## Atherton High School



AQA GCSE History Study Booklet

Name-

Teacher-



## Power and the People

## <u>Part Four - The Twentieth Century: Equality and</u> <u>Rights</u>

The exam board expect you to have knowledge and understanding of the following: - <u>Women's Rights: Equal at Last?</u>



• the campaign for women's suffrage, reasons, methods and responses

role of individuals, including the Pankhursts, the reasons for extension of the fra its impact

• progress towards equality in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century



Worker's Rights - who should run the country - government or unions?

• the General strike 1926, actions, reactions and impact; trade union reform in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century;

### Minority Rights

• How have the rights of ethnic minorities changed since 1945?

The development of multi- racial society since the Second World War; discrimination, protest and reform; the Brixton riots, their impact, including the Scarmer Dependence.





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## Context: The Twentieth Century

Perhaps war moulded the shape of the twentieth century more than anything else. Conscription was introduced during World War One, so that many men had to go to war, leaving the women at home to take over the traditional work roles once occupied by men. This was repeated for the Second World War.



British Prime Minister, David Lloyd George won the 1918 election promising 'a land fit for heroes' and Labour won the 1945 election with a manifesto (election promises) promising a 'welfare state' in response to the war time sacrifices made by the British people.

There have been great economic changes too. In 1913, a respectable working class worker was getting by on £1 a week. Between the wars, there was mass unemployment, which resulted in great hardship, and benefits were limited by the "Means test". New industries such as car and white goods manufacturing, developed so some people were better off. Prime Minister Harold Macmillan famously stated that 'You've never had it so good' and for many people that was true in the 1950s and '60s. By 1964, 90%



of British homes owned a television and Margaret Thatcher made sure many families bought their own homes instead of renting council houses. However, there was still a huge gap between the rich and the poor.

At the start of the twenty-first century, there was

still an underclass - some people say there was no improvement since 1900.

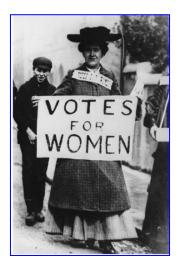
## Women's Rights: Equal at Last?

### Where was a woman's place?

During the industrial revolution, women had started to work in factories and earn more money than they would have done working from home. However, for many women their life still revolved around the home. Some acts (laws) such as the Married Women's Property Act, 1870, allowed women to control their own income and property after marriage. This meant that women were not as dependent on men as they had been previously.

Despite some changes, women were certainly not equal at the start of the twentieth century. In fact, some women had been campaigning for more rights from much earlier. Writer, Mary Wollstonecraft, had written in the 1790s about the need for equality for women.

### The Women's Movement in the 19th Century



It was not just the vote that women wanted; the 'Ladies of Langham Place' (a group of women who wanted to change the lives of women met at Langham Place), spent much of the 1850s and 1860s trying to improve the status of women. They campaigned for higher education, medical training, for married women to keep property, against child prostitution and marital violence. In 1861, there were over 1.25 million unmarried women and 750,000 widows needing to support themselves. The Ladies had

some success but finally came to realise that only giving women the vote would bring the changes that were needed.

Tactics were very similar to those used by the Anti-Corn Law League. Speakers toured, leaflets, pamphlets, newspapers were printed, and political meetings were interrupted. Conservatives thought women would vote Liberal, and Liberals thought they would support the Conservatives.

## Task

Describe what women wanted at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

## <u>Millicent Fawcett and the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies</u> (NUWSS)

Millicent Fawcett threw herself into lots of different women's campaigns during the 1870s and 1880s. She brought all the groups campaigning for women's suffrage together to form the National Union of Women's' Suffrage



(NUWSS) in 1897 and became its president . They became known as the '**Suffragists**' and were mostly middle class women who believed in peaceful protest. They organised speeches, marches and petitions; their movement was "like a glacier; slow moving but unstoppable".

### The Pankhursts and the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU)



Some suffragists were becoming frustrated with the lack of progress being made. In 1903 a group led by Emmeline Pankhurst (from Manchester) and her two daughters, Sylvia and Christabel, broke away and formed the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). They wanted to take more direct action, they believed **in 'deeds not words'**. Their methods became more **militant** (extreme) and they were given the label the '**Suffragettes'**.

## Charlotte Despard and Teresa Billington-Greig - The Women's Freedom League (WFL)



Many women wanted change, but they did not believe in the violent methods proposed by the Suffragettes. In 1907, these women broke away from the WSPU and formed the Women's Freedom

League (WFL). As the members were pacifists, they were prepared to break the law as long as it did not lead to violence, such as chaining themselves to railings or not paying taxes. As a result, they were still regarded as militant. As well as campaigning for



the right to vote for women, they also campaigned for equal pay.

### Task - summarise each group's methods in no more than 10 words.

### Intensification of Suffragette campaign

The suffragette's campaign started relatively peacefully. It was only in 1905 that they created a stir when Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney interrupted a Liberal party meeting by demanding votes for women. The police then forcibly removed them. Christabel spat in a policeman's face and was arrested.

### 1908 - Direct action begins

Several proposals (bills) to get the vote for women were put to the government, but all of them ran out of time. The SUFFRAGETE campaign then intensified. Two suffragettes chained themselves to the railings at 10 Downing Street. In the same

year, other suffragettes threw stones through the windows at No.10. In October 2010, Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst were sent to prison for encouraging a crowd to rush the House of Commons.

The suffragettes thought the government was not taking them seriously; they wanted

to make theirs a cause the government could no longer ignore. A women being arrested for her cause made news. Processions and petitions were easily ignored.

• Reactions to Direct Actions

November 1910 – **'Black Sunday'**: when a bill for women's suffrage was thrown out by the government,

the WSPU sent around 300 women to protest, and 200 were assaulted when they attempted to run past the police.

The response by the SUFFRAGISTS was mixed. Many admired the heroism of the suffragettes and their readiness to go to prison. Even Millicent Fawcett put on a meal for them when they were released from prison after staging a protest in Parliament. However as the suffragettes became more violent, the suffragists distanced themselves further. Mrs Fawcett did not want her movement identified with militant actions. However, she did point criticism at the government for making women feel that they had to resort to violence to be heard.

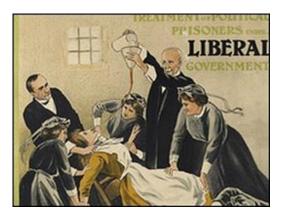
### • 1911: A setback in Parliament

In 1911, the government promised a bill that would put through women's suffrage. It received support from all parties, so the suffragettes stopped militant action, as success looked to be around the corner. However, Herbert Asquith, the Prime Minister, dropped the bill. Suffragettes and suffragists were furious.

• Suffragist Response: They led a campaign to get the Prime Minister to change his mind and pledged support to the Labour Party at the next election. The Labour party had promised votes for women.



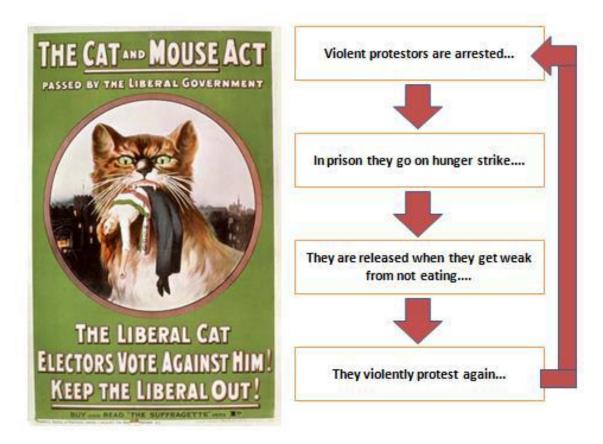
• Suffragette response: They now escalated their campaign of violence. They smashed windows, bombed churches, cut telephone wires, damaged cricket pitches and golf courses. Bombs were placed in warehouses and even David Lloyd George's home. More and more suffragettes were sent to prison.



When in prison, they continued their protest by going on **hunger strike**. The government responded through force-feeding. This was done through a tube in the nose. The Suffragettes made the most of this releasing propaganda pictures as above. This brutal act gained the Suffragette campaign a good deal of sympathy.

• Response of Government 1913 -

In 1913, the government responded with the **Cat and Mouse Act**. When a Suffragette was sent to prison, it was assumed that she would go on hunger strike. Then she would be released, then re-arrested when she re-offended.



As a result, the suffragettes became more extreme. In February 1913, Emily Wilding Davison set off a bomb at Lloyd George's house in Surrey. He was a leading MP at that time. The most famous act associated with the Suffragettes was at the June 1913 Derby when Davison threw herself under the King's horse, Anmer, as it rounded Tottenham Corner. She died in hospital as a result of her injuries: so the suffragettes had their first **martyr** (a person who dies for their beliefs).

Tasks:

1. Describe two actions taken by the Suffragists

2. Describe how the tactics of the WSPU differed from those of the NUWSS?

3. Do you think these tactics helped or hindered (slowed down) the campaign for women's suffrage? Explain

## Impact of War

When war broke out the NUWSS (Suffragists) and WPSU (Suffragettes) united to stop the war effort. The suffragettes stopped their violent campaigns and earned themselves the nickname **'angel of the factory'**. The Women's Freedom League did not support the war effort, as they were pacifists.

## Women Workers

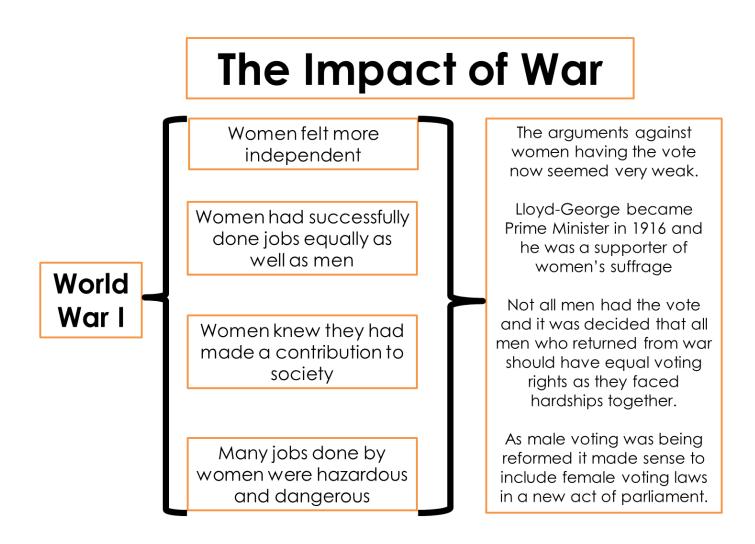
At the outbreak of war women rushed to fill the jobs left by the men who went to fight in France. However, it took some time for the government to find enough work for all the female volunteers. In July 1915 the Suffragettes organised a demonstration in London demanding the 'Right to Serve'. The government took note and helped women to find vital war work in the factories.

Once conscription was introduced in 1916 the demand for female labour increased even more. Women worked in factories, steel mills, driving buses, building ships or working in agriculture in the 'Land Army'. Women worked in huge numbers in the munitions factories. Some women went to the war zones to assist as nurses and aid workers.

For many middle-class women the wage gave them a sense of independence from their husbands. For working-class women a wage was not new but they did feel more valuable to society.

The war changed attitudes to the role of women in society massively. The work of men and women was no longer so greatly divided.





## The post-war situation

After the war, men who had fought on the front line now returned moved back into their jobs and women went back into the home. Remember, many men did not have the right to vote at this time either. Thus, in **1918 the Representation of the Peoples Act** was passed. This gave all men over the age of 21 the vote and some women over the age of 21 if they owned property. Otherwise, they had to wait until the age of 30. Women gained further rights in the home, when in **1923 the Matrimonial Causes Act** was passed. This gave women equal rights to a divorce.

However, it was not until 1928 that women could vote on the same

terms as men!!!!

## <u>Task</u>

a) List at least 3 factors that led to some women achieving the vote in 1918.

- 1.\_\_\_\_\_
- 2.\_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_

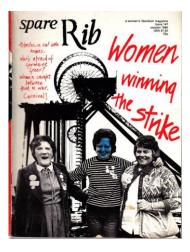
b) Out of the three factors, which is the most important? Explain

## Progress towards Equality in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup>

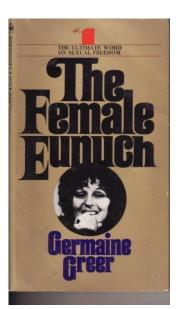
## <u>century</u>

After the Second World War, when women had yet again demonstrated their value to society, they now had to fight for different kinds of equality:-

- Equal pay with men
- To increase numbers of women in higher education
- 24-hour childcare
- Free contraception abortion on demand.



In the 1960s a new **feminist** movement developed in Britain and the USA - **this was the Women's Movement (Women's Lib)**.



Feminists such as Germaine Greer, wrote about

the oppression of women in her famous book 'The Female Eunach' . Other publications also promoted feminism and highlighted the difficulties women faced but also their achievements. In November 1970, the Miss World contest, held at the Royal Albert Hall in London, was disrupted by protestors shouting and throwing flour and smoke bombs. This, more than anything, brought the Women's Liberation Movement to the attention of the public.

### The struggle for equal pay

In the 1960s, women made up about one-third of the total workforce. However, although nearly half of all women aged between 20 and 64 were out working, they

didn't all work all the time. Peak employment for women was between the ages of 20 and 25, and between 45 and 50. Men thought that this showed that women were not serious about work so did not deserve equal pay.

From 7th June 1968, 187 women at Ford's Dagenham factory went on strike. They were



getting 85 per cent of the wages of men. Barbara Castle (first female Cabinet minister) fought on their behalf. The women went back to work after negotiating a pay rise to 92 per cent of the men's wage.

Various women's rights organisations, such as the Fawcett Society, began asking MPs for equal opportunities. A rally held in 1969 was attended by 30,000 people

• The **Treaty of Rome of 1957**, which Britain had to sign in order to enter the Common Market in 1973 (now the European Union) said that **men and women had to have equal opportunities and equal pay for equal work**.

• The Labour government's Secretary of State for Employment, Barbara Castle, began working towards an agreement between the government, trade unions and the CBI (Confederation of British Industry - a bosses 'organisation) for equal pay for women doing the same work as men. Other laws to improve the rights of women were passed in the late 1960s. These were:

**1967 Abortion Act** -made abortions legal, if agreed by two doctors on medical groups, for up to 24 weeks into the pregnancy. Before this time, many women suffered from dangerous abortions carried out illegally.

**Divorce Reform Act 1969** – made divorce legal on the grounds of the breakdown of the marriage (previously women had to prove that their husbands had been violent or unfaithful).

In 1970, Castle introduced an Equal Pay Act into the House of Commons, which was approved by both Houses of Parliament and came into full effect in 1975 along with the Sex Discrimination Act.

Employment Protection Act 1975- made it illegal to sack a woman because she was pregnant.

In 1979 Margaret Thatcher became Britain's first woman Prime Minister.

In the 1980s, feminists led the anti-nuclear missiles protests at the Greenham Common peace camp, where the government had stationed cruise missiles. Women blockaded the site repeatedly to stop the missiles being moved.

In 1992 Betty Boothroyd became the first female speaker of the House of Commons (an important person, who keeps order in the House of Commons).

### TASK - So what did women achieve? - fill in the gaps

- The position of w\_\_\_\_\_ has changed dramatically. Once women obtained the v\_\_\_\_\_ on the same basis as men, they had the opportunity to push for more and more equality. Gradually a\_\_\_\_\_ towards women, work and politics changed.
- By 1969, everyone in the country over the age of e\_\_\_\_\_ could vote, and since the 1970 Equal Pay Act employers have had to pay men and women e\_\_\_\_\_.

- Many men were reluctant (unwilling) to concede (give up) both the vote and equal r\_\_\_\_\_\_ to women.
- Today, on average, women earn 30 per cent I\_\_\_\_ than men. This is often due to p\_\_\_\_\_time work, and fewer opportunities for promotion.
- Women have managed to progress towards equality sometimes through their own efforts and sometimes through the efforts of g\_\_\_\_\_.

## Task

### <u>Complete the table below adding details about changes and developments in the</u> <u>rights of women</u>

Year	What happened?
1910s/1920s	
1960s	
1970s	
1980s/1990s	

## Workers' rights - Who runs the country?

In 1900, only 12% of Britain's labour force had been in a trade union. By 1984, the proportion had grown to around 50%. One of the key tactics available to workers in a trade union is to go on strike if they are unhappy about something relating to their job. By the 1980s, British workers were going on so many strikes that striking became known as the **"British disease"**.

### Post-war nationalisation and reform

After the Second World War, there were many changes in British society. There was a strong belief that life should be better for the majority of people; this after all was what people had been fighting for during the war.

The creation of the welfare state, the National Health Service and the nationalisation of key industries were all features of post-war Britain. **Nationalisation** means bringing industries under government control. It started with the Bank of England, civil aviation, coal, cables, and wireless. Next came the railways, canals, road haulage and trucking, electricity and gas. The nationalisation of industries played a key role in creating a good relationship between the government, employers and union members.

### Causes of the General Strike 1926

Before the First World War, the 'Triple Alliance' of railway workers, coal miners and transport workers were very **militant** in trying to improve working conditions and pay. The war improved both. The government worked with the TUC and militancy declined.

After the war, **economic conditions** became worse, as millions of men were now looking for work. The traditional industries in Britain – coal, shipbuilding and textiles were now facing international competition. Germany was paying much of its reparations to Belgium and France in coal, so coal prices fell.

### Problems in the Coal Industry throughout the 1920s -

- The industry was out of date. Workers were still using pickaxes; only a fifth of the coal was cut by machine.
- The mine owners' response to the Depression was not to modernise, but to cut wages and increase working hours (1921).
- In 1925, the mine owners tried to cut wages and increase hours again. The Triple Alliance threatened a general strike, so on 31 July 1925 ('Red Friday'), the government paid a nine- month subsidy (contribution) to support wages.

In March 1926, the government's Samuel Commission suggested cutting wages, but not increasing hours. Both miners and mine owners refused this compromise. Mine owners began drawing up plans to increase hours and cut pay.

At the TUC conference on 1 May 1926, a general strike was planned to start two days later. The TUC and the government began negotiations.

When print workers refused to print an edition of the 'Daily Mail' attacking the miners as 'a revolutionary movement', negotiations collapsed, and the General Strike went ahead as planned.

Mine owners wanted to cut wages by 13 per cent and increase working hours from seven to eight a day. To prevent strikes, the government subsidised miners' wages for one year in 1925, postponing industrial action and set up a commission to investigate. The commissions' report led to a strike. Eight hundred thousand coal miners were on strike. The miners asked other unions for support and the TUC called Britain's only general strike in support of the miners on 4<sup>th</sup> May 1926.



### Task

Describe two causes of the General Strike in 1926

1.	
2	

### Chronology of Events General Strike - the basics

- Tuesday 4 May 1926 A general strike is called by the Trades Union Congress (TUC), led by J.H, Thomas, to support the miners in their quarrel with the mine owners, who want to reduce their wages by 13 per cent and increase their shifts from seven to eight hours. Huge numbers of road transport, bus, rail, docks, printing, gas and electricity, building, iron, steel, chemicals and coal workers stay off work.
- Wednesday 5 May The government acts aggressively against the strike, tries to take greater control over the media, including the BBC, and publishes a newspaper - 'The British Gazette'. The government also sends a warship to Newcastle, and recruits 226,000 special policemen.
- Thursday 6 May Middle-class volunteers get some buses and trains, and the electricity working. A few buses are set on fire, and there are fights between police and strikers in London, Glasgow and Edinburgh. Stanley Baldwin, the prime minister, declares the strike an attack on Britain's democracy.

- Friday 7 May Police and strikers clash in Liverpool, Hull and London. The government calls the army to London. It also seizes all supplies of paper, which hinders publication of the TUC's paper, 'The British Worker'.
- Saturday 8 May Police make baton-charges on rioting strikers in Glasgow, Hull, Middlesbrough, Newcastle and Preston. The number of volunteers increases. The army escorts food lorries from the London docks. Secretly, J.H. Thomas has talks with the mine owners.
- Sunday 9 May The Roman Catholic Church declares the strike 'a sin'.
- Monday 10 May Some textile workers join the strike. Strikers in Northumberland derail the Flying Scotsman train. Baldwin declares that Britain is 'threatened with a revolution', and the government arrests 374 Communists.
- **Tuesday 11 May** The TUC, led by J.H. Thomas, calls off the strike. The strikers are taken by surprise, but drift back to work. The miners struggle on alone until November when they are forced to go back to work for less pay and longer hours.

### Why was the General Strike considered a failure?

1. The Government was ready and had spent the nine months when it was paying the subsidy preparing. It set up the Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies (OMS) under Winston Churchill to defeat the strike. It took a very aggressive line against the strike using both propaganda statements and army/police action.

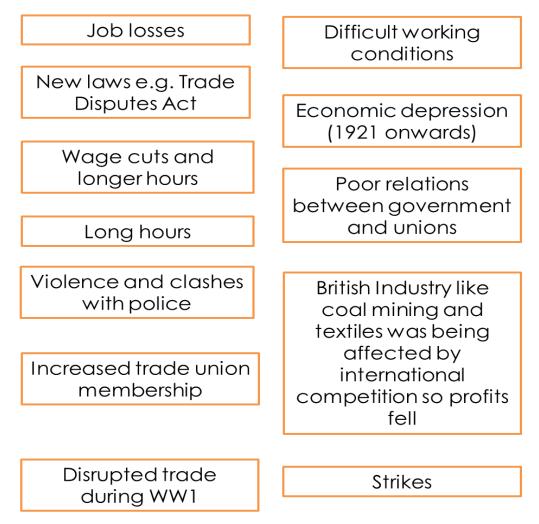
2. The middle class opposed the strike. The incidents of violence and evidence of support for the strike from communists frightened the middle classes. Many of them volunteered as strike-breakers, although others were just fulfilling boyhood dreams to be a train driver or bus driver. 3. The Labour leaders betrayed the strikers. The Labour Party and the TUC leaders were frightened by the strike.

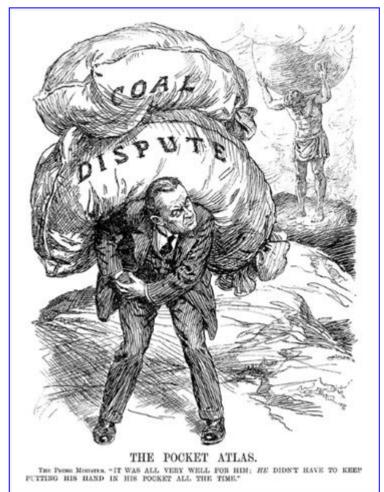
### Consequence of the strike for the Unions

- Union membership fell dramatically
- Government passed the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act in 1927 made it illegal for unions to join together to strike
- Unions could no longer use membership money to fund political parties
- This weakened relationship between unions and Labour party
- Weakened power of unions.

## Task

Look at the boxes and colour code causes and consequences of industrial unrest





2. Is this Source useful for

explaining

causes/events/opinions/consequences of the General Strike? Explain

The appointment of Ernest Bevin as a moderate union leader helped to gain union support after the General Strike.

In 1946, the new Labour government passed the Trades Disputes and Trade Unions Act; this amended the same act of 1927. Union membership flourished. This was great news until the 1960s, which brought an increase in prices and a drop in wages.

### Trade Union Reform in the late 20<sup>th</sup> Century 1984

The Second World War changed relations between and the government yet again. The Labour government tried to work with the unions not against them. In the 1960s full employment meant once again unions were able to secure higher wages and better conditions for members. The unions also developed real political power, for example, the coal miners went on strike in 1972 and 1974, and helped to bring down Edward Heath's Conservative Government. It seemed to some people in the 1970s that the unions ruled the country.

When the Conservative Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, came to power in 1979, she set out to reduce union power. She considered future issues with the miners as inevitable and prepared for strike action. Coal was stockpiled at power stations. Some coal power stations were converted to run on oil and gas.

Arthur Scargill, the leader of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), was a militant. He viewed Thatcher as the enemy of the working people, who wanted to destroy the coal industry and the NUM. There was now conflict between the government and the unions. In 1984, the Government announced plans to shut down unproductive coalmines. Scargill, demanded that not a single pit be closed, and called NUM members to strike. Labour politicians and the TUC tried to negotiate a settlement to the strike during 1984 into 1985, with increasingly bitter confrontations between police and strikers.

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Mining communities, and especially women, played a huge part in supporting the miners. Even those from outside these communities contributed funds to support miner's families, but in the end the miners returned to work with nothing gained.

Over the next few years 'unproductive mines' were shut; the last deep coal mine shut in 2015.

It was a hard won victory for Thatcher, who was successful in reducing union power. Scargill's critics state that he played into Thatcher's hands and it was his fault that the trade unions had lost power and influence over the economy. The defeat of the miners enabled government to move the TUC and trade unions to the sidelines and remove them from the political agenda. They became more like pressure groups trying to maintain rights for their members.

## Task - Overview - Fill in the gaps

• Trade u\_\_\_\_\_ have been an important part of life throughout the twentieth century. They have helped w\_\_\_\_\_ achieve a better standard of living in a way voting in elections would not.

• Some people have argued that unions became too p\_\_\_\_\_ and needed weakening; others have argued that g\_\_\_\_\_ and employers have all the power.

• The power and the i\_\_\_\_\_ of the trade unions, and thus of workers, to

have some control over their own working lives, has fluctuated (gone up and down) over

the course of the

t\_\_\_\_\_ century.

There have been successes, like the
D\_\_\_\_\_\_ sewing machinists in 1968 and



there have been failures, like the 1984 M\_\_\_\_\_\_ strike.

 Workers and their unions have been prepared to take on governments in attempts to improve their I\_\_\_\_\_\_ standards, and consequently many workers are better off today than ever before.

• Some argue that improvements have come about because of union activity. Others argue that governments have made improvements.

### Task

Create a graph from 1900 to present day, showing the power of the unions over time - with brief detail

## <u>Minority Rights – How have the rights of ethnic minorities</u> <u>changed since 1945?</u>

Immigration increased dramatically during and after World War 2. **There were three main waves of immigration**. The first took place because of the war, the second took place after the war when Britain urgently needed workers, and the third wave came in the late 1960s and early 1970s, mainly from Asia.

When the war ended, Britain was in desperate need of workers to help re-build the economy, devastated by six years of war and the Blitz on British cities. The British government also needed labourers (workers) from further away.

### The British Nationality Act of 1948

This Act gave British citizenship to all citizens of British colonies and former colonies. This meant that they could freely enter and stay in Britain.

The first large group came from Jamaica on the ship **SS Empire Windrush**, which arrived at Tilbury docks, London on 22 June 1948. Other ships from different parts of the Caribbean followed, more in the 1950s, but Windrush is the most famous. It has become a symbol of multi-cultural Britain. It was met by newsreel cameras, and brought the Caribbean immigrants to public attention for the first time. There was some negative reaction, including a small crowd at the docks, waving placards saying, "Go home". At the same time, some MPs spoke out against the British Nationality Act, saying that it would encourage millions to settle in Britain. This was the start of a political debate about immigration and race, which would carry on for years to come. **Why did immigrants come from the Caribbean?** 

 Few job opportunities on the Caribbean islands. The sugar trade had collapsed, and there was not yet a tourist business. Jamaica devastated by hurricanes in 1944 and 1951. A British government investigation found poor housing, wages and health care across the islands.

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- Many had been service members in the war. They felt attached to Britain and had been treated well by their fellow British service members.
- Many people saw Britain as the "motherland". Their education had taught them about British achievements.
- The shortage of labour in Britain led to recruitment drives from some British organisations, e.g. hotels, NHS and transport, in the Caribbean.
- The British Nationality Act of 1948.
- The success of the early immigrants in finding work encouraged others to follow. Most immigrants sent money back to their families, and it brought status to a family if a member went to work in Britain.

### Tasks –

### Why is Windrush considered a symbol of multi-cultural Britain?

### Give three reasons why immigrants came from the Caribbean?

Source A, Table showing immigration numbers from the Caribbean and from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh

<u>Year</u>	<u>Caribbean</u>	<u>India, pakistan</u> <u>and Bangladesh</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>1956</u>	26,000	8000	<u>34000</u>
<u>1957</u>	23000	7000	<u>30000</u>
<u>1958</u>	17000	11000	<u>28000</u>
<u>1959</u>	20000	4000	<u>24000</u>
<u>1960</u>	<u>53000</u>	10000	<u>63000</u>
<u>1961</u>	<u>62000</u>	50000	<u>112000</u>
<u>1962</u>	35000	<u>47000</u>	<u>82000</u>

The third wave of immigration - the 1960s and 1970s

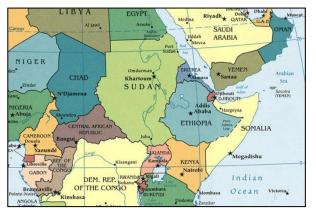
In 1962, the government passed a law to restrict the numbers of immigrants from the Commonwealth.

The nature of immigration now began to change, firstly because families immigrated with the intention of staying, instead of single men who came to work for a short period. The second major change was that the numbers of people coming from India and Pakistan grew larger than those from the Caribbean. In addition, many people of Asian origin fled from persecution in East Africa. At the same time, more people left Britain than came.

Task -

1. Why did the number of immigrants from the West Indies fall in 1962?





In Kenya in 1967, President Kenyatta gave all Kenyan Asians two years to become Kenyan citizens or leave the country. Around 20,000 used their British passports to come to Britain.

In Uganda in 1972, President Idi Amin, issued a law to expel the country's whole Asian population, whom he condemned as "bloodsuckers". They were given 90 days to leave, although Amin then issued a second law that said all professionals had to stay. Amin believed that Britain would have to take them in, and



some saw this as his revenge on Britain, which had not sent aid to Uganda. In the end, 27,000 Ugandan Asians flew to Britain with no more than what they could carry.

### Tasks

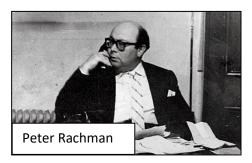
- 1. Give two ways in which the nature of immigration changed in the 1960s 1970s
- 2. What happened to Asian people in Uganda in 1972?

### Discrimination

Some people reported positive experiences. However, more often than not, interviews, diaries and letters from the early immigrants, give a negative picture. They found Britain cold and grey, and the food dull. They were shocked by poverty and by unwelcoming



attitudes. An unofficial "colour bar" made it difficult to find somewhere to stay. Most local authorities would not allow applications for council houses for people who had been in the country for less than 5 years, while banks were slow to give



loans and mortgages. Private landlords would charge high rents. One notorious landowner was Peter Rachman, who owned over 100 properties in London, which were crammed full of immigrants paying high rents for poor accommodation. Anyone who

complained faced a beating.

Socialising was important for people who had left families behind. However, bars, restaurants and dance halls did not welcome black people. Many people accused immigrants of coming to make the most of welfare benefits, even though nearly all of the immigrants were working. Immigrants tended to stick together. This began because there were only certain areas where they could afford the housing. Then, as new immigrants arrived, they looked for lodgings with friends and family. As a result, areas of the cities like Moss Side in Manchester became Caribbean communities with a life and culture of their own. Later, textile-producing towns such as Oldham, Burnley and Bradford, became centres of thriving Asian communities.

#### There were many difficulties at work:

- Trade unions and white colleagues often saw black immigrant workers as a threat. In 1955 transport workers in the Wolverhampton, Bristol and West Bromwich went on strike to protest about the "increasing numbers of coloured workers". In West Bromwich, there was only one Indian bus conductor!
- The jobs available were often unsuited to the skills of the immigrants. One survey found that half the West Indians in London in the late 1950s were over-qualified for their jobs. This is called "de-skilling".
- It could be hard for black immigrants to have any career progression, for example, black nurses in the NHS were discouraged from gaining the qualifications needed for promotion.





### Tasks

What is meant by the term 'colour

bar'?\_\_\_\_\_

### Name three difficulties for immigrants in Britain

1	
2	
3.	

### Decide whether the following statements are true or false

• Transport workers in the Midlands went on strike in support of immigrant workers. (TRUE / FALSE)

- It was easy for immigrants to find skilled work. (TRUE / FALSE)
- A thriving Caribbean community grew in Moss Side. (TRUE / FALSE)

## **Riots**, **Protests** and **Reform**

### Reactions to immigrants – the "Summer of Violence" 1958

By 1958, there were over 200,000 people from the New Commonwealth living in Britain. Whilst this was still a tiny percentage of the overall population, there were larger groups of immigrants living in some towns and cities. From the later 1950s, right wing activists began a campaign to "keep Britain white".

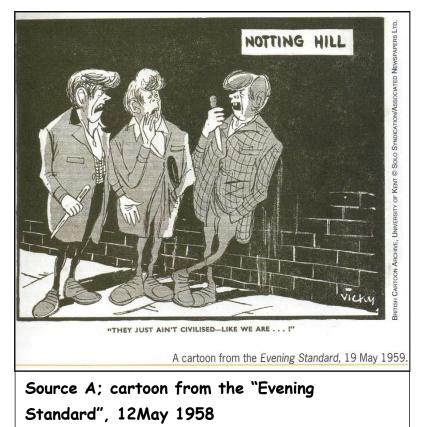
# Racial prejudice and discrimination turned to violence at this time for two reasons:

- Economic problems meant it was harder to get jobs some British people claimed immigrants were "taking our jobs".
- A new gang culture was growing up, around the "Teddy Boys".

### In Nottingham, there was a series of attacks on black and Asian people by white

youths throughout the summer of 1958. The worst episode was largescale fighting between black and white youths in the St Ann's Well Road area. The response of Nottingham's two MPs was to call for an end to immigration, and ask for deportations.

The violence was worse in Notting Hill, West London, in September 1958, when gangs of teddy boys and other white youths attacked Caribbean people and their homes with petrol bombs over 3 nights. On



the third night, the black population fought back, angry that the police were giving them no protection. The press and politicians spoke out against the attacks. There were some examples of local white people protecting black neighbours. However, no official action was taken, and public opinion was still largely against immigrants.

### The murder of Kelso Cochrane, 1959.

Kelso was a carpenter from Antigua, living in Notting Hill. He was stabbed to death by



The funeral of Kelso Cochrane, 1959

six white youths on his way home from a hospital appointment. No arrests were made. 1200 people came to Kelso's funeral to show their anger and sorrow. BBC reporters spoke to local people in Notting Hill after the violence. Almost all white and black people interviewed said positive things about their neighbours, blaming the violence on a minority of black people, who gave immigrants a bad name, and a small group of white people, whose intention was to stir up hatred.

Issues of race and immigration came before the press and politicians for national debate.

### Politicians, immigration and the law

The new Commonwealth (Caribbean and Asian) immigrants arriving in the 1950s and 1960s received less help from the government than the Poles who had arrived in the 1940s or the German and Italian prisoners of war. They were left to build their own lives, and often were discouraged from coming and settling.

Politicians had a number of issues to consider:

- The economy immigrant labour was needed
- The voters most of them were against immigration
- The needs of immigrants
- The need to prevent racial tension in the cities

### Tasks

- 1. How many New Commonwealth immigrants lived in Britain by 1958?
- 2. In which two cities was there racial violence in 1958?

3. Why do you think so many people (1200) went to the funeral of Kelso Cochrane in 1959?

## Government measures about immigration, 1962 – 1976

Date	Measure	Notes
1962	The Commonwealth Immigrants Act	It was aimed to reduce immigration
	1962– introduced a voucher system,	from Asia and the Caribbean.
	which restricted immigration to people	
	with valuable skills.	
1964	Harold Wilson's Labour party came to	Limited numbers of immigrants.
	power – whilst they had spoken against	
	the Commonwealth Immigrants Act,	
	they limited the number of immigrants	
	to 8,500 per year.	
1965 –	Race Relations Act 1965 – made it	The Board did not have the power
1966	illegal to discriminate against anyone	to enforce its decisions, and was
	because of their colour or race.	criticized because all its members
	Race Relations Board set up 1966 to	were white
	handle complaints.	
1968	The Commonwealth Immigrants Act	This was a reaction to a wave of
	1968 – restricted the number of	immigration from Kenya. The effect
	vouchers, and allowed only people	was to prevent most immigrants
	with a "close connection" (a British	from the New Commonwealth (who
	passport of those whose parents or	were black), but to allow most
	grandparents were born in Britain)	citizens of white commonwealth
		countries such as Australia, Canada
		and New Zealand.
1968	Enoch Powell's "Rivers of blood"	'Powellism' – became an idea
	speech – Powell was sacked from the	associated with being against
	shadow cabinet.	immigration – popular with working
		class.

1968	Race Relations Act – discrimination in	Informal discrimination still took
	housing and employment became	place.
	illegal.	
1976	Race Equality Act –	Gave legal rights.
	- Racially offensive music or	Did not apply to the police force.
	publications illegal.	
	- Set up tribunals so that	
	anyone who had applied	
	for a job could report the	
	employer if they felt there	
	was discrimination.	
	Set up the Commission for Racial	
	Equality to work against racism	

## Tasks

1. When did discrimination in housing and jobs become illegal?

2. When did the government introduce a voucher scheme to limit immigration?

3. When did it become illegal to discriminate because of race? \_\_\_\_\_

4. When was immigration for black people effectively restricted?

### Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" speech 1968 - Powellism



The arrival of a large number of Kenyan Asian immigrants in 1967 focused media and public attention on immigration again. The National Front was set up as an extremist party in 1967.

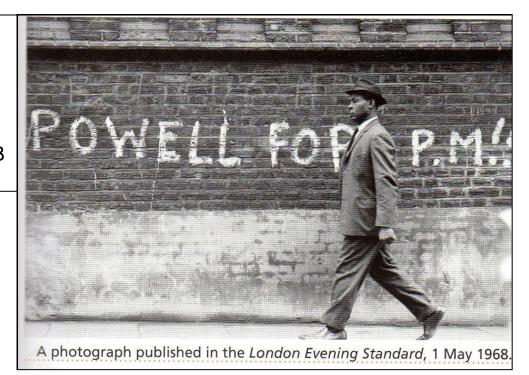
Enoch Powell was not known as an extremist,

but was a respected Conservative MP for Wolverhampton, and former Cabinet Minister. In April 1968, he made an explosive speech at a meeting of the Conservative Political Centre. He lost his job in the Shadow Cabinet as a result. However, 412 Conservative constituency (local) associations expressed support for him, whilst 75% of people in Wolverhampton said they agreed with him. In London, dockworkers stopped work to march in support of him. This support for Powell (known as **Powellism)** was based on a type of extreme nationalism that viewed white British people as superior to people who were non-white – even if they had been born in Britain.

#### Source A: Extracts from Powell's Speech

In 15 or 20 years, on present trends, there will be in this country three and a half million commonwealth immigrants and their descendants...Whole areas, towns and parts of towns across England will be occupied by sections of the immigrant and immigrant-descended population.

The natural and rational first question... "How can these dimensions be reduced?" The answers to the simple and rational question are equally simple and rational: by stopping, or virtually stopping, further inflow, and by promoting the maximum outflow...As I look ahead, I am filled with foreboding; like the Roman, I seem to see "the River Tiber foaming with much blood". Source 5 – a photograph published in the Evening Standard, 1968



## Tasks –

- 1. Which party did Enoch Powell belong to?\_\_\_\_\_
- 2. What happened to him after he made his speech?
- 3. What did Powell speak out against in this speech?

4. What evidence can you find that Powell had support? Use the text and source 5 to answer.

## Brixton 1981

A year after the 1976 Race Relations Act there was an infamous battle in Lewisham. This was sparked by a National Front march, which was allowed by the police, through the borough. The black community felt let down by the police. Tensions continued to build.

A continuation of the events in Lewisham could be seen in the relations between the black community and the police in Brixton. After a house fire in January 1981 in which five black youths died in what was (incorrectly) suspected to be a white racist attack,



many people believed the police were unwilling or unable to protect black people. To add to the tension, the late 1970s was a time of recession in the UK. The resulting economic hardships hit black communities the hardest with high unemployment, poor housing and higher crime rates.

The Brixton disturbances arose because many members of the black community felt they were being excessively racially targeted by the police. In Lambeth, as part of 'Operation Swamp 81' plainclothes police officers actively stopped and searched youths as a tactic aimed at reducing street robbery.

Police were operating under the 'sus' law, which stated that in order to stop someone, the police needed only 'sus', or suspect that they might intend to commit a crime. The police were exempt from the Race Relations Act. More than 1000 people were stopped in six days and many black youths felt that they were unfairly targeted as a result of **'racial profiling'**; further increasing tensions. By 10<sup>th</sup> April, tensions resulted in more violence. On that night, two police officers attempted to assist a young black man, Michael Bailey, with a suspected stab wound. They were approached by a hostile crowd who thought he was being arrested and violence followed.

During the afternoon of 11th April, a stop and search of a vehicle led to a policeman being hit by a brick. More police appeared and the crowds grew. Then rioting started with where youths fought the police, buildings, cars and police vans were set on fire. By late evening over 1000 police were sent to restore order. Nearly 300 police were hurt, 100 vehicles destroyed, 150 buildings burned, damaged or looted and 82 arrests were made.

Disturbances also erupted in cities across England. Riots and looting occurred in Moss Side in Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, Leicester, Southampton, Handsworth in Birmingham, Derby, Nottingham and Leeds.

### Tasks

1. Describe Operation Swamp 81

2. What was the 'sus' law?

3. How did the 'sus' law lead to an increase in tensions in Brixton?

### Government response to Brixton

The Government, set up an inquiry, led by **Lord Scarman** into the riots and in November 1981, the **Scarman Report** was published. It placed much of the blame on the police, stating they were too eager to use the 'sus laws' on young black men; that the Metropolitan Police was inherently racist; and that there needed to be new code of behaviour for the police. As a result of the report, racially prejudiced behaviour became an offence, the 'sus law' came to an end and the Police Complaints Authority was created.

However, in 1993 Stephen Lawrence, a young black man, was murdered in London. It was a racially motivated attack. An investigation, followed by the publication of the McPherson Report in 1999, found that the Metropolitan Police had not responded appropriately to the murder, due to institutional racism. This meant that the way the police force was organised, caused black people to be at a serious disadvantage to white people.

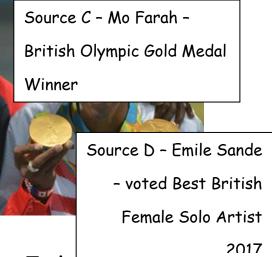
Following this report, a new Act was passed, **the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000**. This Act brought the police into the scope of race relations legislation. It placed a duty on public authorities to actively promote race equality.

Source A - The St Pancras Carnival was set up in 1959 to celebrate Caribbean culture. This became the annual Notting Hill Carnival - the biggest street party in Europe today





Source B - Sadiq Khan -Lord Mayor of Lonson





### <u>Task</u>

Look at sources A, B, C & D - what do they say about multi-cultural Britian today?

### Task -Minority rights and ethnic minorities: an overview - fill in the

### <u>gaps</u>

•M\_\_\_\_\_ have long come to Britain, and have made a valuable contribution to economic life.

•Since the S\_\_\_\_\_ World War, mass m\_\_\_\_, both into Britian and out of

Britain, has fundamentally changed the way we live.

•Britian is now a m\_\_\_\_\_-cultural society. Walk down any high s\_\_\_\_\_ or into any supermarket and you will find evidence of this.

•Migration still remains an emotive p\_\_\_\_\_ issue. Many people have not always welcomed migrants.

•Parliament has passed I\_\_\_\_ making life easier for migrants once they settle in Britain.

#### Power and the People - The Twentieth Century: Equality and rights Points

#### <u>Test</u>

#### All answers are 1 point

1. Who founded the NUWSS in 1897?

2. What does 'suffrage' mean?

3.. What was the official title of the Suffragettes?

4. What was the slogan of the Suffragettes?

\_\_\_\_\_ not \_\_\_\_\_

5. Which political party was Herbert Asquith the leader of from 1908?

6. What was the nickname given to the government act Asquith introduced in 1913 to combat the tactic of going on hunger strike?

7. In what year did all women gain the right to vote on the same terms as men?

8. Which female MP who fought for women's equal pay?

9. What did Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin do to try and stop a strike?

10. In what year was the General Strike?

11. Give one cause of the General Strike.

13. What did the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act of 1927 do?

15.. Who was the militant leader of the NMU

16. Which British Prime Minister wanted to control the trade unions?

17. Give one consequence of the failure of the miner's strike in 1984

18. What was the name of the ship, which came to London in 1948?

19. What was the name of the act passed in 1962 which restricted immigration?

20. What was the name of the speech given by Enoch Powell in 1968?

21 When did discrimination in housing and employment became illegal?

22. What was the name of the police operation, which placed plain-clothes officers in Brixton?

23. Who investigated the Brixton Riots?

24. Which report identified institutional racism in the police force?

Marks \_\_\_\_/out of 24

## Key words

Chain migration - process by which immigrants follow family members to a new place;

often, laws allow immigrants to reunite with family in the new destination.

**Communism** - political ideology, which promotes the common ownership of industry and production with no private owners.

Conservatism - the belief that taxes and laws should help people to better themselves.

The existing social structure should stay as it is.

**Democracy** - a political concept, which allows all citizens to vote

**Domestic** - relating to the home (or home country)

**Feminist** – someone who argues for better rights for women on the grounds that men and women are equal.

**Foreign Competition** - when other countries produce the same product but at a more competitive price or more quickly

**Indian subcontinent** – large area of land that consists of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh

**Industrialisation** - the process by which a country moves from farming as the main occupation, to industry in factories and towns.

Liberal - not as strict and more inclusive of different groups.

Majority - the largest number

**Martyr** - person who dies for their cause and becomes a symbol for the movement or cause.

**Migration** - the movement of people from one place to another; a person who moves is known as a 'migrant'.

Militant - extreme, assertive, and sometimes violent.

Nationalise - when the government takes control or owns an industry or service.

**Racial profiling** – when police target an individual for a crime, based purely on their race.

45

Racially prejudiced - discriminating against someone because of their race.

**Recession** - period when the economy of a country or the world is poor, this can mean an increase in unemployment.

**Re-Nationalise** - when the government takes over a previously nationalised industry after a period of private ownership.

**Right to Buy** - a scheme introduced by Margaret Thatcher's government that allowed council tenants to buy their homes at a discounted price, rather than renting.

**Second generation** - people who were born in the UK, but whose parents are immigrants.

Segregation - deliberate act of keeping groups or communities separate.

**Socialism** - the belief that wealth should be shared through fair taxes, laws, rights (The government must help people in need.).

**Solidarity** - showing loyalty to a group of people you work with, are the same gender as, or the same class as; working together, not against each other.

**Stop and Search** - the policy of the police to stop a person they consider to be acting suspiciously and then search them.

**Trade union** - an organisation that exists to protect workers' rights in a particular trade or job.

**Voluntary Repatriation** - returning to the country of origin and gaining citizenship for that country.

**Womens' Lib** – "Womens' Liberation" – a feminist movement which campaigned for the rights of women.