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**INTEGRACE KARIBSKÉ MENŠINY VE VELKÉ BRITÁNII –**

**DĚDICTVÍ GENERACE Z WINDRUSH**

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**Bachelor Thesis**

**INTEGRATION OF CARIBBEAN MINORITY IN GREAT BRITAIN**

**– THE LEGACY OF WINDRUSH GENERATION**

**Věra Tumu M' Pongo**

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## ABSTRACT

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This bachelor thesis deals with immigration to Great Britain in the 19th and 20th centuries. Its goal is to analyze the development of immigration through history in Great Britain, its impact on this country, and to point out the consequences faced by generations of Caribbean immigrants.

The main emphasis is on immigrants from Commonwealth countries who arrived in Britain in 1948 on the ship Empire Windrush and are called the Windrush Generation. It deals with the main reasons for immigration between 1948 and 1971. The thesis focuses on the integration and negative acceptance of immigrants by British citizens into society. The hostile relations subsequently escalated and led to the race riots in late August and early September 1958. It analyses the causes, course, and consequence of these unrests, which shook Britain, and at the same time, strengthened relations between Caribbean immigrants. The final part of the thesis focuses on the steps the British government has taken over the course of years to reduce the number of immigrants in the country. It mentions the consequences of the race riots, their impact on the Caribbean community, and the Windrush scandal, which began in 2018.

The analyses led to the conclusion that Caribbean immigrants have been exploited by the British government from the day they entered the country. After the government no longer needed their services, at first tried to restrict them the access to the country. Then tried to detain and deport them. After failing, Home Office issued a hostile environment policy to force immigrants to leave the country voluntarily.

Keywords: race riots, immigration, Britain, Windrush Generation, Caribbean immigrants

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## **INTRODUCTION**

This bachelor thesis deals with immigration to Great Britain in the 19th and 20th centuries. Its goal is to analyze the development of immigration through history in Great Britain, its impact on this country, and to point out the consequences faced by generations of Caribbean immigrants.

Britain has a long history of immigration. The country has acted for centuries as a refuge for people from all over the world. For those who were forced to leave their country because the situation required it at the moment. Britain has always been proud of its warm and welcoming attitude and, as a colonial power, has learned to respect and accept refugees with their cultural differences. It was no different during World War II when people of a different skin color first entered Britain. Non-white men who joined the army to fight for Britain. These men were welcomed and received by British society. The change came after World War II when the number of immigrants from Commonwealth countries began to increase significantly. So, the British had to find a way to cope with the new situation and get used to people who led a different way of life, had a different culture, religion, and customs. The arrival of the Empire Windrush in 1948 with 492 passengers is considered the beginning of mass immigration.

Immigrants from the West Indies predominated among the colored in the 1950s. They settled in cities where they installed in the worst neighborhoods as they encountered discrimination in housing therefore could not find any decent accommodation. They were accused of increasing crime and deteriorating the quality of life in districts that faced these problems before the arrival of new residents.

The British could not accept that they were equal with the people of color and that there was a competition in the real estate and employment because, as it turned out, blacks were not the incompetent, illiterate, and unskilled like a lot of Britons thought they were.

At first, the British began to attack people of color verbally, but then it turned to physical attacks, which became more frequent. The black residents were not only afraid for themselves, but they also became afraid for their families, as mobs of white people attacked their homes and the restaurants they owned. The attacks escalated and became worse, leading to the start of a race riot in the summer of 1958 which had a catastrophic effect.

The first chapter deals with pre-war immigration, which began in the 17th century when England became the center of an ever-expanding empire, and slavery had not yet been

abolished. In the run-up to World War II, many Europeans fled to Britain, who then joined the war, and fought alongside the British together with immigrants from the Indian subcontinent. Another wave of immigrants arrived after the war, and this time it was mainly people from the New Commonwealth who helped Britain get back on its feet as it struggled with labor shortages after the war ended.

The second chapter focuses on the life led by the Windrush Generation. They thought they had arrived in a country that would give them what their native land could not. They came with the idea of a better life in the "mother country," but the opposite was true. Discrimination followed them at every turn – in employment, and especially in the real estate market because no one wanted to accommodate them, in addition, they did not meet the requirements to get a council housing. They were unknown to the British and therefore seemed suspicious and untrustworthy. In the second part of this chapter, is engage in, what Caribbean immigrants have contributed to British culture.

The third chapter deals in more detail with discrimination against immigrants and the relationship between them and the British. It analyses the tensions between races that escalated and gave rise to the race riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill. It describes the causes, course, and consequences that forever affected Britain. The last part is dedicated to Kelso Cochrane, who was stabbed to death a few months after the riots ended.

In the last chapter, is point out the impact of racial unrest on the Caribbean community. As a result, the British government passed laws that made it difficult for newly arrived immigrants to enter the country. The last sub-chapter is about the Windrush Scandal, which began in 2018.

## **1 Immigration to Britain**

The United Kingdom is a country with a long history of immigration. It was primarily post-war immigration from the New Commonwealth that had far-reaching consequences for post-war developments in the Islands. Among the immigrants were mostly entrepreneurs, sailors, students, bankers, traders, workers, scientists, and artists, but also refugees who were forced to leave their homeland due to political, religious, or racial oppression. The British Isles have become a refuge for many other refugees from present-day Europe. Among them were Jews, Russians, emigrants from Belgium, France, Czech, Ireland, Poland, Italy, and refugees from Germany (Panayi, 2014).

British society has always been shaped by its relationship with refugees, and immigrants. Therefore, immigration continues to be a significant factor in change and its development. The presence of immigrants in Britain is constantly reflected in both politics and everyday life, for instance in literature, culture, gastronomy, music, and fashion. With immigrants came not only new ideas, thoughts, and influences, but also problems, and new questions arose.

### **1.1 Immigration before 1945**

As early as the 17th century, England became the center of an ever-expanding empire, hence many overseas residents were present. In the 1650s, a significant number of England's blacks began to enter Britain, which was associated with the peak of slavery and plantation. The slaves came to England not only with the planters, whom they served as servants, farmworkers, grooms, or butlers but also with the officers of the slave ships (Fryer, 2018).

Within the 1670s approximately 300 children of West Indian growers were coming to Britain each year for their education. A hundred years later, more than half of those descendants continues to do so. It was in order to continue living in the grand way they had got used to on their plantations that the West Indians and their offspring brought back to England their ‘numerous Retinue of . . . dark Attendants’ (Fryer, 2018, p. 19).

Youthful dark slaves were likewise brought to Britain by the officials of slave-ships. Large numbers of these individuals were auctioned off in the West Indies. Those brought to British nation were sold secretly to rich families or granted to companions – or uncovered for public offer of slave-ships. Other dark slaves, Asians as well as Africans, were brought by government authorities and armed force and naval officials returning from service abroad and by the commanders of standard trader ships. Ultimately, there were Africans who came

to Britain as free sailors, enlisted to replace English crew members who had passed away or deserted on the African coast. However, aiming to return home on a later journey, they frequently ended up staying in Britain (Fryer, 2018).

In any case, the incredible large part of individuals of color who came to Britain were brought as slaves, and the majority of these were extremely youthful.

However, the change did not come until 1807, when the slave trade was banned in England. Slavery was eventually abolished in the colonies too, with effect from 1834. It is important to note that slavery in the British Isles began to disappear sometime between 1760 and 1790. One of the reasons for this was that the resistance to slavery itself gradually began to increase (Holmes, 2016). Blacks gradually began to integrate into everyday life. They were employed primarily as soldiers, sailors, butlers, laborers, and coachmen. They most frequently settled in the ports of London, Bristol, Cardiff, and Liverpool (Patterson, 1965; Sandbrook, 2006). As well as among the Asians, there were blacks who managed to successfully occupy a prominent place in British society, one such example being the leading figure William Cuffay (1788-1870). He was born on a merchant ship in the West Indies to a freed slave. He became one of the most significant figures in the Chartist movement<sup>1</sup> in London (British Library, n.d.; Fryer, 2018). Most working-class Indians worked predominantly in the navy, the army, and sales. On the contrary, wealthier families sent their children to study in English schools and universities, and over time they became doctors, lawyers, or businesspeople.

Immigrants from Europe, mainly from Ireland, Germans, Jews from Russia, Italians, and many others predominated in England. The number of Irish people began to increase between the 1940s and 1950s due to the potato famine in Ireland. In the span of twenty years, their number in Britain has increased tremendously, from 291,000 to 602,000. Like other minorities, most Irish people entered the war, and there were more than 50,000. The others worked hard and lived mostly in the shanty towns of Manchester, Liverpool, or East London. It was the only housing they could afford. The British still looked down on them because of their spiritual traditions and social background (Winder, 2004).

Another wave of immigration came in the 1880s. This time it was the Jews who traveled to other states, but the vast majority settled in London's East End. By 1900 districts

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<sup>1</sup> Chartist movement is a working-class movement that arose in 1836 in order to gain political rights and influence for the working classes.

Spitalfields and Whitechapel became the main center for over 95% of the Jewish population (Guillery et al., n. d.).

As the influx of immigrants continued to increase, the Aliens Act was created in 1905. This law introduced immigration controls and registration for the first time, and the minister was responsible for matters relating to immigration and nationality (Pellew, 1989).

The hostile relations between the immigrants and the British, which improved during the war, worsened again after the war, and very vastly. People from the colonies who were drafted into the war to Britain eventually stayed there and returned to the jobs in which they had previously worked. However, this did not sit well with whites, who were returning to their everyday life, and that is why further riots between the colored and white residents arose. This hatred resulted in a series of riots between 1919 and 1920 and the killing of three black crew members of a coal carrier (Winder, 2004).

It was World War II that became a major factor in large-scale immigration from the Indian subcontinent and the Caribbean in the second half of the 20th century. The British government needed help defending the country, so a tremendous number of volunteers immigrated to Britain. The first wave of volunteers came to help one year after the outbreak of World War II, in 1940. They were so-called people from the working class. They were children of professionals and administrative officers, some of them remained after the war and settled permanently. They were the ones who created the pressure for independence. At the same time, they created a background for others and newcomers. These people were well-educated and decided to immigrate mainly because they wanted to experience some adventure, escape, and be able to expand their education, and joining the Royal Air Force was the best and basically, the shortest way to achieve that goal (Phillips & Phillips, 1998).

Joining the RAF was not as easy as it initially seemed. In order to be accepted into the Air Force at all, they first had to be qualified to meet the requirements for admission. And that involved passing various tests and going through training for pilots, and then they had to get to Britain on their own to enlist. At first, the army did not want to accept colored volunteers, there were specific criteria that included those volunteers had to be of English descent. As the situation in the war deteriorated and many soldiers died, the army decided to accept all volunteers (Phillips & Phillips, 1998). Despite accepting troops from the Caribbean, American soldiers still rejected them and had a racist approach to them. On the other hand, the British treated them with friendliness and even respect. However, many wanted to stay in Britain as the economic situation in the Caribbean deteriorated and

unemployment reached 25% (Pilkington, 1988). However, in the spring of 1945, the British Ministry tried to force the troops to return, but the vast majority nevertheless decided to stay (Phillips & Phillips (1998).

Among the male volunteers were also women who joined the Auxiliary Territorial Service, formed in 1939. ATS was a non-combatant unit recruiting women for jobs such as radar operators, cooks, and searchlight operators (Phillips & Phillips, 1998, p. 35). The army had over 13,000 inhabitants from the Central American islands, and about 6,000 of them were in the RAF (Spencer, 1997). More than 2.5 million Indian men and women fought for the Allies. They served mainly in Burma and further afield in North Africa, the Middle East, Iran, Iraq, and Italy. There were about 30,000 in the Royal Indian Navy and about 55,000 in the Royal Indian Air Force as flyers or ground staff (Participants from the Indian subcontinent in the Second World War, n.d.). Many other nationalities participated in the victory of the Battle of Britain, which ended in 1940. The most numerous groups were Polish pilots, followed by New Zealanders, Canadians, Czechoslovaks, and many others (The Airmen of the Battle of Britain, n.d.).

## **1.2 Immigration after 1945**

The British economy was facing labor shortages after the war, so the government tried to fill the vacancies. Initially, it preferred only immigrants from Ireland and continental Europe, or from the Old Commonwealth, which included Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. Unable to fill all the vacancies, the government withdrew and began hiring immigrants from the New Commonwealth. These were the states that gained independence from the United Kingdom in the post-war period. In 1948, the government passed the British Nationality Act, which was why the influx of ‘colored populations’ increased. The reason for passing the law was to try to strengthen the weakening role of the emerging Commonwealth states. It was here where the term Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies was legally enshrined, which included all existing British subjects. This enabled them to enter, work, settle, use all political and civil rights in the United Kingdom. It can be said that this legislative measure has enacted in practice the already ongoing ‘Open Door’ policy (Peach, 1968).

The arrival of the Empire Windrush from the Caribbean in June 1948 with 492 passengers is considered the beginning of post-war mass immigration. Several things such job vacancies, high unemployment, and the bad economic crisis in Britain and the Caribbean played a significant role in this. The flow of immigrants did not start to increase until 1954

and its roots must be traced back to the Second World War (White, 2008). Among them were former soldiers who decided to return to their homeland after the war but did not last there because life in the Caribbean felt slower, poorer, and without any options. (Phillips & Phillips, 1998). Immigration from the Caribbean to Britain reached its first peak in the mid-1950s. Around that time, the number of new arrivals from India and Pakistan began to grow. Between 1960 and 1962, the number of immigrants increased dramatically due to fear of a planned immigration restriction (Gish, 1968).

Over time, the British people began to worry about the growing number of immigrants. These fears caused tensions between the 'colored' and white people, which resulted in riots in Notting Hill and Nottingham in London in 1958. Most Britons, therefore, sought in the early 1960s for the government to introduce at least some control over the number of immigrants.

In July 1962, the Commonwealth Immigrant Act came into force. It was the first law restricting Commonwealth immigration and was introduced by British Conservative politician Harold Macmillan (Hampshire, 2005). According to the law, the immigrants had to obtain work vouchers to enter the country. The allocations of work permits had influenced the professional structure and numbers of immigrants. The law was not so ideal. The number of immigrants coming to work has been partially reduced. On the other hand, the number of family members coming to Britain has increased significantly due to fears of further tightening of immigration policy (White, 2008). Workers who protested at first eventually imposed further restrictions in 1965 and 1968 and the number of work permits was reduced. In March 1968, the second Commonwealth Immigrants Act was enacted to tighten immigration controls. It was in response to the expected arrival of Asian settlers from East Africa, mainly from Kenya. As a result, Asians from East Africa lost their automatic rights to enter the United Kingdom, even though they held British passports (Hepple, 1968). Gradually, other laws were created that somehow restricted immigrants. The Immigration Act, passed in 1971 but came into force in 1973, covered all immigration to Britain. It divided the applicants according to whether their ancestors were born in Britain. This law was more beneficial to the people of the old Commonwealth. It should be noted that this law was against 'colored immigrants' and at the same time contravened the British Nationality Act of 1948 (Fryer, 2018; Holmes, 2016).

In the 1960s, the British government tried to accommodate all citizens. Therefore, immigration was curtailed, which was supposed to relieve the British. The government



passed the Race Relations Acts in 1965 and 1968. These laws were intended to partially relieve immigrants that disagreed with immigration control. The first Race Relations Acts of 1965 had to be extended in 1968, as it did not cover all areas of discrimination – employment, renting, and buying flats (Hepple, 1969).

Post-war immigration had a very large impact on the United Kingdom, which also involved major political changes. The influx of immigrants from the New Commonwealth has risen substantially from 276,000 people to 1.2 million people living in Britain over the course of twenty years (Adolino, 1998). Immigration has been a major issue since the 1960s, and the British have had different views on the issue. One-third of the people did not want them there because they thought of them as a necessary evil, the other third approached them neutrally and the rest considered them to be nice and normal people (Phillips & Phillips, 1998).

### **1.2.1 Immigration from Commonwealth countries**

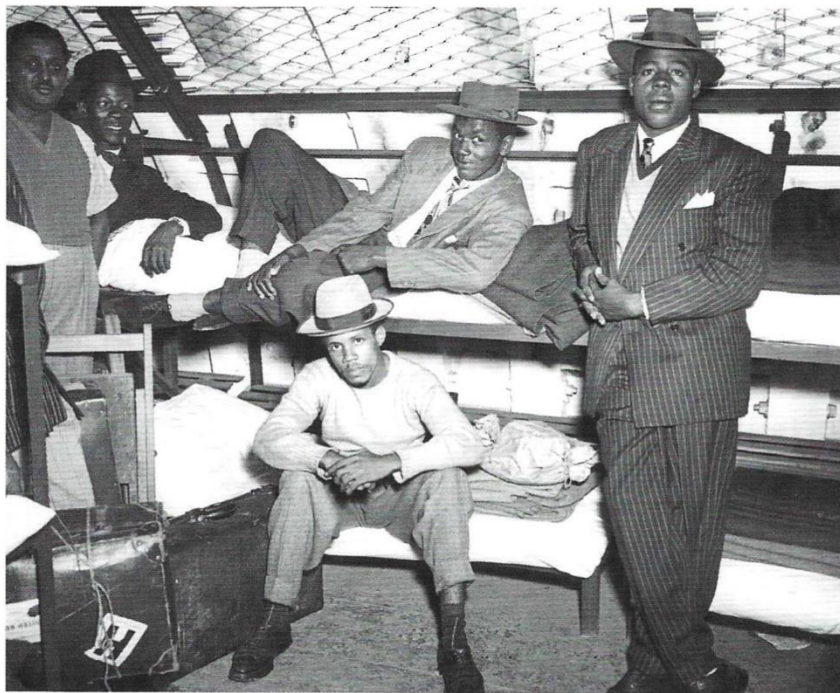
The people of the Caribbean have been leaving their home countries since the late 1940s. The reason was the great economic crisis and the lack of vacancies. Jamaicans, therefore, went to work in the United States, concretely to Florida, but after 1952 began to seek refuge elsewhere, as a law was passed in the United States that radically restricted immigration. They chose Britain because they knew there were a lot of vacancies, the British Nationality Act came out, and long-distance transport improved, cruising across the Atlantic was faster and cheaper (Holmes, 2016).

The Empire Windrush was the first ship to arrive from the Caribbean to Great Britain after the war and is therefore considered a symbol of post-war immigration. The vast majority of the passengers were young men and former soldiers. The British initially knew nothing about the arrival of the ship, only finding out when the ship was on its way. That is why the British government was shocked and bewildered. They were unprepared for such a large number of immigrants and worried about finding accommodation and jobs for them, fortunately, some of them had the addresses of acquaintances, and the remaining majority were housed in a shelter in Clapham, London (Phillips & Phillips, 1998) (Picture 1).



54. Some of the 492 West Indians preparing to disembark from the *Empire Windrush* in 1948.

55. West Indian migrants temporarily housed in the deep-level air-raid shelter under Clapham Common in south London.



*Picture 1: West Indians in Britain*

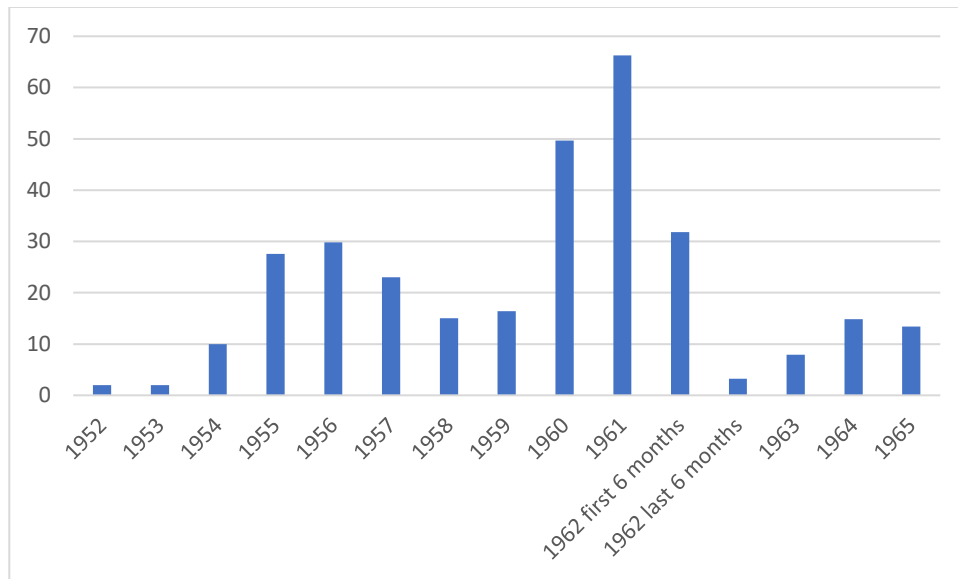
(Source: Olusoga, 2021, p. 472)

The public did not pay much attention to the arrival of the ship rather they were intrigued by the exotic appearance of the passengers. On the contrary, the politicians were very worried that this arrival would be an impulse for further immigration. Their fears were realized, and within a few years, more ships arrived. The first, which was called the Orbit

with 180 passengers, arrived in London the same year as the Empire Windrush. The ship Reina del Pacifico followed in 1949 with 39 Jamaicans (Fryer, 2018). Most of the immigrants were from Jamaica, but after 1954, immigrants from other countries of the Caribbean began to arrive in Britain, and their numbers increased dramatically (Gish, 1968) (Figure 1).

Figure 1

*Number of immigrants in Britain from West Indies*

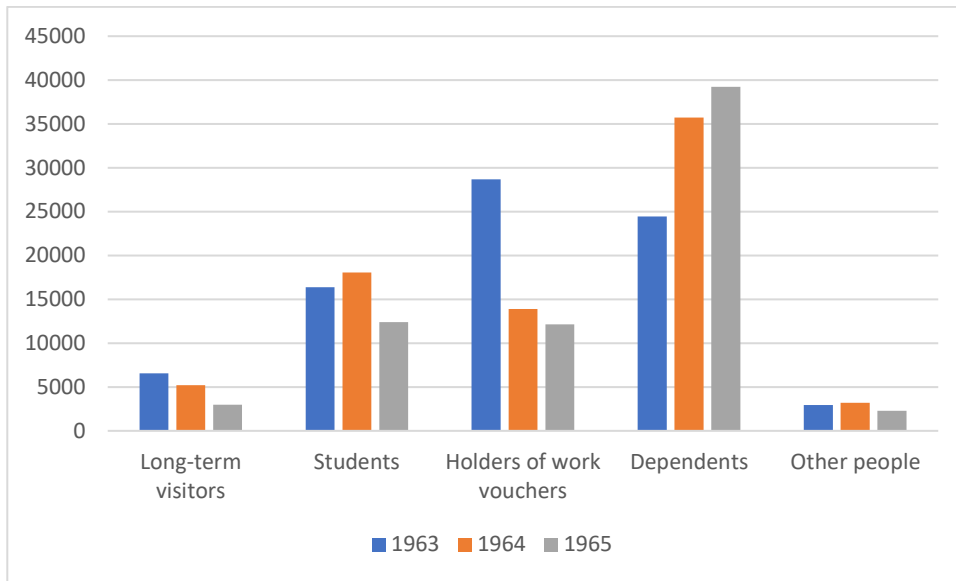


(Source: Gish, 1968, pp. 22-23)

The number of new arrivals from the New Commonwealth countries increased, and so did the demand for labor as the European labor force declined. For this reason, British businesses began to offer work to immigrants from the Caribbean, even paying for their travel and deducting the fees from their employee's salaries. One such firm was London Transport, which employed several thousand of them. On the contrary, between 1958 and 1959, job vacancies decreased and the number of newly arrived immigrants reduced after the Commonwealth Immigrants Act was introduced. There was a big difference between the first and second waves of immigrants. In the first wave were people who were fully or partially qualified and came from urban areas. In the second wave, the vast majority were less educated and came from a rural background. At first, the presence of men prevailed, but that changed. In 1971 was found that the number of women predominated. The vast majority of women were young, unmarried, and had the same ambitions as men (Sandbrook, 2006) (Figure 2).

Figure 2

*People entering Britain in long-term 1963-1965*



(Source: Gish, 1968, p. 26)

## **2 Windrush Generation**

### **2.1 Life in Britain**

For the vast majority of immigrants, moving to Britain was great hope for a new and contented life. They came with different wishes, expectations, and idealistic ideas about the ‘mother country’. These ideas and illusions were mainly shaped by the British themselves through education. They portrayed Britain as a great, invincible untainted power (Fryer, 2018).

They entered the country mainly with the conviction of their future place in British society. This belief arose from history, as the West Indies were strongly associated with colonialism. Therefore, the people of the West Indies viewed Great Britain as the ‘motherland’. From an early age, children in schools learned about England as a land of liberty, about English aristocrats and monarchs, sang songs, and recited the names of mountains and rivers. As a result, citizens knew much more about Britain than they did about Jamaica, from which they came (Phillip & Phillips, 1998).

Many immigrants expected that British citizens would welcome them with open arms and that life would be easier there (Sandbrook, 2006). Unfortunately, when they arrived, they ascertained that life would not be what they had imagined. The stark reality awaited them, and they had to contend with several problems. Among the most significant problems were housing and employment. Those were the most substantive problems causing divisions between Britons and immigrants. That was one of the main reasons why the government tried to limit the influx of immigrants. Daily, they struggled with prejudice, suspicion, and ignorance in British society. The most surprising discovery for the Caribbean was that British social status was not interwoven with skin color. That was why they were surprised to see white citizens working in inferior positions, something they had never encountered in the Caribbean (Pilkington, 1988).

#### **2.1.1 Housing and occupation of immigrants**

The vast majority of immigrants moved to major cities like London, Cardiff, Bristol, or Liverpool by the time World War II began (those three cities had a slave tradition) and to cities near universities because there were a lot of job vacancies. After the war, there were radical changes in the distribution of the colored population in Britain, which led to the British moving to the suburbs and the immigrants then replacing them in the centers of the major cities. And that's why most of the colored population was in the industrial and

manufacturing centers. It is known that the largest Caribbean community in 1958 was located in London (approximately 40,000) and Birmingham (about 27,000). The fewest were in Manchester and Nottingham, there were about 4,000. This number increased many times in 1971 (Pilkington, 1988). More than 50% of all New Commonwealth immigrants lived in the two largest cities - Greater London, where over 540,000 lived, and Birmingham, where over 92,000 lived. They were also located in cities such as Wolverhampton (over 28,000), Leicester (over 27,000), and Bradford (over 26,000) (Jones, 1978, p. 519). The people of the individual Caribbean islands formed communities and settled accordingly. For example, Jamaicans lived in Brixton, Stoke Newington, and Clapham, and immigrants from Trinidad in Notting Hill (Sandbrook, 2006).

While vacancies in Britain were in abundance, immigrants did not find accommodation so easy. Some of them were unable to find housing due to prejudice and discrimination. Since they could not even linger on the streets because they seemed suspicious, they had no choice but to be constantly on the move, hoping to find some accommodation. General flats were also available in Britain, but unfortunately, immigrants did not meet the requirements to receive an apartment. One of the main requirements was that the applicant had to live in the area for at least five years before being entered on the waiting list. The granting of the apartment was also affected by whether the applicant served in the army during the war or how big his family was. Therefore, most immigrants were looking for sublet accommodation, but this was not very successful either. A survey conducted between 1952 and 1953 showed that up to 85% of landlords did not rent a room to 'too dark' students from Africa or the West Indies (White, 2008).

Many landlords have taken an openly discriminatory approach to rental advertising. They hung signs on the door that read "Black - Niggers not wanted here" or "No Niggers" or "No Color" (Phillips & Phillips, 1998, p. 89). Although some landlords did not promote these signs, they also rejected the applicants once they found out that they were dark-skinned applicants. Some of them were afraid of losing their tenants. Many immigrants found themselves in a situation similar to that experienced by William Naltes. He arrived for a tour. The landlord was kind enough to show him the house, but unfortunately, he did not rent the room. The landlord said:

Well this is the room, that I have for rent.“ Then, having shown me around the house we went outside and we sat smoking a cigarette. Then he said, “Well, I can’t rent you the room, you know.“ So I said, “Well, why not?“ He said, “Well, if I let you have it, the rest of

my tenants will go.“ He said, “ I have nothing personal against you, but that’s the way it will be. (Phillips & Phillips, 1998, p. 91)

One of the other applicants who applied for a room in another rental house was Cecil Holness. He arranged a tour of the room, which was available but after she saw him, she changed her mind. She said:

Oh, I’m so sorry. You are just five minutes late. The room is taken.” So I said to her, I said, “Madam, do you see that telephone kiosk down there?” She said, “Yes.” I said, “That’s where I was phoning from and I did not see anyone come to your door like that.” So she paused for a while and said, “Well, I don’t want black people. (Phillips & Phillips, 1998, p. 90)

The lack of funds and the reluctance of banks to provide mortgages and loans to immigrants led to immigrants settling in inferior and dilapidated neighborhoods of urban centers. Gradually, the concentration of immigrants began to increase in these areas because it was better and safer for them to live in a community with which they shared a common culture, experience, language, and religious ties (Holmes, 2016). They helped each other greatly in the community, and through the pardner system<sup>2</sup>, they were able to access real estate. There was a joint fund into which family, close acquaintances, and friends put their savings every week, and they were then handed over to the person who was next in line. In this way, they were able to pay the deposit on the apartments. This system was used by blacks of Caribbean origin all over the world (Goulbourne, 1998).

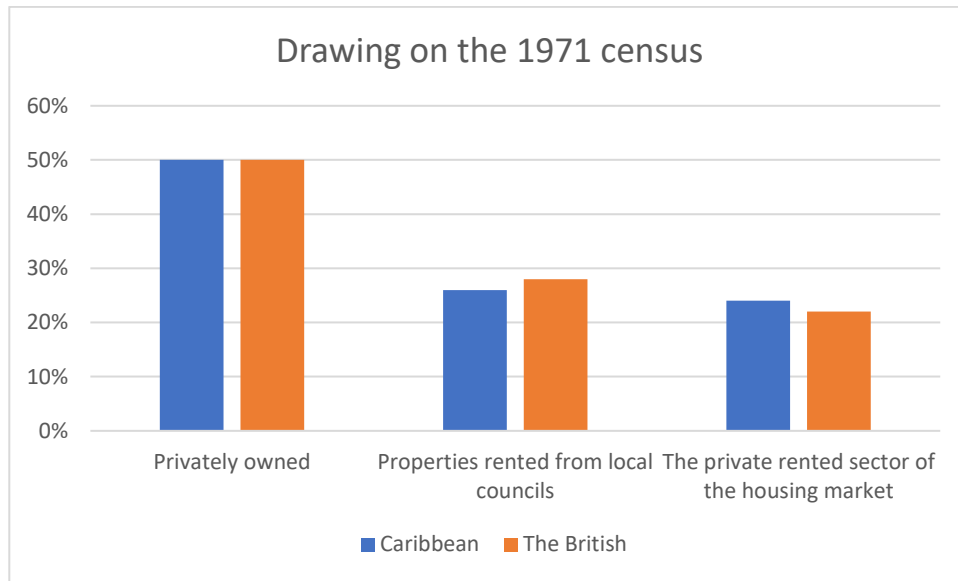
Although immigrants were victims of racial discrimination, in many ways they felt British. When it came to housing, they behaved much like the British, which was also shown by the 1971 census. Although immigrants made less money, worked in lower-paid jobs than the British, and were relatively new to the real estate market, they did relatively well (Goulbourne, 1998) (Figure 3).

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<sup>2</sup> Pardner system is an arrangement that involves a group of people (family, friends, workers) that deposit regular sums of money monthly and then each person in the group takes a turn in withdrawing all that money.

Figure 3

*Drawing on the 1971 census*



(Source: Goulbourne, 1998, p. 79)

The promise of well-paid employment became the main impetus for post-war immigration from the Caribbean. Immigrants were prepared to give up everything they had in their home country and travel a long way to acquire better job opportunities and improved life (Goulbourne, 198). They had originally come to Britain with a different aim. They wanted to stay there temporarily until they earned enough money but eventually decided to settle down. Immigrants were left with jobs in which the local white people did not want to work (Fryer, 2018). Most were poorly paid, unpleasant, dangerous, and strenuous, as they were in diminishing fields such as textiles, heavy industry, and transport. Immigrants from the Caribbean worked in various branches, such as doormen, kitchen helpers, baggage handlers, and women worked very often in hospitals across the country. Most of the jobs were both partially skilled and unskilled. Immigrants also faced labor discrimination. They earned less money than the British, had a lower social status, and found career growth almost impossible. Although most immigrants were educated, they had to work in inferior jobs in Britain as laborers, post office clerks, or cleaners (Sandbrook, 2006).

### **2.1.2 Education and social system**

During the 1960s, family members, mostly mothers with children, began to come to the immigrants who were already settled. Education was very important to immigrants, so some sent their children alone to relatives for education. Immigrant children were placed in



schools, depending on where they lived. As immigrants tended to settle in with each other due to the prejudice and discrimination they faced from their fellow British citizens, the number of children of color had increased in some schools. According to the survey, in the mid-1960s, some schools had more than 50% of students of a different skin (Lee, 1965).

The growing number of pupils of color in British schools began to worry the British authorities, as they feared that there might be a reduction in the level of teaching in schools, given the language barrier and the problem of pupil discipline. Therefore, the government came up with a solution aimed at preventing a reduction in the level of schools. The solution was to place immigrant pupils in different schools, which was too unrealistic in the end, and they failed to implement it. There were also those who opposed the solution, suggesting instead that the children stay in their schools and focus on balancing their education. They created special programs, adapted a lot of teaching aids, and through teacher training made it easier to compensate for the shortcomings of children of color. The commuting of pupils to other schools eventually happened, not by immigrants but by the British, because the British parents did not want their children to go to schools where the number of children of other colors predominated (Lee, 1965).

In the beginning, it was very difficult for immigrant children to integrate into schools for many reasons. One reason was that British education worked differently from what they were used to. Parents often had problems with this approach because they expected their children to be given homework and have to learn at home, which they didn't. Another reason was that children had problems with pronunciation, intonation, and using a different syntax. Last but not least, challenging for them was that in the beginning, they often changed homes and schools and had to get used to a new environment. Since education was foremost for parents, they tried to be very supportive of their children and helped them as much as they could. This attitude of parents had a significant influence on children's education (Lee, 1965).

There was a major language barrier between pupils and teachers, which did not allow the intelligence and ability of children to be known. Therefore, pupils were often sent to inferior classes. Parents did not like this approach and required teachers to give children a test before placing them in classes that showed the children's skills. That is how it worked in their native country. It is important to mention the cultural differences and different habits that were an obstacle and often made it difficult for children to be placed in mainstream British school classes. Unfortunately, immigrant children did not avoid the verbal assaults

and occasional fights that took place very often because British children treated them disrespectfully and the negative attitude they learned from their parents (Lee, 1965).

Despite all these difficulties, the situation gradually improved as immigrants realized that education was the key to a better life and better job opportunities. More young immigrants stayed in schools compared to the young British since they had a lot of support from their parents, and they also tried to compensate for the lack of education they received at a lower level of education (Mason, 1995).

With the arrival of immigrants to Britain, some infectious diseases that were almost eradicated came. The smallpox pandemic that broke out in 1961 in Bradford, where 24 people died, spread most widely among the population. Immigrants were much more likely to have tuberculosis and sexually transmitted diseases than British citizens. Among the immigrants appeared typhoid, cholera, and bacterial eye infections (trachoma), and they also suffered from sickle-cell anaemia. Caribbean men were suffering from depression and were more prone to high blood pressure, diabetes, and strokes than indigenous people. Caribbean women were more prone to disability. Many Afro-Caribbean men were very often diagnosed as mentally ill, particularly schizophrenic (Goulbourne, 1998).

The British feared that the immigrants would use social security services, but their fears were unnecessary. As it turned out, the immigrants had even lower social security requirements. Their health expenses and costs were comparable to the domestic population. For social security, the greatest burden was the retirement-age population. The vast majority of immigrants were at a young age (aged 25-35), but there were also retired people who were cared for by working people in the community. Therefore, their demands on the health and social care system were relatively small (Jones, 1967).

## **2.2 Contribution to Britain' culture**

Hundreds of thousands of Caribbean men and women not only help to Britain in form of physical work, but also made a huge contribution to British economy, not only in the post-war period but across decades of work and employment. They brought with them a huge amount of art, music, poetry, theater and literature that transformed British culture forever. Unfortunately, the work of the Caribbean people and their contribution to British art and culture is often overlooked (Windrush: Contribution to Culture, n.d.).

### **2.2.1 Notting Hill Carnival**

The Notting Hill Carnival was created as an awakening to the racial tensions and violence that Caribbean immigrants had to contend with in cities like London and Nottingham. It plays a hugely significant role in the cultural evolution of Black Britain (Picture 2), and it was the only occasion during which the black people gathered in large numbers. The racial riots and the increasing tensions among citizens led to the death of a citizen named Kelso Cochrane. The late Political Activist and Broadcaster, Darcus Howe, once said, “If there weren't race riots in Notting Hill I don't believe that we would have had the Notting Hill Carnival. If it wasn't for the murder of Kelso Cochrane, Carnival wouldn't have happened” (Our History, n.d.).

Claudia Jones, Trinidadian-born human rights activist and founder of newspapers The West Indian Gazette and Afro-Asian Caribbean News, is the woman behind the Notting Hill Carnival. Those were the only newspaper printed in London for black community. She spent years working with the Afro-Caribbean community and fighting for equal rights for Blacks. The carnival was organized in St. Pancras Town Hall on 30th January 1959, but it took place in the streets of Notting Hill in 1966 after the riots and Cochrane's death. It became the first outdoor carnival in England, and it is still a proud, community led event (A History of Notting Hill Carnival, n.d.).



*Picture 2: A policeman joins the festivities*

(Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/gallery/2014/aug/24/notting-hill-carnival-the-early-years>)

### **2.2.2 Music**

The Caribbean community was already influenced by Latin-American, African and Asian music before the arrival of the Windrush Generation. They brought musical styles such as calypso, ska, blue-beat, reggae, rap, dance-hall, jungle, techno, house and afro-beat to the British musical scene. Among the newcomers were several musicians who played jazz, blues, and gospel music. One of the best-known and most popular artists was calypsonian Aldwyn Roberts, known by his stage name as Lord Kitchener (Phillips & Phillips, 1998) (Picture 3).



*Picture 3: Aldwyn Roberts, Lord Kitchener, in 1950*

(Source: Phillips & Phillips, 1998, p. 230)

Calypso is considered to be light-hearted and carefree music that combines serious and joyful themes. This musical style was first introduced by an artist named Lord Shawty in an attempt to revive traditional Trinidad and Tobago calypso music in the 1970s. This style was a great inspiration to London pop artists and formed the basis for other styles such as dancehall, UK garage, jungle, ragga, and hip hop. It was Lord Kitchener who introduced this style to Britain. He was already a big star in Trinidad and Tobago, then performed for African and Caribbean audiences in London. He became the voice of Caribbean culture in Britain (How the Windrush Generation transformed British arts and culture, n.d.).

Ska was a Jamaican variation of Afro-American R&B and soul and was originated in 1959. It was a precursor to reggae. Musicians were mostly influenced by Afro-American shuffle beat. The bands was comprised of guitarists, bass players, trumpeters, drummers and saxophonists. Ska, like the calypso, was brought to Britain by immigrants. The genre was more popular among young blacks, while the calypso prevailed among older blacks.

Reggae music, along with the Rastafarian movement originated in Jamaica in the late 1960s. The power of reggae, built on a foundation of history with the spirit of the Jamaican people and messages of a better future, became a notion with universal appreciation. (The

rise of reggae: How a uniquely Jamaican sound conquered the world, n. d., para. 43). Reggae reflected the new Jamaica and had become popular all over the world by the 1970s.

### 2.2.3 Authors

Afro-Caribbean culture has influenced not only the British economy and music but also other cultural fields such as fashion, fine arts, and literature. Over the year, many significant black artists have participated in the development, whose work had a substantial impact on the black community and British society. Those artists made a huge contribution to creating contemporary Black British culture.

John Agard (1949), who was born in British Guiana and moved to England in 1977, is a playwright, poet, and children's writer. He worked as a sub-editor and feature writer for Guyana Sunday Chronicle newspaper and as a touring lecturer for the Commonwealth Institute. Agard traveled to schools and taught children about Caribbean culture. One of his most famous and well-known poem is called *Half Caste* (listed in Appendix 1). The poem discusses the problems faced by black and mixed-raced citizens in Britain. His works help people to make Caribbean culture accessible to a wide audience (Wilkinson, 2009).

Benjamin Zephaniah (1958), who was born in England, is a writer, novelist, playwright and dub poet<sup>3</sup>. His writing is strongly influenced by the music and poetry of Jamaica and what he calls 'street politics'. He moved to London because he wanted to widen his audience since he was already popular among the African-Caribbean and Asian communities. He uses dub poetry to deliver poetry to people who do not read (Procter, 2010).

David Olusoga (1970) originating from Nigeria is a British historian, broadcaster, film maker and an author of many award-winning books. Olusoga writes book and make movies mainly about history of immigrants, race, slavery and contemporary culture in the UK and USA. His books include *The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide and the Colonial Roots of Nazism* (2011), *Black and British: A Forgotten History* (2016), *The Black History Book: Big Ideas Simply Explained* (2021). Filmography include *Fighting for King and Empire: Britain's Caribbean Heroes* (2015), *Black and British: A Forgotten History* (2016) (David Olusoga, n.d.).

Zadie Smith (1975) is a multi-award-winning writer originating from Jamaica. She is mostly known for her treatment of race, religion, and cultural identity. Smith is the author

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<sup>3</sup> Dub poetry is a combination of reggae dub rhythms and spoken word.

of novels *White Teeth* (2002), *On Beauty* (2005) and *Swing Time* (2016), and writer of short fiction *Grand Union: Stories* (2019) (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2021).

Andrea Levy (1956–2019) was born in London to Jamaican parents. She is the author of five books, each of which explores the problems Jamaican immigrants had to face. Levy is best known for her novel *Small Island* (2004), which won the 2004 Orange Prize for Fiction, the 2004 Whitbread Book of the Year, and the 2005 Commonwealth Writers Prize (Andrea Levy, n.d.)

Samuel Selvon (1923–1994), who was a Trinidad born writer is best known for his novel *The Lonely Londoners* (1975). His work focuses on the experience of a life of African and Caribbean immigrants in Britain (The Editor of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2022).

Jackie Kay (1961) is writer born to a Scottish mother and a Nigerian father who was adopted by a white couple. Her stories are inspired by her experience of being adopted a growing up in a white British family. Poems in her first collection of poetry *The Adoption Papers* (1991) deals with the search for a cultural identity from the adoptive child's perspective. The poems in her collection *Other Lovers* (1993) were inspired and influenced by Afro-Caribbean people and deal with the search for identity and the experiences of slavery (Jackie Kay, n.d.).

### **3 Relations between the majority of society and Caribbean immigrants**

Britain is very often considered by its people to be free, tolerant, and extraordinarily peaceable. A country that accepts immigrants and refugees with a warm, kind, and welcoming attitude, yet all treat immigrants with disrespect, contempt, suspicion, and remembering to follow the prejudices that prevailed between them and passed down from generation to generation. (Holmes, 2016). Unfortunately, as early as the middle of the 20th century, the British showed their superiority as they were brought up in this spirit, so it was difficult for them to accept competition in employment and the real estate market. That was because they regarded immigrants as uneducated, and the idea of being equal was unacceptable to them. Feelings of insecurity and fear of a different culture aroused in British citizens negative attitudes toward immigrants (Sandbrook, 2006).

The vast majority of immigrants were shocked and unpleasantly surprised by the approach that prevailed in Britain. They had not imagined such an acceptance and attitude when they heard nothing but positive things about Britain. They had expected the warm, kind, and accommodating attitude that Britain was so famous for. Both blacks and Asians had to contend with being labeled sly sexual predators. Immigrants from Central America were seen as more intelligent and hardworking than immigrants from other nations simply because they had so-called British manners, even though they were very often associated with drugs or sexual independence (Sandbrook, 2006).

The British had reservations about almost everything that pertained to immigrants. Some immigrants found it more difficult to learn a new language, so they spoke broken English, but the British either did not like it much or on the contrary, enjoyed watching them and laughing at them. That was why they considered them to be very incompetent, even though the British were known to be reluctant to learn new languages. The British complained that the newcomers did not integrate into society and only spent time with each other. At the same time, some did not want to work with them or live in the same neighborhood, and the coexistence of mixed couples was unacceptable and very often condemned (Sandbrook, 2006). Racism was everywhere - in everyday conversation, jokes, politics, and election campaigns (Holmes, 2016).

Despite all this, the British felt a certain sense of duty to the colored people of the Commonwealth. Until 1956, more than a third of the population agreed that entry for Commonwealth citizens should not be limited (Sandbrook, 2006). Britain was trying to find a new, suitable national identity that could replace the old empire.



### **3.1 Discrimination**

Immigrants encountered discrimination and hostility from the British at every turn. They were tolerated only when they did not compete for employment, housing, entertainment, sports, and women (Holmes, 2016).

However, this was most visible in the area of housing. Those who did not have friends, family, or acquaintances in Britain had to find a place to live, but it was challenging and demanding, as was mentioned in previous chapters. Immigrants encountered signs like "Black - Niggers not wanted here", "No Niggers" or "No Color" and "No Dogs. No Blacks" that hung on the doors of apartment blocks or motels (Winder, 2004). Therefore the Department of Labor decided to explain to immigrants that it would happen often. Landlords will not rent them rooms because of their skin color, and they had to expect to encounter this approach very often in Britain (Sandbrook, 2006). The social status of people of color was considered inferior, so the British people did not want to live in the same neighborhood, fearing that their social status would deteriorate as well.

After the war, there was a shortage of vacant flats in Britain, and the fact that immigrants moved to a neighborhood where the British lived was unpleasant for the British. The owners of the apartments were well aware of the problems immigrants had in finding housing, so they took advantage of it. They offered them flats that were in poor condition and with higher rents than the British themselves had. The immigrants had no choice but to accept the offers - either having a roof over a head in bad condition or living on the streets. One such owner was the infamous Polish refugee Petr Rachman. He owned dozens of properties from which he gradually evicted protected tenants in order to move in Caribbean immigrants, after which he demanded very high rents (Fryer, 2018).

Immigrants, after a while, began to be assigned council housing, but the British didn't like that. The conditions for allocating flats changed in the 1960s, making it impossible for immigrants to obtain an apartment. The accommodation they were often placed in was usually overpopulated with unsuitable hygienic conditions (Sandbrook, 2006).

Racial discrimination in employment was common. Immigrants only found jobs in low-paid manual jobs. These were jobs that the British found inferior and did not want to do. In some cities, applications from white and colored applicants were treated differently because colored applicants were assumed to be unskilled and therefore only suitable for manual labor. As the number of colored applicants increased, the British worried that they would lose their jobs or their employers would reduce their salaries. The greatest

discrimination occurred at a time of economic crisis when workers from the islands of Central American or the Indian subcontinent were made redundant (Holmes, 2016). British workers generally insisted that they would not be dismissed and that immigrants would not be given good jobs, even if they were qualified to do so. Many graduate teachers, clerks, and accountants worked in post offices, washed dishes, or stood by assembly lines because British employers did not recognize the education they had received in their country. As a result, workers of color who had the worst jobs were made redundant as a priority (Hepple, 1968).

Unfortunately, in schools, children did not avoid discrimination and prejudice either. In the suburbs of Southall, for example, there was a campaign by English parents to encourage immigrant children to study separately so as not to hinder the development of English children. The Ministry of Education rejected the proposal, placing them in so-called equalization classes instead of completely separating them. Yet immigrant children were very often taught in below-average classes, which was proven in adulthood, as they were disadvantaged in the labor market. That is why some youngsters from the Caribbean community chose not to pursue further education because they thought it was a waste of time (Goulbourne, 1998).

It was no different in public places. Immigrants encountered discrimination in dance halls, clubs, and pubs and faced it by the police and some army units.

### **3.2 The Nottingham and Notting Hill Riots**

Oppression, discrimination, and violence against minorities have a long history in Britain. One of the so-called first race riots took place in Newport in June 1919, when a black man was said to have verbally insulted a white woman. Another source claims that he put his arm around her and was therefore attacked by a soldier. However, an affray broke out in which several people were injured, and a mob then began demolishing houses and restaurants belonging to black residents. Other similar attacks occurred the same month just a few days later, in Cardiff and Cadoxton near Barry. The cause of the incipient riots was high unemployment among sailors (Fryer, 2018).

The year 1948 was the beginning of all racial unrest in Britain. By 1948 there were around 8,000 black citizens in Liverpool. 30% of them worked as sailors, another 10% worked on the shore, and the rest of them were unemployed as a result of the color bar<sup>4</sup>. That

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<sup>4</sup> Color bar is a social and legal system in which people of different races are separated and not given the same rights and opportunities.

same year the National Union of Seamen endeavored to recruit primarily white sailors, and they succeeded. Black sailors lost their jobs and were replaced by white men. Blacks did not know how to defend themselves against discrimination and attacks, since they were attacked by both white men and police officers. Police raided hostels and houses where sailors stayed and attacked them without cause. In one attack, they even injured a young 15-year-old boy when he was thrown down the stairs and had to be taken to hospital (Fryer, 2018).

In the spring of that year, a major affray broke out between Caribbean immigrants and Irish workers. It was far from over. At the beginning of August in Liverpool, when a crowd of 200 to 300 hundred white men besieged an Indian restaurant, they attacked a black man coming out of it and then demolished the restaurant. The next day, the number of people in the crowd rose to 2,000, and they assaulted sailors staying at the Colsea House hostel. On the third day, the people of the black community decided to defend themselves. As a result, the police said they would do everything they could to put an end to the disorder, but the blacks knew that it will not be helpful. In 1954 in Camden Town, a house occupied by a West Indian family was attacked by a group of white citizens. These events were only a precursor to the racial violence that took place in Nottingham and Notting Hill in late August and early September 1958 (Fryer, 2018).

### **3.2.1 Race Riots in Nottingham in 1958**

Tensions between black and white residents of St Ann's Well Road was rising since the beginning of the year. In the summer of the year, there were first massive protests against people of a different race, then the protests in the streets of Nottingham became attacks on black people that lasted for 18 months and became more frequent (Fryer, 2018). One of the first events was the attack on a young black man who went to a pharmacy in the evening to get medicine. On his way home, he was assaulted by a gang known as the Teddy Boys. Police tried to find the aggressors, but to no avail, because no one ever really knew where they were staying. On 23 August, there was a fight outside a pub, which subsequently lasted about 90 minutes (Fryer, 2018). It began with an argument that then escalated into a brawl in which a dozen people were injured in a matter of minutes. There were a total of 8 injured whites, one of them was a police officer that was inadvertently run over by a dark-skinned citizen (Phillips & Phillips, 1998). As news of the attacks spread at lightning speed, the skirmishes began to multiply and move from the bar to the streets. The white men were in numerical superiority, and the numbers continued to grow (there were about 1,500 of them) and they shouted "Go home to your own country" as well as "Let's go hunt the niggers"

(Pilkington, 1988). On both sides, they were armed with improvised weapons - razors, broken bottles, knives, sticks, or stones. Police eventually managed to disperse the angry crowd, but before they arrived there were eight more injured people. It was reportedly originally a retaliation for an earlier assault on a dark-skinned citizen who was ambushed while walking from a movie theater with his wife, which had grown into a major scuffle. After the incident, two politicians from different political parties said that a new deportation law should be passed to ban other immigrants from entering the country (Fryer, 2018).

A few days later, on August 30, thousands of white residents gathered in the street to ambush and harm immigrants. Many immigrants chose to follow the advice and stayed at home, so there were only a few attacks. Whites surrounded and tried to overturn a car in which three dark-skinned citizens were sitting, shouting "Let's lynch them" and "Let's get at them." The car's crew managed to escape after police cleared the way. When the raging mob found no more immigrants to attack, they began to fight among themselves. The situation in Nottingham continued to deteriorate, with immigrants being attacked not only on the streets but in their homes and shops, in most cases ending up in hospitals. During the riots in Nottingham, 24 aggressors were apprehended by police officers, five were sent to prison for three months, and others were fined (Fryer, 2018).

St Ann's Road became a tourist attraction, where residents from various towns travelled to see 'the terror spots of Nottingham'.

### **3.2.2 Race Riots in Notting Hill 1958**

Most of the Notting Hill racial riots of 1958 took place in North Kensington, same place as the Notting Hill Carnival. Notting Hill was an area notorious for having black and white people living in poor conditions - in poorhouses and overcrowded slums (Fryer, 2018).

The first attack in Notting Hill occurred on August 17, 1958, when a group of white men smashed the windows of houses owned by black men. A few days later, a black man was brutally attacked. Young teenagers aged 16 to 21 began forming gangs in their neighborhood for 'nigger hunting'. They were armed with iron bars, table legs, a starting handle, and knives. The nine youths set off for Notting Hill in the evening, seriously injuring six West Indians, who were then taken to hospital (Fryer 2018). Police tracked the youths down after several hours of pursuit and took them into custody. Two of the injured victims, one in a wheelchair and the other on a stretcher, appeared at the trial on August 29. The judge did not grant the youth's request for bail, saying that every citizen, regardless of skin

color, has the right to walk the streets without fear (Fryer, 2018). The young men were given a sentence of four years imprisonment.

Civil strife, riots, and racist attacks became more frequent. Dark-skinned citizens were attacked on a daily basis. There were rumors that Notting Hill might be the next focus after Nottingham, but this did not alarm the police enough to step up patrols and secure reverse in the area (Pilkington, 1988). One-half of the immigrants even thought about returning to their native country, the other half wanted to take matters into their own hands and decided to defend themselves. Both races hid in bars where they planned their attack strategy (Fryer, 2018).

Race riots broke out on Saturday, August 30, when a mob of about 400 people began laying siege to the Notting Hill Dale area where the Caribbean community lived. The Teddy Boys gang of thugs moved into Notting Dale and began destroying buildings and anything that stood in their path. Officers increased the number of officers on night duty during that night, but it was not enough. Teddy Boys and other white citizens were outnumbered and far too aggressive to be stopped and dispersed by such a small number of officers. They attacked not only immigrants but also police officers, set houses on fire, and smashed windows until the situation got out of control. Eventually, 100 officers were called in, but they faced a mob of over 700 (Moore, 2013). The situation was finally brought under control after a few grueling hours. The nature of the riots on Monday night changed in many ways. On the street, blacks, police officers, hooligans, Teddy Boy. More blacks from Paddington and Brixton were coming to help because it was time for them to finally defend their community, whatever it took (Phillips & Phillips, 1988).

Riots among residents continued in a similar vein until September 2. On August 30, a total of 22 people were injured, including 12 police officers. On August 31, three blacks, and ten whites were arrested, and five were sentenced to imprisonment ranging from 18 to 24 months. On September 2, there were only a few incidents and 37 people were arrested, 26 of the whites (Sandbrook, 2006).

The race riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill marked a turning point in the history of British race relations. They exposed the level of racism in British society and encouraged immigrant's solidarity, organization, and self-awareness (Sandbrook, 2006). By mid-September, the situation in North Kensington had begun to return to 'normal'. Normal meant the common racist attacks the Caribbean community had been dealing with before the riots

began. A few months after the attack, in May 1959, the Caribbean community was struck by the sudden murder of West Indian carpenter Kelso Cochrane (Fryer, 2018).

Attacks continued in Middlesbrough in August 1961, when a crowd of thousands of white men shouted “Let's get a wog” in the street, destroyed house windows, and set fire in a cafe belonging to a Pakistani family. After these incidents Labor Party chairman Tom Driberg stated:

People talk about a colour problem arising in Britain. How can there be a colour problem here? Even after all the immigration of the past few years, there are only 190,000 coloured people in our population of over 50 million – that is, only four out of every 1,000. The real problem is not black skins, but white prejudice. (Fryer, 2018, pp. 386-387)

### **3.3 The Death of Kelso Cochrane**

News of the death of Kelso Cochrane, who was found dead on May 17, 1959, spread among the residents at lightning speed. It was a shock not only to the colored citizens but also to some white people who considered Cochrane their own (Phillips & Phillips, 1998).

Kelso Cochrane, born in 1926, was a carpenter and amateur boxer from Antigua. He was 32 years old and had lived in Notting Hill for just five years alongside his fiancée, whom he was to marry in June of that year. They lived in an apartment on Bevington Road. A week before his death, he had an accident at work in which he broke a thumb on his left hand and was put in plaster. On Saturday, 16 May, he was in great pain and decided to go to Paddington General Hospital in the evening. On his way back, he was ambushed on the corner of Southam Street Golborne by six white youths, who subsequently stabbed him to death (Phillips & Phillips, 1998). He was taken to the hospital by three passers-by who found him but sadly succumbed to his injuries.

His death raised fears that violence might occur again, as in the previous year. Therefore, police patrolled the streets, and social workers advised young blacks to stay home and avoid all kinds of provocations that could cause affrays (Phillips & Phillips, 1998).

Cochrane's killer were never identified, but the circumstances made his death a martyrdom which would be remembered for a long time (Phillips & Phillips, 1998, p. 185). Police have described the motive for the murder as an attempted robbery. Many people were convinced it was a racially motivated murder. The funeral was organized by the Interracial Friendship Co-ordinating Council, becoming one of the largest funerals ever to be organized in North Kensington. About 1,200 people attended the procession, part of whom went

through the procession and the rest of the people stood in the street and watched Kelso Cochrane's body being carried to Kensal Green Cemetery. The mourning helped people to create a distaste for the street violence and the harassment that immigrant experienced during fifties (Phillips & Phillips, 1998).

## **4 Consequences of the unrest**

There were major legislative changes in British politics during the 1950s and 1960s concerning immigration. Over the years there was a gradual reduction in immigration and a strengthening of immigration controls. Laws were created to protect immigrants from discrimination and to promote the integration of immigrant communities.

### **4.1 Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962**

The Commonwealth Immigrant Act 1962 was introduced in Parliament in October 1961 by Home Secretary R. A. Butler. It came into force on 1 July 1962, when it received royal assent in April (Carson, 1976). The Act was created to put an end to the so-called open-door policy. It set out the conditions under which immigrants could enter the United Kingdom. Only UK citizens (people who held a passport issued by the British Government), work permit (voucher) holders, students, tourists, and wives with children (under the age of 16) who were accompanying or arriving to join their husbands could enter the Islands (Gish, 1968)

Work vouchers were divided into three categories. Category A was for workers who already had a job in Britain. Category B was for those who were specialized, such as doctors, nurses, experienced engineers, or qualified teachers. Category C was for people who did not fall under any of the categories. In June 1964, the Home Office stopped issuing category C vouchers. The issuance of the voucher was at the discretion of the Ministry of the Interior (Gish, 1968).

The Commonwealth Immigrant Act mainly affected non-white applicants from the New Commonwealth. Between 1961 and 1962, the number of incoming immigrants increased as they feared the restrictions that would come into force. Immigrants, therefore, preferred to send for their families, and those who had initially planned to return to their native country delayed their return because they feared that they would not be able to return to Britain. The Commonwealth Act was designed to limit the number of immigrants only in the labor field. The law still allowed wives and children to enter the country, and immigrants settled incessantly (Winder, 2004).

The Tory and Labor parties criticized the amendment. Labor sought to enforce its own policy, which was based on strengthening social services for immigrant communities and anti-discrimination legislation (Carson, 1976).



## **4.2 White Paper on Immigration from Commonwealth**

The White Paper on Immigration from Commonwealth was published in 1965 to fill gaps in the 1962 amendment. The aim was to improve relations in the British Isles while tightening the issuance of work vouchers and entry rules for students, tourists, and family members. Financial support was promised for housing, employment, education, and migrant healthcare (Carson, 1976).

This document reduced the issue of work permits to 8500 per year, of which 1,000 were for immigrants from Malta. Type C vouchers were officially abolished, leaving only category A and B vouchers. The newly adopted procedures were very effective, and the number of voucher holders was reduced immediately. Between 1962 and 1965, the number of owners of work vouchers increased from 4217 to 12,125. From 1966, the number decreased by 1969 and only 3512 applicants owned them (Carson, 1976).

## **4.3 Immigration Act 1971**

The law was introduced and passed in 1971 but did not come into force until 1 January 1973. The legislation distinguished the Commonwealth from those who had and did not have the right to reside in Britain. Citizens were divided into patrials (those born in Britain or of British descent by their parents or grandparents) and non-patrials. Non-patrials could only enter the Islands if they obtained a work permit that was valid for twelve months and then had to be renewed (Fryer, 2018; Goulbourne, 1998). They were not allowed to change jobs because the permits were tied to specific jobs. Anyone who changed jobs without permission from the authorities was expelled from the country (Gish, 1968). The Immigration Act effectively reduced labor migration, making family reunification the main form of immigration from the New Commonwealth (Goulbourne, 1998).

## **4.4 Race Relations Act 1965**

The Race Relations Act of 1965 banned discrimination in public places on the grounds of color, race, or ethnic or national origin. Public places included public transportation, restaurants, hotels, movie theaters, and dance halls. The law also included a ban on refusing access to public spaces, refusing service, delays in service, or overcharging. The violation was not enforceable, and only serious and repeated cases of discrimination were brought before the courts. The law received the most criticism for not including discrimination in the areas where it was most prevalent, namely employment and housing. The Race Relations Act was the first step on the road to combating racism (Hepple, 1969).

#### **4.5 Race Relations Act 1968**

Discontent with the first anti-discrimination law led to efforts to amend it. The Race Relations Board, the National Council for Commonwealth Immigrants, and, in particular, Labor Home Secretary Roy Jenkins sought to address the shortcomings (Carson, 1976). In the three years between the two anti-discrimination laws, many surveys were published showing that racial discrimination is a constant part of immigrant's life. Half of the immigrants from the Caribbean and more than one-third of South Asians had personal experience of discrimination. Over 90% of complaints concerning discrimination in employment, housing, or services (areas not covered by the previous anti-discrimination law). Research into discrimination in employment showed that employers only hired non-white immigrants if they had acute labor shortages or for unskilled jobs. The most common reason for not accepting colored workers was the negative attitude of the company's current employees, and customers (especially in the service sector) and also that immigrants were allegedly inadequately trained, lazy, or more likely to leave the company soon. The report also pointed out that people in relatively low positions in the corporate hierarchy played the most important role in rejecting immigrants (Hepple, 1968). The legislation extended areas where discrimination was outlawed to include employment, housing, and services. The Race Relations Board's powers were expanded.

#### **4.6 Impact of the unrest on the Caribbean community**

The racial unrest of August and September 1958 left Caribbean immigrants deeply shaken, and their ideas of Britain as the 'mother country' and their British identity collapsed. The most affected were older West Indian immigrants, whose ideas of a 'mother country' were more deeply rooted than their children. Some Caribbean immigrants decided to leave the UK. While in the previous few years, the numbers of immigrants returning to the Caribbean ranged between 150-200 per month, 4,500 returned in 1959. In addition to the economic recession, the recent racial unrest contributed to the increase (Patterson, 1965).

The shared experience of discrimination and violent attacks strengthened the mutual relations between Caribbean immigrants. The West Indian community in Great Britain at that time consisted of several smaller communities according to their affiliation with the individual Caribbean islands, among which were many differences, rivalries, and a number of mutual prejudices. The racial unrest of 1958 encouraged mutual solidarity and helped form a unified West Indian identity (Sandbrook, 2006).

After the events of 1958, black communities began forming their own organizations, such as the United Africa-Asia League or the Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. The Colored People's Progressive Association was formed in Notting Hill, focusing on the protection of rights and unifying the community of non-whites. The West Indian Gazette, led by Claudia Jones, became a forum for new organizations and the Caribbean community. She organized a carnival in January 1959 to promote Caribbean solidarity, culture and interracial understanding at St Pancras Town Hall (Pilkington, 1988). Notting Hill Carnival emerged from this tradition during the 1960s and 1970s. It is held every August on the streets of Notting Hill.

#### **4.7 Windrush Scandal**

The Windrush scandal is a political scandal that began in 2018 after it was revealed that many Commonwealth citizens were wrongfully detained, deported and denied legal rights by the UK by the Home Office. It has been reported that the origins of the scandal lays in 30 years of racist immigration legislation designed to reduce the UK's non-white population. The changes of the British immigration law that has changed over the past 70 year had always more negative impact on black people than on the other racial and ethnic groups. (Gentleman, 2022)

Many of these individuals arrived in Britain between 1948 and 1973, as members of the "Windrush generation." Victims endured forced detention, a loss of employment, housing and livelihoods and were forcibly separated from families as a result of hostile immigration policies (Windrush scandal victims to speak up about mental health and trauma, 2022).

The Home Office hostile environment was first announced in 2012. The main purpose of this policy was to "purge" Britain of illegal immigrants, to make it difficult for them to stay in the country in the hope that they would leave voluntarily. This policy was found to be one of the harshest policies in UK history and was therefore widely criticized and considered inhuman, unlawful, and ineffective (Consterdine, 2018; The Joint Council for The Welfare of Immigrants, n.d.).

The Home Office mainly focused on residents who had arrived in the UK before 1973 because it was known that the vast majority of the arrivals would not have the necessary documents to prove that they were living legally in the country. This so-called "immigrant hunt" had already begun before 2018 (Consterdine, 2018; The Joint Council for The Welfare of Immigrants, n.d.). Immigrants did not talk about it because they feared that defense and

defiance could lead to their subsequent deportation, as they were repeatedly reminded. Over the years, countless people have been deported.

One way they could avoid detention or possible deportation was by showing valid documents, continuity of residence, pay slip, medical record, bank record for every year they've been in the country. At the time Empire Windrush arrived in Britain, the British government system was not careful in checking the passenger's IDs and entering their data into the system. Young children who arrived with their parents often did not have their identity papers and were listed on their parent's ID that is why they have a problem proving their legal residence in the UK after so many years (Channel 4 News, 2018).

Those people have never had to question whether or not they are Britain citizens until know, because according to government they are not. So who are they? That's a question most of them ask themselves over and over again. They grew up in the UK, went to school, and worked there. They don't know anything else, and the Government wants them to return to where they came from. The Caribbean people have been, and continue to be, exploited by the British. In the past, when they needed help with both war and the economy, they sought help from the Caribbean countries, and they rushed to their aid. In return, they were given a vision of better work, an education, and a better life that did not materialize.

People feel used, unwanted, and hurt. People like Michael Brathwaite, who came to Britain as a nine-year-old boy. He was dismissed from his job at school because he was unable to show the right paperwork. In the interview "So what" episode 5, he said, "Do I belong where I am for what I've been here all this time and to be put in that position. It sort of made me feel like I'm an alien basically" (Channel 4 News, 2018, 1:10). Another story belongs to Anthony Bryan who lives in Britain since 1965. In order to visit his family in Jamaica, he had to apply for his one British passport the immigration told him he is illegal and wanted to deport him, but he was lucky enough to stay in the country. Those people who have lived their whole life in the UK, feel like a British are now citizens of nowhere because of the disorder made by the Home Office (Channel 4 News, 2018).

The government apologized and promised some compensation to the victims. It did not quite keep its promise. At the end of September, just 20.1% of the initially estimated 15,000 eligible claimants had applied, 5.8% had received any payment, and 23 individuals had died without receiving compensation at all (Macfarlane, 2021, para. 4).

## CONCLUSION

Immigration after World War II became a milestone in the history of immigration to Great Britain. One of the main reasons was the lack of job vacancies in immigrant countries. The largest group came from Commonwealth countries. The largest wave of immigrants arrived on the Empire Windrush steamship in 1948, once the British Government passed the British Nationality Act 1948, which allowed unlimited entry to the Islands for all British subjects. Another wave of mass immigration came in the late 1950s and 1960s since foreigners were afraid of restrictions on immigration into the country.

Caribbean immigrants were most likely to move to big cities with a shortage of vacancies. They moved to centers where Britons lived. The British gradually moved to the suburbs. Black people encountered daily racial prejudice and discrimination that made their lives difficult in many ways. The British considered them unskilled and therefore offered them strenuous manual jobs that were menial and underpaid. The hostile environment, discrimination, and constant suspicion from Britons led to immigrants creating their own neighborhoods. They also faced discrimination in public places such as dance halls and pubs.

The British were concerned about the steady increase in the number of immigrants in the country, and the increasing fear of losing their jobs created tensions between them and blacks. White youths formed gangs and assaulted immigrants in the streets, destroying their properties. The biggest attack by Britons came in late August of 1958 and continued into early September. After the riots, police began to patrol the streets of Notting Hill more. Social workers advised young black men to avoid any provocation that might cause fights as a precaution. The unexpected death of Kelso Cochrane in May 1959 was considered a racial act. Despite citizens' fears, this heinous act did not trigger a new wave of attacks.

Following these events, the government decided to take steps to prevent such attacks. In 1962, therefore the Commonwealth Immigrants Act was passed. It restricted immigration from the New Commonwealth. The Notting Hill Riots shook Caribbean immigrants so much that they lost their idea of a "mother country" and began to question their position in the community. The riots and the subsequent death of Kelso Cochrane contributed to significant changes in racial relations and to the unification of the Caribbean community.

The Windrush scandal that began in 2018 only proved that the Home Office is still doing everything to reduce the number of immigrants in the country. They chose the easiest target, the Windrush Generation because they knew that some would not be able to show their identity papers. The vast majority were detained, and some were deported to their

"native country." These people consider themselves British citizens because they grew up here and know nothing else, but the Home Office shows disregard for them. It considers them illegal immigrants only because they cannot prove themselves with personal documents. The Home Office began its hunt long before the scandal broke in 2018. The government apologized to all citizens and promised them compensation. It is known that only 5% received compensation by last autumn. Caribbean citizens are still waiting for the changes promised by the government to come.

To conclude, Caribbean immigrants have been exploited by the British government from the day they entered the country. After the government no longer needed their services, at first tried to restrict them the access to the country. Then tried to detain and deport them. After failing, Home Office issued a hostile environment policy to force immigrants to leave the country voluntarily.

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## APPENDIX 1

### John Agard – Half Caste

Excuse me  
Standing on one leg  
I'm half-caste  
Explain yusef  
Wha yu mean  
When yu say half-caste  
Yu mean when picasso  
Mix red an green  
Is a half-caste canvas?  
Explain yusef  
Wha u mean  
When yu say half-caste  
Yu mean when light an shadow  
Mix in de sky  
Is a half-caste weather??  
Well in dat case  
England weather  
Nearly always half-caste  
In fact some o dem cloud  
Half-caste till dem overcast  
So spiteful dem dont want de sun pass  
Ah rass  
Explain yusef  
Wha yu mean  
When yu say half-caste?  
Yu mean tchaikovsky  
Sit down at dah piano  
An mix a black key  
Wid a white key  
Is a half-caste symphony?

Explain yusef  
Wha yu mean  
Ah listening to yu wid de keen  
Half of mih ear  
Ah looking at u wid de keen  
Half of mih eye  
And when I'm introduced to yu  
I'm sure you'll understand  
Why I offer yu half-a-hand  
An when I sleep at night  
I close half-a-eye  
Consequently when I dream  
I dream half-a-dream  
An when moon begin to glow  
I half-caste human being

Cast half-a-shadow  
But yu come back tomorrow  
Wid de whole of yu eye  
An de whole of yu ear  
And de whole of yu mind

An I will tell yu  
De other half  
Of my story

(Source: <https://genius.com/John-agard-half-caste-annotated>)

## **SUMMARY IN CZECH**

Tato práce se zabývá vývojem imigrace skrz historii ve Velké Británii a její vliv na tu zemi. Analyzuje význam veškerých imigračních vln a jejich dopad na britskou společnost a na karibskou komunitu. První kapitola se zabývá imigrací před a po druhé světové válce. Druhá kapitola pojednává o životě imigrantů v Británii a o jejich přispění do britské kultury. Ve třetí kapitole jsou probírány vztahy mezi rasami, které vedly k rasovým nepokojům v roce 1958. Ve čtvrté kapitole jsou zmíněné následky nepokojů a kroky, které vláda podnikala, proto aby k nim v budoucnosti nedocházelo.