity and womanliness are so wholly different from masculinity and maleness that they require a separate vocabulary, dialogue and tone of voice'(Ferguson 1983, 6).

The media portrays the role of women through a very narrow range of ideologically-distorted stereotypical images. Women are presented mainly in domestic and familial roles. Black women who are also typecast in this way, are in addition, subjected to racism and the historical effects of slavery. Chinyelu Onwurah argued that within the racist stereotypes of the media the perfect image of womanhood is presented as white and that glossy magazines especially perform a considerable service for the established 'sexist racist order of things'.

The glossy magazines, Onwurah wrote, 'typify a specific caricature of modern woman, for women en masse to emulate and assimilate. The new ideal woman is white, confident and partnered. She has a dulux glossy but hard as nails coating to hide any possible irregularities or realities as she strides purposefully forwards, her mission to consume'('The Guardian' 2/9/85).

This idealised version of womanhood has a more insidious effect upon black women than on white. For the black woman to feel that she is a complete woman she tries to emulate the image of white womanhood and she does so by spending, as Onwurah explains :

'twice as much in order to achieve a double impossibility - to be perfect and to be white - and this is probably why, on average, black women spend more than white women on cosmetics in spite of the predictable differences in income'('The Guardian 2/9/85)

With the passing of the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act and the advent of Channel 4, many had hoped that television would look beyond the stereotypes. However, for the most part television production has been criticized for only projecting black women in the role of oppressed victims, dependents on state benefits, council house tenants and the objects of intervention by social workers. Channel 4 was set up in 1981 to deal with areas of broadcasting not covered by then existing television networks. It was part of the new Channel's mandate to cover ethnic minority cultures, yet 'there are 18 editorial posts in Channel Four, and with one exception all taken up by white people'(Saakana 1981, 119). Instead of setting up alternative programmes, the Channel buys most of its news programmes from ITN and as a result Channel Four is not considered any different from other Channels in its presentation of black people and black women in particular.

Despite its ethnic news programme 'Bandung File', Channel Four is criticised for failing to meet the expectations of the

black community, not only in its portrayal of black people but their under-representation in editorial jobs. The ethnic news programme 'Bandung File' currently carried by Channel Four is also criticised for its male orientation. Critics argue that control of the station, as of the media generally, remains

'firmly in the hands of white middle-class men who determine when, in what form and how often programmes are broadcast, liberalization of the media regarding race means an increased repertoire of roles which are mere variation on the original themes; the domestic, the night club singer, the hooker, the prolific breeder and the state scrounger'(Bryan 1984, 47-49).

Evidence of black women's role in television production is borne out by Preethi Manuel's 1984 research on 'Black Women in British Television drama'. During 1984 Manuel recorded over 650 programmes with approximately 8,700 male and female actors; of these only 73 were black females, less than one per cent of the total. She found that not only were the roles available to black women very few in number but

'they were also limited in scope. They were cast as models, striptease artistes, seamstresses, accomplices in crime, nurses, secretaries, checkout assistants, shopkeepers, receptionists and hotel maids. There were some exceptions to this narrowing cast with the brief appearances of black women as privileged ladies.'

Manuel reported that not one traditional black family appeared in full shot throughout the year's monitoring and that when resemblances to a family were seen, either one or both parents were missing. When one parent was missing it was more likely to be the mother. The report concluded that

'in relegating black women to the fringe, to minor and marginal roles, in excluding black women from the greater part of drama output, it is clear that television is making a political statement that this group belongs to the fringe and has little of importance to say.'

Manuel added that in terms of role models,

'black children are growing up without significant and positive role models of black women in the media and the effect on white children is potentially as damaging'(Manuel 1987, 44).

Most programmes which were made for the visible minorities in the 1970's and 1980's have been criticised for their limited contents and television film makers and programmers have been held responsible. It has been argued that white television programme makers of the '70's and '80's found it easier to concentrate on multi-culturalism thus giving viewers programmes such as 'Reggae Sunsplash', 'No Problem' and 'Frontline', than seriously attempting to challenge racism and the historical distortions which perpetuate it. Such criticism may have been true of the past. However the first two years of the 1990s have seen black-led and black-presented programmes on television which have challenged racism and sexism. Such programmes as BBC's 'Black Britain', 'The Black Europeans' and 'Hearsay', all challenged racism in Britain and Europe. It is fair to point out however, that these programmes were made as a result of pressure on television managers from the black community, including black women.

Although the general image of black women is relegated to narrow stereotypes, it must be remembered that there are many black women who have broken out of this mould. A clear example of this is black women newscasters who without exception have high academic qualifications and skills.

The most popular stereotypical image of the Asian woman is one of passivity, walking three steps behind her domineering and sometimes brutal lord and master. This passivity is presented as both natural and cultural. But Asian women, despite this image in the media, have been at the forefront of numerous industrial, political and social struggles and they have also been 'subjected to the full oppressive force of immigration legislation'(Parmar 1982, 236). There are many successful Asian women who have broken out of the narrow media mould. Such Asian women as the late Mrs Gandhi of India and Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan are of political renown and are seen as role models. Others who might not be so well known but who have nevertheless been successful in their chosen field, include Shreela Flather, who was the first Asian woman to have been elected mayor and the first ethnic minority woman to have been elected councillor in the United Kingdom. She was also the first Asian woman to have been appointed magistrate. Zerbanoo Gifford was the first Asian woman to have fought in a general election in Britain and the first Asian woman chairperson of the then Liberal party.

It is not only in journalism and politics that some black women are succeeding despite their double oppression. As 'The Caribbean Times' reported (23/4/91),

'around 40 per cent of black businesses are now being set up by African-Caribbean women, which is slightly higher than the figure for white women's output in white businesses. In the law profession, although black people, including women, are under-represented and they face institutional racism, at least one black woman has reached the upper echelons of her profession. In 1991 Patricia Scotland was the first black person to become Queen's Council in Britain when she was only

35. But what is also significant is the advice given to her by a careers teacher at her Walthamstow comprehensive school to illustrate how she and her family were forced to surmount low expectations of the potential inherent in young black women. Patricia Scotland explained, "this careers teacher told me that I should make an application for a full-time post at the Sainsbury's where I was holding a Saturday job and that with hard work I might one day become a supervisor."'(The Caribbean Times 2/4/91)

Similar advice was given to respondents from this survey by class and career teachers.

In the United States, despite high levels of racism and sexism, there are some black women who are achieving in their chosen professions or occupations. In the American glossy black magazine 'Ebony' an article entitled 'The True Pioneers Of The Women's Movement' listed the achievements of some African-American women. The article began by celebrating black women in general; it stated,

'Black women have always known what it takes to move mountains. Uncommon courage. Unparalleled creativity. Unwavering commitment. They don't know the meaning of can't and have never accepted the concept of impossible.'

While this is clearly an idealised picture, it does make the point that for the black woman to achieve she needs all these qualities and more. The article stated that African-American women are pacesetters in America. It was, the article went on,

'a black woman renowned educator, Marva Collins, who insisted that America revolutionized the way it thinks about education, whose call was taken up and implemented by the government.'

Maria Wright Edelman, another black woman, 'mobilized and piloted the fight for children's rights' in America.

'Everywhere you look, black women are the cutting edge. Day after day, they are literally transforming the status quo. In politics a black woman, Mayor Sharon Pratt Dixon, not only

runs but is shaping the future of the nation's capital, the first woman in history ever to do so. Congresswoman Cardiss Collins is the dean of the four member contingent of black women whose voices are shaping what bills will, and won't become the law of the land.'

The article explained that in the area of religion

'it was a black woman priest from Philadelphia, the Rt. Rev. Barbara C. Harris, who forced the nation to confront sexism in the church when she became the first female Episcopal bishop, breaking the 2,000 year-old barrier to ascension for women in the Anglican Communion of 27 independent churches'(Ebony, August 1991, pp.96-102).

SUMMARY

This chapter has argued that although both male and female black journalists suffer racial discrimination, black women suffer doubly due to the effects of sexism. Despite black women's double discrimination, many have managed to succeed in journalism and in other occupations. At first it might have seemed that female respondents may not have been subjected to as much discrimination in the media as black males because there were more females from this survey who obtained journalism training and jobs. However, the experiences of female respondents have shown that this is not the case. They have had to some degree overcome their double discrimination by sheer determination and the acquisition of higher education.

It is not that black males lack the same determination to get on; they have, as chapter six demonstrated, but female respondents have more qualifications than males which partly

explains why more are accepted into journalism training and jobs. The image of black women in the media is governed, it seems, by racism past and present. It is clear that here too there is a difference between men and women. While pressure is placed on all women to conform to an idealised image of the advertiser, for the black woman this is doubly worse because the images she is presented with through the media are white and she can never be so. The same pressure is not placed on black males to look like white males. When black women are portrayed on television they are depicted in narrow stereotyped roles which hardly ever show them as professionals or in positions of power. However, although only slowly, things are beginning to change. Black women newscasters are evidence of the small but growing numbers of black women who are holding important positions in British society and so are breaking the mould of the negative stereotypes often found in the media.

In the United States there are far more black women in decision-making positions than there are here, however the hope is that black people in general and black women in particular will be employed in greater numbers in occupations like journalism, law and teaching.

CONCLUSION

The 1980s saw a call by black media groups and the CRE for the training and employment of more black journalists in the British media. It was argued by these groups that the under-representation of black people in journalism training and jobs was due to racial direct and indirect discrimination. However, this study has found that there are several factors involved in the under-representation of black journalists in the British media.

The study examined education generally and that of respondents in particular to see what part, if any, educational qualifications played in getting into journalism courses and jobs. Firstly, journalism as an occupation demands high educational qualifications from those who want to enter whether they are black or white. Over 55 per cent of those who entered journalism training and jobs in 1990/91 were graduates and the number of graduates is rising (NCTJ 1991). Secondly, researches since the 1960s have shown that black pupils, especially those of African-Caribbean origin, under-achieve at school. The Swann inquiry of 1985 found that less than 2 per cent of African-Caribbean pupils went on to higher education. This is an important reason for the under-representation of black journalists in the media.

However, when respondent's educational attainment was examined it was found that this was comparable to what was required in journalism training and jobs. Not only were respondents' qualifications comparable but the majority were graduates - 71 per cent as compared with 55 per cent of all other journalists. While these figures do not represent all black people seeking journalism training and jobs, they do give some indication as to the high standard of qualification respondents had compared to the majority in their group. This led to an examination of how respondents, especially those of African-Caribbean descent, managed to acquire such high educational qualifications. Firstly, it was found that the majority of respondents experienced discrimination in education and that several strategies were used in order to get a 'good education.' Respondents reported that they were either warned by their parents or knew from an early age that there was colour discrimination in society.

There were found to be several reasons for the educational achievement of respondents. Firstly, 38 per cent attended private schools. This was one strategy used to acquire a 'good education'. Respondents were generally pleased about the education they received in these schools. Teacher expectations of them were generally high and they reported little or no discrimination. However, most respondents, although not all, who went to state schools, said they experienced racial discrimination in varying degrees. This included low teacher expectations (especially of African-Caribbean males) and

racial abuse from pupils. In these situations one strategy keeping a low profile kept them out of trouble while continuing to do their school work. Other strategies used to acquire a 'good education' were having extra lessons either from 'Supplementary Saturday Schools' or from private tutors. So pressing was the need to get a 'good education' that one respondent was even sent to a private school in the West Indies.

Class is another factor which helped respondents achieve educationally. Those respondents who came from middle-class backgrounds found it easier to acquire education, firstly, because they were expected to by their parents and, as one respondent stated, they were brought up 'with books all around'. Asian respondents especially saw education as an important asset and were expected to acquire a good education by their family. However, it was found that many respondents from working-class homes achieved equally. The overriding reason which helped such respondents to achieve educationally was encouragement from parents. Even so, a minority of respondents, especially females, stated that they had no encouragement from parents. Some female respondents were not expected to do well educationally by their parents because of their gender. Respondents who had no encouragement from parents did well educationally because of their own determination and the desire not to follow their parents in low-paid, low-status, dirty jobs.

Several respondents achieved educationally despite the added difficulty of racial discrimination at school. Less discrimination was experienced by those who attended private or grammar schools, while the majority of respondents who attended state schools said they experienced direct discrimination expressed through name-calling by pupils and indirect discrimination by teachers and the school establishment. Many respondents stated that teachers placed them in low streams or classes because they were black. A number of African-Caribbean male respondents generally had this experience. The survey confirmed the findings of several educational reports on race and education (Rampton 1981, Swann 1985, Wright 1985, Mac an Ghaill 1988 and Gillborn 1990) that there is a conflictual relationship between African-Caribbean pupils and white teachers. This creates an atmosphere of discipline and control by white teachers and resistance from black pupils. Such a situation might affect black pupils' educational achievement, an important factor in the under-representation of black journalists in the British media.

The 1976 Race Relations Act states that both direct and indirect discrimination are against the law yet educational reports (by Wright 1985, Mac an Ghaill 1988, Gillborn 1990) suggest that some teachers and educational establishments are involved in discriminatory actions against black pupils, although not intentionally. Why is the law not able to stop such actions? Firstly, as was stated in chapter two, providing evidence of discrimination is often difficult. In the case of

teacher discrimination it is particularly difficult to prove for while most teachers are not overtly racist, their ethnocentric perceptions lead to actions which have racist consequences (Gillborn 1990).

Moreover, the CRE's formal investigations into race and education in Birmingham 1991 showed that there was high incidence of suspension among black pupils which could not be explained by factors other than 'race'(CRE, Second Review of the RRA 1976). In another of its formal investigations into race and education, the CRE investigated St George's Medical School's admission procedures, where they found 'computerised racism'. Because of its investigation and recommendations changes were made. Some local education authorities, in order not to discriminate against ethnic minority pupils, developed multi-cultural and anti-racist education. However, as was shown in chapter three, these policies have over the years been fraught with difficulties and so have generally not been successful in significantly reducing discrimination in education. It seems that while social disadvantage is an important reason for black children's educational under-achievement so is direct and indirect discrimination.

JOURNALISM TRAINING AND BLACK PEOPLE

Journalism training was examined and several factors found which might account for the under-representation of black

people in journalism courses. Firstly, journalism courses demand high educational qualifications from both black and white applicants and, as was argued in chapter three, the majority of African-Caribbean pupils under-achieve educationally. This means that most African-Caribbean school leavers are not eligible for journalism training, a factor affecting the numbers of black people in journalism training. However, there are other criteria affecting the numbers of black people in journalism training, such as where applicants received their degrees, the kind of degree, the class of degree and whether applicants have an unbroken educational record.

Although 71 per cent of respondents have a degree only 51 per cent were able to get training. It was found, however, that those who received their degree from Oxbridge had no problem getting training places. But there were only 4 per cent in this category. Respondents who received their degrees at former-polytechnics or abroad had the most difficulties getting training. Although these criteria affect both black and white applicants, are discriminatory in their effect if and when used by schools of journalism .

Such criteria affect not only the individual black person but black people as a group. (RRA 1976 2.4). As was stated in chapter five, only a few black people are able to attend Oxbridge and a majority of black graduates have a broken educational record. This would put black people at a

disadvantage over white applicants if course managers used such criteria for acceptance to journalism courses.

Other factors affecting the numbers of black people taken on journalism courses are age and the over-subscription for places. For instance, the BBC production course which recruits 12 trainees each year gets an average of 5,000 applications. There is fierce competition for places for both black and white applicants but for black applicants the situation might be worse because of direct and indirect discrimination. Traditionally age is an important factor for journalism trainees and, while some pre-entry courses do take on trainees over twenty-five years of age, newspapers rarely do. Although competition and age affect both white and black applicants for journalism courses, the age criteria affects black people more as a group because black applicants are more likely to be older when they seek journalism courses than whites. The age criteria, if used by journalism courses, is indirectly discriminatory because it affects one particular racial group and will inevitably reduce the numbers of black people taken on in journalism training.

Yet, course directors claimed that they had few or no black trainees because black people do not apply for courses. Respondents related, however, that they wrote dozens of letters to courses without receiving a reply. The reason, they believed, was that their names identified them as being black. Those respondents who managed to get an interview reported

that once course directors saw that they were black, they asked difficult questions which had nothing to do with the course they had applied for. Respondents stated that this was an excuse not to offer them places. However, the experience of the BBC and Westminster University when they advertised in national and ethnic papers for trainee black journalists was not the same as that of course directors who replied to this survey. In 1988, when the BBC set up its 'Asian and Afro-Caribbean Reporters Training Trusts', the organisation received 900 applications from black people for six places (Rowland, 1988). More recently, the BBC's black trainee post-production course attracted 1,000 applications for 12 places ('Equality' No.1, June 1992).

Black people do not apply to some courses fearing they might not have a chance. However, if course directors genuinely wanted to redress the balance they have the opportunity to adopted positive action policies for equal opportunity, recommended by the CRE. These include monitoring. Not only have course directors who replied to this survey not adopted such policies but have stated that they have no intention of doing so in the near future. They take a 'colour-blind' attitude, stating that applicants are accepted on merit only.

It might be suggested that the effect of course directors' 'colour-blind' attitudes is indirectly discriminatory and one factor which might be responsible for the under-representation of black people in journalism courses.

Although nearly half of respondents had not received organised training,just over half did. Two important factors helped - determination and previous experience in the media. This does not mean that those who did not receive training were less determined because there was also an element of luck in being in the right place at the right time. However, those who did finally receive training had been very confident and determined that they would get training eventually. Some did further degrees, others applied first for jobs in the Black Press in order to get some media experience. Some respondents found research jobs in broadcasting and once in organizations like the BBC, continued to apply for courses within the Corporation which they eventually received. Having experience in the media, whether working voluntary or not, helped some respondents to obtain places on journalism courses.

The study found that some white journalism courses were trying to redress the balance. Since the late 1980s some have increased the numbers of black journalist trainees. The university pre-entry journalism courses now take on more black students than provincial newspapers. For example, in 1990 ten per cent of City University's intake for its journalism courses were black, while Lancashire University stated that they had a policy of making sure that one-third of their journalism students were black. However, provincial papers which offered training took fewer or no black students, although many serve areas of large black population, such as the West Midlands, Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool.

As stated in chapter five, under-representation of black people in white journalism courses led to the setting up of 'black-only' journalism courses with the aim of increasing the numbers of black people in journalism training. Their successful is debatably . Some respondents saw such courses as 'apartheid'. Others argued that white editors would view such courses as second-best. Others said that such courses 'let the white media off the hook' and would encourage white training managers and organisations like the BBC not to include black people in white training courses. Many respondents argued that 'black-only 'courses would lead to a two tier system of journalism courses with 'black-only' courses seen as second-best. Many respondents wanted white journalism courses to end discrimination and increase the numbers of black trainees they take on.

Some black journalists who acquired training on 'black-only' journalism courses were found to be at a disadvantage as compared to those who received their training on a mixed course. However, overall these courses do fulfil their aims. They increased the numbers of trained black journalists and most trainees after finishing them found employment in mainstream journalism or in the Black media. The black-only courses at Westminster University, for instance, have trained nearly 200 black journalists to date, more than two-thirds of whom have found work.

The Black media were found to be another important avenue for black people to gain journalism training and redress the balance. Like the 'black-only' courses set up by the BBC and Westminster University, journalism training in the Black Media has advantages and disadvantages. Some respondents who received training and experience in the Black Media complained that their training was not sufficiently organised to equip them with the skills they needed to get into mainstream journalism jobs. This criticism was mainly directed at the Black Press which argued that because of financial restrictions they could not run organised accredited courses at present. However, it was found that although black-only courses are not ideal in that it would be better that journalism courses were racially mixed, they do provide opportunities for black people who have been rejected by the white media. Without these courses there might be even less black journalists in Britain today.

BLACK JOURNALISTS AND EMPLOYMENT

The study examined black employment in the white as well as black media. It was found that 51 per cent of respondents worked for the mainstream media and 49 per cent for the black media. Of those working for the mainstream media, 20 per cent worked on television or radio programmes aimed at black audiences only. As was stated earlier, it was estimated that of the 4,000 national newspaper journalists, only 20 blacks

were working as full-time staff journalists. The provincial papers had an estimated 8,000 journalists; of these an estimated 15 were black. The numbers of black journalists employed in magazine journalism is equally low: of the estimated 7,000 full-time editorial staff in Britain's magazine industry, only 20 were found who are black. The broadcasting media is far more positive towards the employment of black people; it was estimated that of the 3,700 editorial staff in broadcasting 100 were black (NUJ and IOJ 1990/91). However, it must also be remembered that nearly half of all black journalists in broadcasting work on black-only radio and television programmes.

These figures give a clear picture of the state of black under-representation in the British media, especially in the print industry. Why are there so few black journalists employed in mainstream media? Respondents stated that they experienced more prejudice when they tried to get jobs in the mainstream media than when they tried to get training and this was made worse when respondents had no organised journalism training. However, it is partly because of racial discrimination that many black journalists have no organised training. Thus they are doubly disadvantaged when seeking journalism jobs.

Having journalism training however is not a prerequisite for journalism jobs. There were several respondents who had managed to secure jobs without having organised training,

especially in broadcasting. Although these respondents have no organised training, they have had years of reporting experience. Some have worked on community and student newspapers, specialized magazines, local or hospital radio and the Black Press. Such practical experience might be counted when employers consider applicants. Employers who implement positive action equal opportunity policies already do this as part of their policies but evidence suggests that media employers generally have no such policies and continue to insist that black people have organised training. Many respondents have pointed to the fact that white, male, Oxbridge graduates are not required to have training before getting journalism jobs, especially in the BBC.

It was found that having 'a good degree' is important for journalism jobs, especially if applicants for journalism jobs are not trained. That means in the majority of cases that those people who attended universities (especially Oxbridge as compared to those who received their degree from former-polytechnics) are more likely to get journalism jobs. This has a greater effect on black applicants because more black graduates received their degrees from former-polytechnics than white graduates and fewer black people than whites get their degree at Oxbridge. As was stated in the case of journalism training, if such criteria are used they are indirectly discriminatory because they affect black people as a group.

Another factor which affects whether black people achieve entry into mainstream journalism jobs is the fierce competition for such jobs. Respondents have said they made hundreds of applications for jobs and either had no reply or were asked questions at their interview which had nothing to do with the job. These experiences may have also been suffered by white applicants. However, if criteria such as having an Oxbridge degree, an unbroken education record and journalism training are used for employment of journalists then these clearly disadvantage black applicants who as a group are not able to fulfil these criteria and this is thus discriminatory in effect.

Age is another factor which disadvantages black people from obtaining journalism jobs. The majority of respondents were between the ages of 25 and 30 and, while all black people trying to get journalism training may not be in this age group, the survey indicated that at least some of those applying for journalism training and jobs would be considered too old. Journalism traditionally attracts young people under 25 and while some employers do employ people over this age, most do not unless the journalist is an experienced specialist. While such traditions affect both black and white applicants, it affects black applicants more because as a group black people usually acquire education and training when they are older than whites and as such the age criteria is indirectly discriminatory.

Having the right contacts in journalism can also be important for getting jobs because competition for journalism jobs is fierce and many newspapers and broadcasting employers do not advertise vacancies. They will either employ someone whom they already know, for instance, a freelance journalist who has worked for the newspaper, radio or television station, or someone who has been recommended. Media employers can also look through their 'bulging file' of unsolicited applications. A minority of respondents said they found jobs in this way, but most depend upon job advertisements or sending in unsolicited applications. Although word of mouth is a traditional way of recruitment by journalism and many other occupations, its effect is discriminatory under the 1976 Race Relations Act because very few black people are in the position to have personal contacts with people of power in the media and so affect black people as a group. Such practice however is very difficult to prove.

However, contacts can be made with media employers by black or white journalists if they work freelance or as 'stringers' (a writer usually overseas always willing to file copy). The problem here though is that anyone working freelance or as a stringer needs to have training and experience. As most black people trying to get into journalism have neither, working as a freelance journalist or stringer are not options open to many black people seeking journalism employment. Only two respondents reported that they found employment this way.

THE BLACK MEDIA

Forty-nine per cent of respondents worked in the black media. The majority of them stated they did so because they could not find work in mainstream journalism. The Black Media was examined because of the part it plays in the training and employment of black journalists. It is argued that the Black Press provides two main services for the black community, firstly, it tries to redress the balance in terms of training and employment of black journalists and, secondly, it redresses the balance by reporting stories which concern black people, as well as providing a positive black image. Not all sections of the black media are run and managed by black people and this sometimes prevents the black media from providing the services which it promises the black community.

While Black Newspapers and periodicals are usually managed and staffed by black people, most television and radio stations which make programmes aimed at a black audience are managed by white staff. It was found that problems sometimes arise between white management and black staff who often disagree on what should be put into a television or radio programme targeted at a black audience. One respondent related how black staff on these programmes were usually overruled by white management who thought they knew what black people wanted to watch or listen to; respondents working on these programmes believed that white managers were too far removed from the black community to know what interests them. However, recent

series on television, such as 'Bandung File', 'Black Britons' and 'All Black', which deal with race and racism, demonstrate some change in attitudes towards programmes aimed at black people.

Many respondents worked in the Black Media to gain training and experience and hoped that afterwards they would be able to get employment in the white media. Yet, the reality is that, while some are able to move into mainstream journalism jobs, the majority are unable to do so. The Black Media, which generally suffer from financial problems, cannot offer the same working conditions and training as the mainstream media. There is also little or no opportunity for promotion or career development. Respondents reported that the main reason why they found it difficult to move out of the Black Media, especially the Black Press, was because white media employers do not generally accept the training and experience respondents received in the Black Media, especially the Black Press. While the claim of discrimination against media employers might be justified, several respondents also criticized the Black Press for not providing recognised journalism training for their staff which would enable them to move into mainstream journalism. It may be that one reason for white media employers rejecting black journalists trained in the black media is because the training they obtained there is not of good quality.

However, this cannot be the only reason because, as was established, the media also employs journalists who have no organised training, especially the broadcasting media and magazines. However, despite their limitations, the black media do play a vital role in the employment and training of black journalists. Many black journalists have benefitted from working in the black media, whether print or broadcast. A number of respondents who were previously employed by the black media later found jobs in the white media and many stated that the experience and training gained from the black media had helped them to do so.

When editors and media managers were asked why they employed so few black people as journalists, the answer was the same as it was when they were asked about training - black people did not apply and if they did they were not suitably qualified. This was the same reply given to the Black Media Workers' Association 1983 survey. The print media employers approached by this survey and a number of independent radio and television stations did not undertake ethnic monitoring and many said they had no intention of doing so in the near future. They also had a 'colour-blind' approach, arguing that jobs were given to the 'best people', even though most journalists' jobs are never advertised and the people they continued to employ are usually white males with Oxbridge degrees. Media managers, especially those in the print industry, seemed unconcerned that they had few or no black people in their training or jobs.

The discrimination faced by respondents is not unique; the CNAA 1984 survey of graduates found that ethnic minority groups make more job applications but get fewer job offers. Black graduates experienced greater difficulties in obtaining jobs than white graduates (Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA 1984). Like respondents to this survey, other black graduates found that higher education does not take preference over skin colour. The CRE (1987) found that even where ethnic minority applicants had higher qualifications than whites and were prepared to accept a lower starting salary they were still less likely to be offered a job.

Although the majority of respondents reported that they experienced difficulties getting employment in the white media, 10 per cent stated that they did not. Most of these were successful in the media and all had journalism training and had moved from their courses into jobs which give some indication that having training is an advantage. Some of these respondents argued that the under-representation of black people in media jobs was not due to racial discrimination. They believed that some black people had 'chips' on their shoulders and were shouting racism because they were not 'good enough' to get jobs on their own merits. In some individual cases this criticism might be justified, but evidence provided by the majority of respondents and the various reports on race relations in Britain since the 1960s have concluded that colour discrimination is widespread in Britain. It would be fair then to conclude that the under-representation of black

people in the white media is due not only to the socio-economic position of black people in British society but to direct and indirect racial discrimination.

BLACK WOMEN IN THE MEDIA

Because of the discrimination against women in society the survey looked at the general position of women in the media and black women in particular. The images of black women in the media were examined, so too were the differences between the training and employment of women respondents and men. No data could be found on the numbers of black women journalists in Britain. The numbers of women journalists generally has risen over the last decade. The Trade Union Research Unit survey of 1989 found that 41 per cent of those applying for membership to the NUJ were women and the Newspaper Society's survey of 1990 showed that the gap between numbers of men and women in the industry is narrowing. Entrants to journalism during that year were 277 males to 201 females. Journalism training schools are also accepting more women than they did in the past. For example, in 1991 over 50 per cent of City University's postgraduate course was female.

There were 56 female to 44 male respondents in this survey and, as respondents were selected irrespective of gender, this indicates that there are slightly more black women journalists than men. This might be the result of positive action equal

opportunity policies in the broadcasting media. Many female respondents in the survey reported that they suffered from sex discrimination which began in their families. Some had little or no encouragement from parents regarding their education and careers and were told not to be too ambitious as they were not men. Female respondents also faced the problem of children and child care which male respondents did not mention. They were worried that having children might harm their career as they could not easily take time off to have children and then return to where they had left off. Some found that relationships became difficult to sustain or broke down completely when they became journalists because male partners were unable to cope with a successful woman. In regard to employment, many female respondents complained that they suffered from both racial and gender discrimination. Generally they stated that media employers tended to stereotype black women journalists for certain roles, as one female respondent found when she applied for a job as a sports reporter.

The study found that more female respondents had degrees - 49 per cent compared to 22 per cent of male respondents. Nearly twice as many female respondents acquired recognised journalism training - 33 per cent compared to 18 per cent for male respondents. However, there is very little difference between the sexes in employment in the media. On the one hand, there are slightly more black female television presenters than men, but this is balanced by more female respondents being employed as researchers. The fact that female

respondents were better qualified than males did not seem to give them any advantage in employment and this might be the result of both gender and race discrimination.

UNIONS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

Black people and women have increasingly over the past decades looked to the trade unions to campaign for equal opportunities. This survey examined the equal opportunity record of trade unions in general and media unions specifically. Brown's 1984 Third PSI Survey established that Britain's black immigrants and their children joined trade unions in higher proportions than did white workers. It also recorded that 57 per cent of white men in comparison with 61 per cent of black men were in unions and 35 per cent of white women compared with 48 per cent of black women. Despite these relatively large numbers of black union members, the Labour Research Survey of 1985 found that only 4 per cent of black members held union posts at local, district or national level compared with 11 per cent of white members. The election of Bill Morris in 1991 as General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) does alter the general position of black people in trade unions. For although most unions, including the (NUJ) and the Broadcast Entertainment Cinematograph and Theatre Union (BECTU), all have equal opportunities policies, the record of unions putting these into practice is poor.

Unions with the help of the CRE and the Equal Opportunities Commission together drew up an equality code of practice. The code gave guidelines as to how equal opportunities policies could be put into effect and one of its recommendations was a positive action plan which should redress past imbalances in the workplace. Despite the adoption of these policies by media unions such as the NUJ and BECTU, data and interview material have shown that these unions have a poor record on equal opportunities. As one black journalist said of the NUJ, 'The union pays lip service to equal opportunities because all its officers are white and most of its clerical staff are black'. However, it is fair to say that there has been some progress by media unions on equal opportunities. Both the NUJ and BECTU have established women's and race committees which campaign for equality in the unions. In addition, these committees have an educational role, publishing leaflets and pamphlets relating to equal opportunities in the media. The NUJ began ethnic monitoring of its members in 1987 and elected its first black president in 1988. In that year the NUJ was also the first union to sponsor black people for journalism training and it has so far sponsored 50 people.

In 1987 the union set up an Ethics Council which was a watchdog body for the union's race and equality code. The Council could and did have the power to charge or dismiss members who continually flouted the union's code on race or equality reporting. However, in 1990 the role of the Ethics Council was reduced to an educational one. This move was

criticised as being backward and proved that the union was not serious about equal opportunities. Black journalists within the NUJ, while welcoming positive action from the union, argued that action did not go far enough. They wanted the Union to employ black officers, which it had so far failed to do.

Although 80 per cent of respondents were members of media unions, they had little faith in the ability of unions to put equal opportunities into practice, either in their own structure or to persuade media employers to do so. The NUJ's Black Members' Council argued that there is a contradiction in the Union regarding equal opportunities. Several equal opportunities proposals have been put forward at the union's Annual Delegate Meeting since the late 1970s and while these proposals have been accepted they have not been put into practice. The union's Black Members' Council says this is because the majority of white union members are opposed to race equality.

As was discussed in chapter nine, black groups within the media unions, such as the NUJ's Black Members' Council and BECTU's Black Members' Group, have decided that it is no use trying to change the fundamental structure of the unions in order to get equal opportunities. They advocated instead having a separate black industrial council to negotiate on race within the unions and with media employers. Some mainly white union members have argued that the call for a separate

council is simply a way for a small group of blacks to get power and that such a body will do nothing to increase the numbers of black people in media training and jobs. The proposed changes sought by black members in the NUJ would certainly give black Union members more direct contact with employers regarding race but it is questionable whether they will be able to persuade media employers to take on more black journalists in the mainstream media as white media employers are at present not generally concerned with equal opportunities.

REDRESSING THE BALANCE

Most respondents agreed that racial discrimination, whether direct or indirect, is the major cause for the under-representation of black journalists in the white media Several empirical studies (Daniels 1968, Rose 1969, Smith 1977 and Brown 1984) confirmed that direct and indirect racial discrimination, is widespread in Britain.

It is because of widespread racial discrimination in Britain that the Race Relations Acts of 1965, 1968 and 1976 were brought in which outlawed direct and indirect racial discrimination. How can the 1976 Race Relation Act be used to improve the numbers of black people taken on in journalism training and jobs? As was explained in chapter two, the duty imposed by the Act is negative. It states that discrimination

by or against any person by reference to their membership of a racial group is illegal. This means that preferential treatment or reverse discrimination in favour of a racial group is in principle also unlawful, except where there are exceptions laid down by law.

POSITIVE ACTION

Under the 1976 Race Relation Act positive action policies are encouraged and the CRE has issued detailed guidance to employers, including those in the media, on adopting positive action and equal opportunities in employment. But there is no evidence to date that there is any widespread adoption of these policies in the media or elsewhere. Sections 37 and 38 of the Act explain what employers, trade unions, training bodies and employers' association can do to encourage applications for jobs or membership from members of a particular racial group. The Act has provisions for special training courses to help ethnic minorities apply for a particular post where their numbers have been disproportionately few at any time. For example, the black-only journalism course at the University of Westminster and those set up by the BBC are allowed under the Act. While some broadcasting organisations have adopted positive action equal opportunities policies, so far no newspaper or magazine has done so. This might be one reason why so few black people are employed and trained by the print media. The CRE has not taken

and cannot take any action against media employers who have not adopted positive action equal opportunities policies because not doing so is not against the 1976 Act.

The main purpose of positive action is to make equal opportunities a reality rather than just a paper policy. But even if racial discrimination was removed overnight, black employees and black job applicants would still suffer the effects of past discrimination and disadvantage in employment (CRE 1985). Positive action accelerates the process of equality whereby black people are encouraged to apply for jobs such as journalism and to get help with training which will enable them to qualify for jobs and promotion on merit. The CRE's Code of Practice for equal opportunity policies states that employers should adopt an equal opportunity policy designed to ensure that no job applicant or employee is discriminated against or placed at a disadvantage because of belonging to a racial group. It encourages employers to give training to under-represented groups, to examine selection procedures and criteria for discriminatory effects and to change these where they are found. The code also recommends ethnic monitoring and targets, which it sees as an essential element of equal opportunity policies.

Ethnic monitoring gives information regarding minority employment and recruitment and also identifies areas of under-representation. This is essential for the media if it wants to increase the numbers of black people in journalism training

and jobs. However, none of the media managers from the print media surveyed for this study undertook ethnic monitoring. Their reluctance might stem from the fear that ethnic monitoring could provide statistical evidence of discrimination and that such evidence might be used against them in law. There is also a possibility that some media employers might be reluctant to offer equality of opportunity to black people whom they have historically seen as inferior. Private companies, such as those in the print industry and independent broadcasting, whose main concern is profit, might see implementing equal opportunities as expensive and therefore, be reluctant to put them into practice.

The second aspect of ethnic monitoring, which involves looking at employment and selection criteria, is also essential if the media is to correct the problem of black under-representation. The media industry has a tradition which is arguably discriminatory in the way in which it recruits people into the industry. This includes a preference for white males - preferably from Oxbridge - , word of mouth recruitment, not advertising vacancies for this reason and asking for high educational qualifications which might not be necessary for the job.

While the trend is for journalist trainees to have higher education, it is important to remember that most African-Caribbean pupils under-achieve in British schools, so calling for journalist trainees to have higher qualifications

discriminates against them indirectly. Perhaps having high educational qualifications should not be the predominant criteria used in the selection for journalism training and jobs.

Positive action in the media would mean getting rid of those traditions which indirectly discriminate against black people. The media could begin, especially the print industry, by examining their selection criteria for journalism training and jobs. They might well then see, not only that there is under-representation of black people in journalism training and jobs, but they might also be able to see why. For example, several respondents complained that they were asked questions at interview which had nothing to do with the job they had applied for. A proper selection procedure where questions relative to the job are asked and where interviewers have had equal opportunities training would ensure fairer selection.

Training is also an important part of positive action in implementing equal opportunities. The 1976 Race Relations Act allows employers and training bodies to provide training courses for under-represented groups which will help fit them for particular work or posts where their numbers have been disproportionately few at any time during the past 12 months. Evidence from this survey shows that in the majority of journalism courses and jobs there is gross under-representation of black people. Positive action policies, either by increasing the numbers of black people on white

mainstream courses, or by setting up black-only journalism courses, such as those run by the BBC and Westminster University, would help to increase the numbers of black people in journalism training and jobs. Although black-only journalism courses are not ideal in the sense that it is probably better to have more black people taken on into mainstream courses any increase in the numbers of black people in journalism training is to be welcomed.

Targets, mentioned by many respondents as the solution to under-representation in the media, is recommended by the CRE Positive Action Guide to employers. It states that targets are not quotas and must not be reached by discriminatory selection means. Targets are permitted under the law and can be achieved if effective steps are taken to remove direct and indirect discrimination. If positive action is taken under section 37 and 38 of the Act, the percentage of black people will increase. An example of how positive action can work to increase the numbers of black journalists can be seen in the differences between the numbers of black journalists trained and employed in the broadcasting media, who are trying to implement positive action, and the print media, who have no equal opportunity policies. From NUJ and IOJ figures it was estimated that there were 100 black journalists in broadcasting as compared to 50 in the print media.

POSITIVE ACTION AND BROADCASTING

Since the mid-1980's the BBC, along with a few independent television and radio stations, have attempted to implement positive action policies. As was discussed in chapter seven, the BBC published a survey in 1988 which showed that 6.8 per cent of its workers were black but less than 1 per cent were journalists. The BBC's response to its data was to set a target of 8 per cent overall for ethnic minorities in its workforce by the year 2000. The BBC plans to achieve this target by tackling two areas. It states:

'we will recruit more staff from minority ethnic groups by encouraging people from these communities to see the BBC as an employer who will treat them equally. We will also develop and train people from minority ethnic groups who are currently employed by the BBC'(BBC Equal Opportunity Unit Leaflet 1992 Para 2.1).

The BBC has a team of seven equal opportunities officers who work within the framework of the 1976 Race Relations Act (RRA) to achieve the target and the BBC has also implemented a number of training policies to the same end. These include fair selection procedures and a technical operation bursary scheme which trains ethnic minorities to work with cameras in studio sound and post-production. There are also the three black-only journalism courses which were described in chapter six, although from 1994 the Television Training Trust (TTT) which was black-only, will merge with the Television Production Training Scheme (TPTS) and will take 50 per cent ethnic minority trainees.

A recent progress report showed the BBC to be on course for its overall target of 8 per cent ethnic minority workers by the year 2000. There are however fewer ethnic minority workers in the BBC than in 1988. This is a result of the economic changes within the corporation. The ethnic minority make up of the BBC workforce in March 1993 was 5.9 per cent while network Television has 6.8 per cent ethnic minority workers overall. However, closer examination of ethnic minority staff distribution shows that only 2.55 per cent are producers and 0.44 per cent are in management, while between 16 and 18 per cent work in clerical and secretarial jobs. Surinder Sharma, the equal opportunities officer for network Television, explained that at present there are no targets for individual bands for the year 2000. He believed that

'targets for each level are required to compliment any meaningful overall target. Otherwise BBC television will have achieved the eight per cent target but the vast majority of ethnic minority staff will be in very junior positions' ('Equality', No. 6, June 1993, 2-3).

Although the BBC's target overall is 8 per cent ethnic minority by the year 2000, it has no target for the numbers of black journalists it hopes to employ by this time. So it can achieve its target simply by increasing the numbers of black junior staff while black journalists remain under-represented. Despite the BBC's impressive positive action policies, it does demonstrate how difficult it is for those in power to give senior jobs to black people whom they have historically seen as inferior. It also shows the enormous task faced by those black people who want to be accepted into journalism training and jobs.

As was stated in chapter seven, only a few of the independent television and radio stations implement positive action policies. London Weekend Television (LWT) is one. In order to increase its number of black editorial staff it has implemented monitoring and ethnic minority training courses. LWT also gives sponsorship to six black journalist trainees yearly. Like the BBC, it has set ethnic minority targets. Ten per cent by 1995 and 15 per cent in the year 2000, nearly twice those of the BBC. Central Television in the West Midlands and Granada Television in Manchester are also both trying to implement positive action equal opportunities policies by monitoring staff and new recruits and by providing training courses for ethnic minorities to compete for jobs. So far they have not proposed targeting.

RESPONDENT'S VIEWS

Most respondents wanted to see the implementation of equal opportunities policies backed by law. They called for the media, especially the print media, to provide quotas or targets in journalism training and jobs for black people in order to redress the imbalance. As was stated in chapter two, one reason why positive action policies are not implemented by most employers in Britain is that the law is negative, stipulating only non-discrimination. In the United States the situation is different; positive action, or 'affirmative action', as it is known, is taken far more seriously, for the

Supreme Court has 'understood and accepted the major importance of ending racial discrimination'(Bindman 1981, 326). Two factors which make the equality law more persuasive in the United States are the prospect of successful litigation and the heavy damages which may be awarded for direct and indirect discrimination. In Britain, by contrast, there are a number of deterrents to prevent people taking cases of racial discrimination to court. Firstly, no award is given for those suffering indirect discrimination. Secondly, unless the CRE takes up the case, no legal aid is given for these cases as it is in the United States. Thirdly, even if a case of discrimination is proven, the awards are often derisory. The Commission for Racial Equality cannot take up more than a fraction of the cases which are reported to it.

However, some respondents to this survey disapproved of positive action policies. Although in a minority, they argued that black people would prefer equal opportunities in education and training so as to compete equally, not preferential treatment, which suggests that blacks are not capable of achieving without special treatment. Other believe affirmative action as practised in the United States does not help the people it was meant to help. William Julius Wilson, the eminent black sociologist at the University of Chicago, suggested the black community is becoming more 'bimodal', with better-off members taking advantage of a less discriminatory environment to climb the economic ladder, leaving behind others lacking training and skills (Wilson 1987).

In Britain, while many employers declare themselves equal opportunities employers, they have not adopted any firm positive action to make equal opportunities a reality . The Government is giving no lead and encouragement to private or public firms as to the importance of affirmative action for race equality. Members of Parliament may fear public disapproval if they bring in strong equal opportunity laws. As was stated earlier in this chapter, some broadcasting employers have began to implement positive action in the industry and the 1990 Broadcasting Act has provisions which require television licence holders to promote equality of opportunity. There are, however, no such recommendations to date for the print industry which employs the least numbers of black trainees and journalists and which so far has not put into practice even 'weak affirmative action', such as ethnic monitoring and advertising vacancies in ethnic papers.

SUMMARY

To summarise, it is important to note that 92 per cent of respondents to this survey gave interviews only on the understanding that they remained anonymous and numbers instead of names have been used in order to protect their identity. So frightened were respondents of losing their jobs, especially if they worked in the white media, that they were not prepared to risk their identity becoming known. This gives an idea of how insecure and fragile their positions are, especially in

the white media. The evidence provided from this research suggests that black journalists as a group are under-represented in the white, mainstream media both in terms of training and jobs. Their under-representation is due to many factors, as has been pointed out, but the two main ones are black pupils' educational under-achievement and the direct and indirect discrimination which exist in the media itself.

Black respondents were not sure what criteria were used to judge them because interviews are shrouded in secrecy. However, respondents found that being graduates was not enough to gain entry into journalism training and jobs. Indirect discriminatory criteria were also used such as where degrees were obtained, educational record and type of degree. In some cases it can be said that lack of journalism training by many respondents could be seen as a reason for not getting jobs in the White Media. But this cannot be the only reason, especially in the broadcasting media and magazine journalism where people are often employed with degrees before given training. It must therefore be concluded that direct and indirect discrimination, plays a major part in the under-representation of black journalists in the White Media thus maintaining the 'colour barrier' in society. Although there is no direct evidence that racial discrimination is conscious or intentional, it is difficult to explain the problems which black respondents face in any other way. Black respondents as a group are well educated with a determination to succeed, yet they face massive problems getting training

and employment in the white media. Even when they secure employment, they find that promotion is not forthcoming.

As has been stated, there are several factors which prevent respondents from entering white journalism training and jobs but many of these are linked to direct and indirect discrimination. Very few respondents reported that they experienced direct discrimination. However, the traditional criteria used by the media for its selection of journalists and trainees indirectly discriminates against black people as a group. In order to increase significantly the number of black people in journalism training and jobs, media employers would need to implement positive action equal opportunity policies. So far only a minority have done so. If the 1976 RRA is to be made more effective, it would need to be strengthened and widened to include employers implementing positive action policies for equal opportunity, the courts being able to fine substantially those who are found guilty of direct or indirect discrimination, and the CRE having more finance and power to investigate and prosecute. In its second review of the 1976 RRA, the CRE has called for legal aid to be given to individuals to pursue cases of discrimination but so far the Government has not responded.

Yet there are those who question whether the law should be used to reduce discrimination, which is seen as a social problem rather than a legal one. While such an argument is understandable, it seems that the law is the only way to

implement any real changes in race equality in Britain because racial discrimination is so widespread and deeply embedded in society. Making positive action part of the 1976 Race Relations Act might be the only way to increase the numbers of black people in journalism training and jobs, especially in the print industry.

Black people are no longer strangers in Britain. There is a second and third generation who have been born and brought up in Britain yet discrimination continues on a wide scale. The 1976 Act as it stands is not effective in dealing with the deeply rooted discrimination found in present day society. This discrimination began during slavery and colonization and has been perpetuated by institutions such as the media in its negative portrayal of black people and its under-representation of them in journalism training and jobs.
In the early days of immigration black people were seen as strangers coming in with different languages and cultures. It was argued by some that discrimination then was a result of strangeness. The idea that after a period of time the stranger will become a 'stranger no more' (Schutz 1944) is not the experience of second and third generation blacks born in Britain. Schutz's view that discrimination will disappear when the immigrant takes on the culture and language of the host country is probably more appropriate for white immigrants than black.

The host immigrant framework developed in the United States which accounted for the assimilation of immigrants in American society does not apply to black immigrants either here or to the black population of the United States. Park (1976) argued that in the relationship of the races there is a cycle of events which takes the form of contacts, competition, accommodation and eventual assimilation and that this is apparently progressive and irreversible. Eisenstadt (1976) also took a similar view. However, the status of being black in Britain where society is divided above all on class lines (Rex and Moore 1967) means that

'the chief onus is not on the immigrants to change, indeed to do so would scarcely result in assimilation, since the primary responsibility for the negative reception which black immigrants and their children have met lies with the racism of the wider society'(Pilkington 1984, 59).

The United States is a good example of the wider racism in society which affects black people whether they are immigrants or African-Americans. White immigrants from Europe, who may have suffered discrimination when they first arrived, found that after one or two generations their children were accepted in American society while African-Americans, despite being in America for 400 years, are still fighting for equality. In Western society race is a potent symbol which indicates how an individual or group is treated. 'Race as a Role Sign' (Banton 1967) means that blacks who have traditionally been seen as inferior are not allocated the same privileges as whites even if they have acquired the characteristics such as education or the finances which would put them into a middle-class position. Black people are prevented from entering white

society's stratification system because of the 'colour barrier'(Warner 1936). This study found some evidence of the 'colour barrier' as black respondents who were educationally well qualified found it difficult to get into white journalism training or jobs.

Institutional racism such as that experienced by respondents seeking journalism training and jobs affects black people as a group. The 1976 RRA was designed to reduce indirect discrimination but its effect is minimal and indirect discrimination continues on a wide scale as many employers in the private sector only pay 'lip service' to equal opportunity policies. There is little evidence to date demonstrating that private sector companies go beyond establishing job specifications and person specifications when advertising for positions within their firms. For the print media this is much worse for most employers do not even advertise vacancies; jobs are filled by word of mouth. While it is important to eradicate individual racism, institutional racism is more effective because it denies mobility and opportunity to blacks, who thus find themselves in a vicious circle created by lack of decent housing, jobs and adequate education.

It has been argued by some Miles (1989) that 'race does not 'exist' and that the term 'race' is a commonsense word rather than a valid scientific term. This study have argued that while race as a scientific term does not exist, in common sense discourse, (out there in the real world) 'race' is used

as a role sign to determine what position people are placed in white societies. For respondents, racial discrimination is the main reason for their difficulties obtaining training and jobs in the White Media. For them, and millions of other blacks subject to discrimination out there 'race' does exists.

As has been discussed in this thesis, the 1976 RRA has proved to be generally ineffective against discrimination in Britain, the main reason being, the CRE believe, that the law needs strengthening to be made positive instead of negative. In other words, the law should include that institutions, private and public, adopt positive action equal opportunity policies. While such changes in the law would not get rid of discrimination overnight it would in time give more equality to black people. However, despite the CRE's recommendations to the Government in 1984 and 1992 for changes in the 1976 Act the Government has been slow to respond. It might be suggested that the reluctance of politicians to make the Act more effective might be that positive action equal opportunity policies could not only break down the 'colour barrier' but other barriers, such as those of class and gender, which society accepts as normal and desirable.

Further study is required of black employment and training in the white British media, especially the print industry. Study is also required on the effects of race reporting if more black journalists are employed in newsrooms where at present they are massively under-represented.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW QUESTIONAIRE

This questionaire is for the purpose of this study only and the answers you give will be treatedly confidentially.

Section One BACKGROUND

1 Age Male Female

2 Country Born in

3 Parents Occupation

4 Parents Place of Birth

SECTION 2 EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

5 At what age did you leave school

6 Where did you go to school abroad or in the UK

7 What school did you attend . Was it

State School

Fee Paying

Both

other (please specify)

8 What was your experience at school/ college/university /polytechnic

9 What qualifications do you have

'O' Levels number of passes

'A' Levels number of passes

Degree or degrees (specify)

Other qualifications or training (please specify)

10 What part did your parents play in your education

SECTION 3 JOURNALISM

11 What are the major factors which influenced you to choose journalism as a career

12 Where did you get your information about journalism as a career

13 Do you have recognised journalism training

14 If yes, where did you get training was it mainstream or a black only course

SECTION 4 EMPLOYMENT

15 Was journalism your first job (specify)

16 What section of the media are you currently working in

17Are you working in the white or black media

18 If you work in the black media why do you work there instead of the white media

19 What is your job title

20 How long have you been a journalist

21 Have you ever had any difficulties getting jobs as a journalists

22 How did you get your present job

23 Have you had promotion since becoming a journalists

24 If yes what have you been promoted to

25 If you have not been promoted why do you think this is

26 What do you think your chances of promotion is in the future

SECTION 5 RACE

27 In your current or pass job do you or have you ever worked with any African-Caribbean or Asian Journalists/ broadcasters/ photographers,

28 If yes how many

29 What position did they hold

30 How often are you involved in general news reporting

31 How often do you cover race stories

32 Do you think that African-Caribbean and Asian journalists should only cover race stories

33 Do you think that there should be more opportunities given to non-whites to train as journalists

34 If yes how do you think this can be achieved

35 What do you think of black only jounalism courses

35 Did you have any difficulties getting into journalism training as a black person

37 If yes why do you think this is

38 Do you think that there is a connection between racist reporting and the small numbers of black journalists in the white media

SECTION 6 UNIONS

39 Are you a member of any union (specify)

40 As a black journalists do you think that the media unions are putting equal opportunites policies into practice

41 What would you like to see the unions do to get more black people in media jobs and training

SECTION & CAREER ASPIRATIONS

42 What are your plans and ambitions for your future career in the media

LETTER TO RESPONDENTS

16/4/89

Dear

I am a post-graduate student at the above university doing research into African-Caribbeans and Asians in the British media and I wonder whether you would be so kind as to grant me an interview. It will take about an hour and will cover your education and access to journalism/ broadcasting.

The information you give will be treated entirely confidentially and will be compiled and used in statistical form only.

If you would like to take part, please write to me at the above address or 'phone. If I am not in, please leave a message on my answer 'phone and I will get back to you as soon as possible.

yours faithfully,

(BEULAH AINLEY).

LETTER TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE TRAINING OF JOURNALISTS

The Director,
National Council for the Training of Journalists,

Dear Sir,

I am a post-graduate student at the above university researching into the training and employment of African-Caribbeans and Asians in the British media and would be grateful to you if you could provide me with the following information:

1/ information on the history of the NCTJ,

2/ the number of courses which are recognised and regulated by your organisation,

3/ the numbers of women, African-Caribbeans and Asians on your courses.

4/ How many of your students are graduates and do you expect more graduates to apply for your courses in the future?

5/ Do you recognise YTS or Access to Journalism Training? If not, why not?

6/ Do the courses you regulate include in their syllabi the reporting of race and gender?

yours faithfully,

(BEULAH AINLEY).

LETTER TO JOURNALISM COURSES

Dear Madam/Sir,

I am a post-graduate student at the London School of Economics doing research study on African-Caribbeans and Asians in the British media. I would therefore be very grateful to you if you could supply me with the following information:

How many students do you have on your course/courses each year?

How many are African-Caribbean or Asian?

Do you monitor your applicants by race and gender?

How many African-Caribbean or Asian students have you had over the past five years?

I would be very glad if you could fill in this information on this letter and return it to me at the above address.

Thanking you for your cooperation,

yours faithfully,

(BEULAH AINLEY).

LETTER TO EDITORS

Dear Madam/Sir,

I am a post-graduate student at the London School of Economics doing research study on African-Caribbeans and Asians employed in in the British media. I would be grateful to you therefore if you could supply me with the following information:

The total number of reporters, sub-editors and photographers employed on your newspaper:

Do you at present have any African-Caribbean or Asian reporters, sub-editors or photographers on your staff?

If yes, how many?

If no, have you employed any in the past?

Do you regularly employ African-Caribbean or Asian freelances?

Are you considering employing any blacks or Asians on your staff?

If not, why not?

I would be very glad if you could fill in this information on this letter and return it to me at the above address.

Thanking you for your cooperation,

yours faithfully,

(BEULAH AINLEY).

LETTER TO RADIO PERSONNEL

Dear Sir /Madam

I am a post-graduate student at the London School of Economics doing research study into African-Caribbeans and Asians in the British media. I would be grateful if you could supply me with the following information:

How many reporters, presenters, producers and researchers do you employ whether staff or freelance

How many of these are African-Caribbean or Asian

How many trainee reporters or producers do you employ and how many are African-Caribbean or Asian

If you do not have any African-Caribbean and Asians in the above positions, do you think there is any particular reason for this

Do you have any ethnic minority programmes. If so, why. How many African-Caribbeans or Asians work on these programmes

yours faithfully,

(BEULAH AINLEY).

LETTER TO TELEVISION PERSONNEL DEPARTMENTS

Dear Madam/Sir,

I am a post-graduate student at the London School of Economics doing a research study into African-Caribbeans and Asians in the British media. I would be grateful for your help. Could you therefore provide me with the following information:

How many people do you currently employ as reporters, editors, presenters, producers and researchers?

How many are African-Caribean and Asian?

Do you have trainees? If so, how many?

How many of your trainees are African-Caribbean or Asian?

If you employ African-Caribbean or Asian journalists, how many work exclusively on black-only programmes?

How many work in the newsroom?

How many work on mainstream programmes?

I would be very glad if you could fill in this information on this letter and return it to me at the above address. Thanking you for your cooperation,

yours faithfully,

(BEULAH AINLEY).

GUIDELINES ON RACE REPORTING

The National Union of Journalists has ratified guidelines for all its members to follow when dealing with race relations subjects. If you are a member these are your guidelines.

RACE REPORTING

- Only mention someone's race if it is strictly relevant. Check to make sure you have it right. Would you mention race if the person was white?
- Do not sensationalise race relations issues, it harms black people and it could harm you.
- Think carefully about the words you use. Words which were once in common usage are now considered offensive, e.g. half-caste and coloured. Use mixed-race and black instead. Black can cover people of Arab, Asian, Chinese and African origin. Ask people how they define themselves.
- Immigrant is often used as a term of abuse. Do not use it unless the person really is an immigrant. Most black people in Britain were born here and most immigrants are white.
- Do not make assumptions about a person's cultural background — whether it is their name or religious detail. Ask them or where this is not possible check with the local community relations council.
- Investigate the treatment of black people in education, health, employment and housing. Do not forget travellers and gypsies. Cover their lives and concerns. Seek the views of their representatives.
- Remember that black communities are culturally diverse. Get a full and correct view from representative organisations.
- Press for equal opportunities for employment of black staff.
- Be wary of disinformation. Just becauee a source is traditional does not mean it is accurate.

REPORTING RACIST ORGANISATIONS

- When interviewing representatives of racist organisations or reporting meetings or statements or claims, journalists should carefully check all reports for accuracy and seek rebutting or opposing comments. The anti-social nature of such views should be exposed.
- Do not sensationalise by reports, photographs, film or presentation the activities of racist organisations.
- Seek to publish or broadcast material exposing the myths and lies of racist organisations and their anti-social behaviour.
- Do not allow the letters column or 'phone-in' programmes to be used to spread racial hatred in whatever guise.

THE NUJ's POLICY ON ETHNIC MONITORING

The NUJ is committed to establishing and implementing equal opportunities policies in its agreements with employers. It is also committed to ensuring that the NUJ as a trade union does not discriminate in its delivery of services to members.

The Union has had a Race Relations Working Party and an Equality Council for several years but that in itself is not enough. To put our policies into practice we need to know more about our membership. Currently the NUJ knows how many women are members. It does not know how many people with disabilities are members or how many black people are members. Further it does not have any of this information on a sector basis. Without proper information about our membership we cannot hope to break down the barriers of equality. The NUJ needs this information to support claims with employers concerning access to employment, training, job security and promotion. It also needs this information to ensure equal access to union structures, benefits and facilities. Who attends education courses, why? Who sits on union bodies or represents the union on outside bodies? As the NUJ increasingly looks to other services it can provide for members the value of the age, sex, disability, race profile becomes more evident.

That is why the NUJ membership application form includes an ethnic question which applicants must complete.

TELEVISION LICENCE HOLDERS, RACIAL EQUALITY AND THE BROADCASTING ACT

COMMISSION FOR RACIAL EQUALITY

RECOMMENDATIONS

These recommendations are applicable to all television companies, production/facilities companies and to independents. The degree of detail and complexity will obviously vary but the basic aim remains the same; the elimination of discrimination and provision of greater equality of opportunity in employment and programming.

Clause 38 of the Broadcasting Act provides the starting point for our employment recommendations to those organisations involved in submitting bids for Channel 3, 4 or 5 licences. Other clauses in the Broadcasting Act, although not race-specific, are relevant to equality of opportunity in programming; namely: clauses 14 (3) (b), 15 (3) (d), 16 (2) (c) (i) and (ii), 25 (1) (a) & (2) (f).

EMPLOYMENT

I. Policy

i. Statements need to be backed by a clear, detailed strategy, a set of objectives and a programme for action.

ii. Employees, applicants and the public at large need to know about the policy and programme, although the degree of detail might vary for different groups.

II. Management

i. Directors and senior management need to take a clear and visible lead on the development and progress of race-equality measures.

ii. A senior member of management should be seen to have overall responsibility for the policy.

III. Implementation

i. Targets

Decision makers should be involved in setting race-specific targets covering their fields of responsibility.

Targets should include areas such as:

* Applications for pensionable jobs,
* Staff at all grades/levels,
* Promotion to higher grades/levels,
* Contract and/or freelance workers,

ii. Training

A planned programme of training should be formulated for managers and staff according to a professional analysis of needs.

Two areas require action:

* Training which assists the implementation of good personnel and equal opportunities, practice,.
* Training which enhances or extends talent including positive action training. (See CRE Seminar Report, page 12 for example).

iii. Systems for measuring progress

All organisations require:

* Ethnic data collection including information on freelance/contract staff; actors; writers.
* Regular analysis of the results and
* adjustments to plans as a consequence of the analysis.

iv. Appraisals and accountability

Equal opportunity measures (including targets) should form part of the system by which managers are appraised and held accountable.

v. Contracts with independents

Television companies placing contracts with independents should seek ways of encouraging and assisting the latter to adopt equal employment opportunity practices. Factors such as size and finance will obviously influence the type and scope of action, but not the aims.

PROGRAMMES

I. Policy

Companies should ensure that policies with clear objectives are in place for programming areas. These will show how organisations intend to make programmes which will meet the needs of a racially heterogeneous population and reflect the richness of a culturally diverse society.

II. Management

Senior managers in 'creative' areas need to take a lead in developing and equal opportunities strategy. This will include, for example, ensuring that:

* Equal opportunities issues are part of the regular programme planning process,
* Systems for monitoring portrayal are in place and used (see page 23 of CRE Seminar Report for examples),
* Staffing criteria – including those for contracts/freelances – meet equal opportunities objectives.

III. Implementation

i. Information base

Data is required in this area for purposes similar to those in employment; i.e. planning, setting objectives and targets and reviewing outcomes.

Progress needs to be measured in areas such as:

* Programme content or subject matter
* Audience 'spread'
* Roles – the opportunities for actors
* Use of available talent.

ii. Register

Companies need to support and make use of any register containing details of black and ethnic minority workers available for employment in the industry;

iii. Portrayal

a) Directors and producers need to take steps which ensure that:
   * casting decisions meet equal opportunities objectives, e.g.
     - avoiding stereotyping,
     - that actors from ethnic minority communities are considered for a range of different parts and programmes.
   * programmes reflect the range of interests in a diverse society.

b) Companies need to seek ways of using scripts and encouraging writers from the ethnic minority communities. (See page 34 of CRE Seminar Report for an example).

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