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Representation and political integration: Ethnic minority local councillors in Britain

Adolino, Jessica Rose, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1993

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Representation and Political Integration:
Ethnic Minority Local Councillors
in Britain

Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Jessica R. Adolino

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1993

Dissertation Committee:
G. Shabad
A. Mughan
R. Gunther

Approved by
Adviser
Department of Political Science
To My Parents

and

My Husband
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Vita

February 27, 1962 ....................................................... Born - Jamaica, New York

1984 ................................................................. B.A., Fairfield University, Fairfield, Connecticut

1984-1986 .......................................................... Graduate Teaching Assistant, Department of Political Science, Ohio State University

1986-1988 ............................................................. Graduate Research Assistant, Polimetrics Laboratory for Social and Political Research, Ohio State University

1988-1989 ............................................................. Intern, American Political Science Review, Ohio State University

1989-1991 ............................................................. Graduate Administrative Assistant, Institute for Japanese Studies, Ohio State University

Publications


Fields of Study

Major Field: Political Science

Studies in Comparative Politics
Western European Politics
Politics of Inequality
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Chapter I
Introduction

Representation and Political Integration

British society has historically been relatively homogeneous, but in the postwar era substantial migration has converted it into a multinational, multicultural, multiracial society. The political representation of ethnic minorities is an important new development in British politics. A transition has been taking place among ethnic minorities from a primarily protest mode of participation to one of engagement in mainstream politics and institutions (Goulbourne 1990, 1). For the first time since the early 1900s, several members of ethnic minority groups were elected to Parliament in the 1987 general elections, and their numbers increased in 1992. In addition, the number of ethnic minority local councillors rose slowly over the course of the 1980s. These newly elected councillors are the focus of my research.

As in the United States, the process of increasing ethnic minority political participation may have important ramifications for ethnic minority politics and the British representative system overall. Specifically, such increased representation will likely have important implications for ethnic minorities’ political integration. As Studlar and Welch note,
The quality and quantity of minority group representation in government, especially those chosen by popular vote, is one test of how well racially or ethnically integrated an advanced industrial society is (1990, 1).

My research therefore considers the implications of this newly achieved electoral representation for ethnic minority elites’ political integration.

The term integration, when used in the context of relations between majority and minority populations, is typically defined as follows:

Integration is a situation in which groups of different cultural backgrounds and different beliefs can participate in society on equal footing without losing their essential distinctiveness as individuals. People retain their cultural identity but are accepted as equal if total integration is attained (Cashmore and Troyna 1990, 61).

My research is concerned with integration in such broad terms, but in particular focuses on the question of ethnic minority political integration.

The political integration of ethnic minority elites in Britain would be evidenced by a broad consensus among them as to the perceived legitimacy of the regime and its agents, to the need for and the value of institutional participation, and to the effectiveness of the system’s outputs for their communities (Benyon and Solomos 1988, 416). Such political integration might also be defined by their incorporation “into the political system not as nominal but as effective members who participate actively in the decision-making process” (Anwar 1980, 56). Ethnic minority elite political integration might thus be evidenced more specifically by these individuals’:

Intention to balance the representation of ethnic minority interests with the broader interests of their constituents.

Articulation of a desire for incorporation and acceptance into the political process.
Assertion of the value of ethnic minority participation in political parties, elections and pressure groups.

Belief in the possibility of effective ethnic minority participation in and influence over policy formulation and decision-making.

Perceptions that the regime's outputs are beneficial to ethnic minorities, responsive to their demands and wants, and effective in their implementation.

Affirmation of the value of increased ethnic minority representation on local councils and central government.

Positive identification with the polity, the political system, and prevailing values.

My research considers whether ethnic minority councillors' attitudes in this regard imply their political integration.

Of course, integration is but one of the ways in which ethnic minorities may be associated with the wider political system. Alternatively, ethnic minority councillors' perceptions may imply minority-majority relationships characterized by:

Ethnic minority unity arising from the development of a racial and ethnic consciousness.

The dilution of ethnic minority politics as a result of political institutions' creation of buffer mechanisms intended to sidetrack and patronize ethnic minority activists under the guise of providing special help.

Growing ethnic minority disenchantment, alienation and withdrawal from the political process, which might result either in alternative forms of communal organization, such as religion, or more disruptive, violent expressions of individual alienation, such as the periodic eruption of violence in the inner cities (Jeffers 1991, 78).

While it is not likely that any one of these scenarios will be identified with exclusively, my research will consider the extent to which the perceptions of ethnic
minority councillors imply a preference for one of these alternatives rather than political integration.

To assess the degree to which political integration is evidenced among ethnic minority elites in Britain, I analyze five sets of indicators: their role orientations, their political goals or objectives, their attitudes and behaviors regarding political strategies and forms of participation, their perceptions of their experiences on local councils, and their impressions of the British political system overall. To explain variations in the perceptions of ethnic minority elites in this regard, I consider a number of variables that might potentially have influenced the observed response patterns. Among the variables included are councillors' class backgrounds, partisan histories, associational ties, and their status on local councils. Attitudinal variables include such things as their political objectives, perceptions of political competence, and basic feelings about the political system. Finally, in recognition of the religious, cultural and socioeconomic diversity of Britain's ethnic minority populations, my study involves explicit comparison across ethnic groups wherever appropriate.

It is important to note the distinction between officeholders' actual and perceived integration and incorporation. The nature of my data restricts my discussion to the realm of perception. All of the findings discussed here involve these councillors' own perceptions of their integration into local political institutions, rather than more objective indicators (such as voting records or policy outputs) of such factors. Information about voting records and policy outputs would provide evidence of the degree to which the presence of ethnic minority councillors affected the kinds
of policies adopted, particularly concerning ethnic minorities, and thus appeared to be effective participants in local decision-making. Voting records would also indicate whether these councillors went their own way in the policy-making behavior or pursued more integrationist voting strategies (that is, adhered to party discipline). Additionally, the attitudes of white local councillors concerning the issues addressed here would also provide useful insights about ethnic minority councillors' integration.

Obtaining such information, however, was beyond the breadth of my study. As such, my research relies on reconstructing the political world of these elites as it appears through their eyes. Such a strategy will be sufficient "since it is assumed that what and how people think and what and how they believe about the world in which they live influences greatly the way they as leaders will act, behave and decide" (Eldersveld, Kooiman and Tak 1981, 2).

Why Study Ethnic Minority Elite Integration?

My study will not only provide information about ethnic minority elites' political integration. It will additionally permit speculation as to the effects of ethnic minority representation on political integration at the mass level, as well as its implications for British politics more generally.

The attitudes and behaviors of Britain's newly emergent ethnic minority political elites may have particularly important implications for the future political integration of ethnic minorities overall, insofar as the formative experiences in local politics of these elites will teach important lessons about the effectiveness and
legitimacy of mainstream politics. These elected representatives' new roles and responsibilities, as well as their interactions with other political elites and institutions, may affect their attitudes and behaviors. They may, for example, become more radical, intransigent, or disenchanted. Or, they may be co-opted into the system and become loyal "team players." Such changes in these elites' perceptions will likely, in turn, affect their behavior and be further communicated downward to ethnic minorities at the mass level (Gunther, Sani and Shabad 1986; Putnam 1973, 1976; Sartori 1969).

The election to office of minorities also might stimulate integrationist impulses among minority communities to the extent that minorities believe that this representation has produced benefits for their communities (Karnig and Welch 1980, 109). As Hamilton (1982) notes, "where the process is perceived to be related to the products sought, participation will likely increase. If there is no such perception, participation will likely decline" (p. xix). Thus, political participation and, as such, political integration are more likely to be forthcoming if government or political processes are perceived to be performing effectively vis-a-vis a particular community.

Further, as Preston (1982) also notes with reference to black elected officials in the United States,

A strong black political leadership can provide organization, resources and linkages to significant others in ways that benefit the black community. They can help educate and mobilize citizens to the realities of politics—what is possible and how it is to be achieved (p. 183).

The election to office of ethnic minorities therefore might affect ethnic minorities' future political integration to the degree that elected representatives serve as role
models in government, representing ethnic minorities' interests and illustrating that good leadership (or bad) is not dominated by one race or group (Preston 1978, 198).

Thus, insofar as their own experiences and perceptions shape attitudes and behaviors at the mass level, ethnic minorities' election to office may have a significant impact on the future of ethnic minority politics in Britain. In particular, if ethnic minority representatives' experiences in office develop their confidence in formal, institutionalized channels of participation, this faith in the system may be communicated to ethnic minorities at the mass level and promote the widespread use of such institutional channels. Presumably, such participation will further serve to promote ethnic minority citizens' political integration.

Conversely, if the experiences of ethnic minority councillors are negative, and this is communicated downward to the mass level, ethnic minority citizens may lose faith in the political system and become more frustrated and alienated. Increased minority representation may then turn out to be a mixed blessing, particularly if the growth in representation is not matched by a perceived increase in government responsiveness to minority communities. The fact of political representation may "decrease alienation and increase awareness of government. But unmet expectations may (also) lead to considerable frustration" (Studlar and Welch 1986, 21). Such frustrations may be reflected in low levels of institutional participation and perhaps even alienation. As Benyon and Solomos put it, "Why should people who are excluded identify with (and participate in) the system that is excluding them?"
(1988, 416). Given the central role of citizen participation in a democracy, such byproducts of ethnic minority representation would clearly be undesirable.

A further product of such frustrations may be that the political violence of the 1970s in Britain (which occurred in the perceived absence of viable participatory channels for ethnic minorities) may reemerge as an alternative form of political participation. Scholars in the United States have in particular emphasized this possibility for a return to violent expressions of political voice in the context of the rise to office of minority officials. As Preston (1982) notes, the emergence of black politicians might have certain consequences because

If they fail to deliver, (their) role will become more symbolic than substantive. The failure to deliver, moreover, might also have other serious consequences. Blacks are liable to lose hope, become more frustrated and come to view the failure as substantial evidence of the futility of their plight. The result may be a resort to an organized collective violence (p. 128).

Thus, it was argued, while the election of black officials and the pursuit of political power rather than "street power" might be a temporary source of black pride and identification with the polity, in the long run they might become a sign that the system does not in fact work for minorities.

The events that took place in Los Angeles in 1992 lend considerable credence to such assertions. Widespread unrest and violence occurred in this city despite the existence of political representation for the minority communities, most notably a black mayor serving his fifth term. Such problems in part may have reflected rising feelings of frustration within the minority communities that were the result of unmet expectations vis-a-vis city government and minority elected officials. Such events
suggest that the relationship between political representation and the nature of citizen participation may be quite strong.

In light of such arguments, the ascension to political office of ethnic minorities may have important implications, not only for ethnic minority politics and political integration, but for the style and character of British politics in the future as well. My research makes important contributions to the present state of knowledge about the political integration of ethnic minority elites in Britain, as well as the functioning of the British representative system. Insofar as their entry into formal political institutions can be regarded as sign of fuller participation in the political system and the achievement of greater access to political decision-making, the election of ethnic minorities to political office would appear to constitute progress toward their political integration. I explore ethnic minority elites’ interpretation of this relationship. In so doing, I allow for conclusions as to whether elected office is likely to be an effective political channel for ethnic minorities. My study also allows for discussion of the ways in which ethnic minority elite attitudes and behaviors may influence the British political system either directly, or indirectly, through their effect on the political integration of ethnic minorities at the mass level. Finally, and at a more fundamental level, my research provides an understanding of the attitudes and behaviors of the elected representatives of the ethnic minority population, allows for a comparison of these attitudes and behaviors across ethnic groups, and contributes to our knowledge of British ethnic minority politics more generally.
Indicators of Political Integration

My study of the attitudes and behaviors of British ethnic minority officeholders explores several dimensions that may relate to the quality and extent of their political integration. I examine ethnic minority officeholders' role orientations, their political objectives, their views of political participation and strategies, their experiences in office, and their perceptions of the British political system overall.

Role Orientations

An important indicator of the political integration of ethnic minority elites is the representational orientations of these elected representatives. A common assumption of those who study minority elected officials is that these elites will necessarily represent the interests of ethnic minorities and that they will identify solely with the ethnic group to which they belong. However, the election of ethnic minorities is by no means a guarantee that the needs or preferences of the minority community will be reflected in officeholders' attitudes and behaviors in office. They may in fact strive to distance themselves from their racial and ethnic group in order to appear more legitimate in the eyes of their white peers and constituents. In some instances, constituency or district representation may take precedence over group representation. The extent to which these officeholders dissociate themselves from their ethnic groups (or align themselves to them) will be an important indicator of their political integration. In addition, their representational roles will have significant
implications for the articulation of ethnic minority interests in political decision-making processes.

Before considering the representational roles of ethnic minority councillors, I first discuss the representation of ethnic minorities in purely descriptive terms. That is, representation with respect to the representatives' characteristics, what they are or are like, on the basis of their being something rather than doing something (Pitkin 1967, 61). I thus consider patterns and levels of ethnic minority representation in Britain.

Because the mere presence of ethnic minorities on a local council cannot guarantee the actual representation of ethnic minority interests, one cannot focus purely on such symbolic or descriptive elements of representation. Another more meaningful way to evaluate representation is as an activity or as "an acting for others, an activity in behalf of as an agent for someone else" (Pitkin 1967, 113). As Pitkin notes, for the political scientist, the true test of representation is how well the elected official acts to further the objectives of those whom he or she represents (p. 116). Such substantive representation of ethnic minorities by their local councillors might be evidenced by the following:

Ethnic minority councillors' recognition of ethnic minorities as a politically significant group.

Their further recognition of such things as "ethnic minority" issues and distinctive ethnic minority interests.

Their identification of who should handle these concerns, of who is best qualified to do so.
The representational orientations of ethnic minority councillors may in turn serve as indicators of their political integration in several ways:

If ethnic minority councillors believe they represent only ethnic minorities and act in such a fashion, they will likely alienate and anger their non-ethnic minority constituents and colleagues, perhaps creating barriers to their own integration into policymaking and electoral institutions in the future.

If ethnic minority councillors dissociate themselves completely from ethnic minority issues and representing ethnic minority interests, this will imply their cooptation, rather than integration, into existing processes and institutions. This, in turn, will likely send a negative message to ethnic minorities as to the effects of increased representation and the wisdom of seeking solutions to their problems through election to office and traditional political channels.

If ethnic minority councillors balance the representation of the broader interests of their constituencies with the more specific interests of their ethnic minority constituents, this will promote these councillors political integration by facilitating their acceptance into the political process among their white constituents and peers, while at the same time demonstrating to their ethnic minority constituents that electoral channels also work on their behalf.

In short, the manner in which ethnic minority councillors interpret their substantive role as elected representatives is one indicator of elite political integration. I thus consider whom ethnic minority councillors view themselves as representing and how they define their functions and roles vis-à-vis this constituency.

The Political Objectives of Ethnic Minorities

To further evaluate their political integration, I consider ethnic minority councillors' definitions of the political objectives of their communities, both in general and in specific policy terms. With respect to such objectives, the central question is
whether ethnic minority councillors favor "integration into the prevailing structures of society or a rejection of them in favor of alternative political, social, and economic forms of organization" (Jacobs 1988, 170). Or, if they seek some middle ground involving more limited integration accompanied by the maintenance of their ethnic and cultural identities.

Evidence from the United States suggests that black elected officials pursue objectives that favor minority integration into existing societal institutions. In Britain, it is widely argued that such a process of integration into mainstream British society is in the best interests of the ethnic minority communities (Layton-Henry and Studlar 1985, 307-8). However, it need not be the case that ethnic minority councillors concur with such a course. One other possibility is that they place greater emphasis on maintaining complete separation between the white and ethnic minority communities. Another is that they seek a separateness of the ethnic minority communities with respect to social and cultural identities, but favor integration in political and economic terms. I thus explore the goals these representatives have defined for their communities. These goal definitions will be indicators of the extent to which these representatives envision for themselves and their communities a future that involves the attainment of political, social, and economic integration in British society.

In light of these considerations, I consider the goals and policy preferences of ethnic minority communities as articulated by ethnic minority councillors. I discuss their opinions as to the most pressing problems facing ethnic minorities, their broad
goals and policy preferences, and their positions on a variety of proposals for achieving these objectives. In specific policy terms, I investigate whether ethnic minority representatives seek policies of positive discrimination or the creation of a policy environment that promotes ethnic minority self-help. I further seek to explain variations observed in the goals defined by these councillors by examining their political backgrounds, class affiliations and ethnicity. These variables might affect their goal definitions in a number of ways. For example, one might hypothesize that:

Ethnic minority councillors who have political histories involving stronger associations with the ethnic minority communities (for example, those who had been members of ethnic minority organizations or Labour Party Black Sections) will define objectives that involve the maintenance of ethnic minority group identities or ethnic solidarity, support for multiculturalism and opposition to complete assimilation.

Those councillors who identify themselves as ethnic minority representatives will be more supportive of ethnic minority solidarity, of some autonomy in political and economic terms, and of the preservation of their cultural heritage.

Socioeconomic differences may influence ethnic minority councillors’ support for economic policies and programs involving government assistance to ethnic minorities such as housing and health care. In this regard, Asian councillors may differ from Afro-Caribbean councillors, given the differing socioeconomic statuses of their two communities.

Strategies and Forms of Political Participation

The experiences of ethnic minority councillors once in office will have an impact on their attitudes about the effectiveness of a variety of ways in which citizens may exercise their participatory rights. The degree to which they endorse
nontraditional forms of participation is likely to have important implications for their political integration.

In this regard, it is necessary to speak to the issue of electoral versus other modes of political participation and demand articulation as the more effective course for ethnic minorities to pursue. Voting and election to political office are traditionally seen as the primary options for articulating political demands and achieving political system responsiveness in a democratic society. However, participation in formal political parties and elections need not translate into ethnic minority issues achieving agenda status or increased policy responsiveness. In addition, political participation need not be limited to formal institutional channels and may indeed fall into categories that are not commonly acknowledged as being legitimate.

It has frequently been argued that for small groups lacking in organizational and economic resources, collective action in the form of protest is the most effective form of political action (see Gamson 1968; Piven and Cloward 1974, 1977). According to Piven and Cloward, "the ability of an outcast minority to advance in the face of majority prejudices partly depends upon its ability to develop countervailing power" (1974, p. 265). They argue that this power is to be developed through disruptive political strategies that create crises to which political leaders must respond. In their view, electoral-representative systems can never be responsive to the powerless in society, and protest is the only effective form of political action for these individuals. In recognition of this line of argument, I consider whether ethnic minority
councillors view other forms of participation as being more likely to be effective in achieving their goals.

I thus assess the attitudes of ethnic minority elites with respect to conventional and unconventional forms of political participation. As active members of the formal political system, it is likely that these elites will demonstrate a strong preference for traditional forms of participation. On the other hand, as members of relatively powerless minority groups, it is also possible that they will acknowledge a potential need for resorting to alternative forms of political voice and that they have formed opinions as to the viability, legitimacy and effectiveness of such alternative forms. I further consider whether ethnic minority councillors believe that group cohesion and collective action are sensible strategies for achieving their goals. All of these attitudes may be of central importance insofar as elite attitudes influence mass behavior.

A number of scholars have noted that many ethnic minority political groups outside the Labour and Conservative parties, especially outside the Labour Party, have concluded that the established parties provide no way forward for minorities. I further inquire into the extent to which ethnic minority elected representatives believe that there is a need to seek alternatives to the "established politics" of the Labour and Conservative parties. Such alternatives might take the form of the creation of a separate ethnic minority party or parties, or of their own sections of the major parties (as in the Black Sections movement within the Labour Party). Again, as electorally successful members of the Labour or Conservative parties, these elites are unlikely to wholeheartedly endorse non-establishment politics. I explore, however, whether they
believe these parties are the most effective channels for making progress toward ethnic minority political goals.

To explain patterns of support for these political strategies and participatory activities, I examine such things as these councillors' previous political histories and behaviors and their attitudes toward the British political system overall. For example, the following possible relationships are explored:

Ethnic minority councillors whose experiences within formal political institutions were negative will view other avenues for participation as being more effective for achieving ethnic minority goals.

Those ethnic minority councillors who engaged in nontraditional political activities in the past will acknowledge the potential need for resorting to alternative forms of political voice to achieve political system responsiveness.

Those ethnic minority councillors who believe that the political system is dysfunctional, noninclusive and nonresponsive will rate as effective forms of political participation that are not traditionally perceived as legitimate or viable.

Those ethnic minority councillors who define political objectives that imply a desire to maintain separate ethnic minority enclaves will advocate forms of political organization that involve separation along racial and ethnic lines.

Those ethnic minority councillors with more extensive histories of partisan involvement, and with stronger records of partisan achievements, will be more likely to view the established party system as responsive and effective vis-a-vis ethnic minority concerns.

Ethnic Minorities and Local Councils

I also consider the extent to which these new participants in Britain's political institutions perceive themselves to be active, effective participants in local
decision-making processes. The degree to which they believe they are effective in office will also be of significance for their future incorporation in policy formulation and decision-making. This is the case not only with respect to whether such incorporation is attainable, but also to the extent that these beliefs are transferred down to the mass level.

I determine how and to what extent ethnic minority councillors believe they have incorporated themselves as effective participants in the local political game. To do so, I analyze several potential indicators of ethnic minority councillors' political integration that might also affect their perceptions of effectiveness. I consider their perceptions of their relations with other councillors, both ethnic minority and white; and their feelings about the attitudes of their white peers toward them. I also examine the degree to which ethnic minority councillors act together to further an ethnic minority political agenda. Consideration is also given to ethnic minority councillors' success in gaining selection to positions of authority on local councils. Councillors' impressions of the necessity of using special tactics to achieve some degree of effectiveness and their perceived ability to influence their councils' policy agendas are also discussed. Finally, I analyze the extent to which ethnic minority councillors viewed their participation and representation as having been effective with reference to their pursuit of ethnic minority concerns and general local issues. Such considerations will allow for comment on ethnic minority councillors' political integration in that:

If ethnic minority councillors identify their primary working relationships as being with other ethnic minority councillors, this will
be indicative of a lesser degree of integration into local decision-making processes. Conversely, councillors who profess to work equally well with white and ethnic minority councillors will appear to be more integrated into local political structures.

If ethnic minority councillors indicate that they work only with other ethnic minority councillors and organize themselves on an ethnically-separate basis, this will indicate their segregation rather than integration on local councils.

If ethnic minority councillors believe that they are unable to affect their councils' policy agendas, or that they must use special tactics to do so, this will be a further indicator of their lack of integration into local political institutions.

To explain the perceptions of ethnic minority councillors in this regard, I consider a number of explanatory factors that might have influenced these attitudes. Among these are ethnic minority councillors' length of tenure in office, the partisan control of their councils, their status on their councils, their previous political activities, their ethnic identity and their socioeconomic, particularly class, status. For example, the following relationships may be observed in this regard:

Ethnic minority councillors elected most recently will be more likely to seek alliances with, and to have better working relationships with, other ethnic minority councillors as a result of their (presumed) shared personal characteristics and experiences as ethnic minorities.

Councillors who were more likely to describe themselves as primarily ethnic minority representatives, and who thus demonstrated stronger ties to the ethnic minority communities, will be more likely to ally themselves most closely with their ethnic minority peers.

Ethnic minority councillors' council relationships will be affected by their standing on their councils. That is, councillors elected earlier will have stronger relationships with their white colleagues and council leaderships than councillors who have just been elected.
Councillors who had served longer, who had more extensive partisan histories, or who were more active in community organizations will have risen to positions of authority on local councils.

The British Political System

I finally consider the attitudes of these elites regarding the British political process and its institutions overall. In particular, I examine councillors’ perceptions of the responsiveness of key institutions in the British political system to ethnic minorities, ethnic minorities’ political efficacy or competence vis-a-vis the political system, and the extent to which societal institutions are worthy of feelings of pride and trust.

The perceptions and evaluations of ethnic minority councillors about responsiveness and participation will add to our understanding of their political integration in that they will reveal the extent to which they subscribe to the democratic myth: "that ordinary citizens ought to participate in politics and that they are in fact influential" (Almond and Verba 1965, 352). Were ethnic minority councillors to offer opinions that suggested a failure to believe that this "myth" held true for ethnic minorities in Britain, this would have negative implications for their political integration. That is, this would imply that ethnic minority councillors doubt the efficacy of political participation for ethnic minorities and, following on this, are unlikely to see potential for their political integration.

A final attitudinal indicator of political integration will be positive identification with the political system, indicated by feelings of trust and pride.
Evidence of trust in the political system is usually taken to be a good indicator of diffuse support for government. Further, feelings of pride in societal institutions are also seen as indicators of positive affect for the political system. Individuals who fail to demonstrate such positive affect are not likely to be integrated into the prevailing norms and values of the political system. The extent and quality of these elites' political integration will thus be related to the degree to which they demonstrate such feelings of political trust and pride.

To determine the relationship between these factors and ethnic minority councillors' political integration, I consider ethnic minority councillors' opinions as to the responsiveness of the political system to ethnic minorities focusing on Parliament and local councils. Consideration is also given to councillors' perceptions of the responsiveness of one other major political institution, the party system. I also examine their evaluations of ethnic minority citizens' and their own capacity to influence the political system. I finally consider the degree to which ethnic minority councillors manifest feelings of national pride and political trust, or positive affect toward the British political system.

I hypothesize that ethnic minority councillors' perceptions and evaluations of the British political system may be influenced by their experiences within formal political institutions, career histories and ethnicity. Among others, the following relationships may be observed in this regard:

Ethnic minority councillors who believe themselves to be tokens on local councils, with no power or influence will view the political system as being illegitimate or dysfunctional for ethnic minorities and will hold negative views of ethnic minority citizens' political efficacy.
Ethnic minority councillors with stronger institutional ties (e.g., those who held council or party office, or who have served in office longer) will demonstrate higher levels of system support, particularly for local government, than councillors who have yet to hold positions of authority or are newly elected.

Ethnic minority councillors serving on councils where their party is in power will see themselves as more politically competent and will rate local political institutions as being more responsive.

The Institutional Setting

The British local governmental system is an important facet of a wider democratic system. The most notable characteristic of this system is its diversity: British local authorities differ in their functional responsibilities, their size, their resources, and the nature of the challenges they face as a result of the social and economic characteristics of their constituencies. However, local authorities also share a number of common features. All local authorities provide a voice for the local community, act as a buffer to the central government, supply local services, recruit people into the political process, and relieve some of the pressure on central administration (Byrne 1990, 55).

In broader terms, local authorities in Britain are commonly argued to primarily fulfill a service and a political function:

The service (or administrative) function consists of the provision of those goods and services which for one reason or another are supplied through the public sector. The political function, on the other hand, is the management and reduction of the conflict which arises out of the issues involved in the public provision of goods and services. It embraces such questions as the scope, the scale, and the quality of the public services and the manner in which their costs should be met (Gyford, Leach and Game 1989, 299).
The political function of local government also consists of a representational, or democratic, dimension.

Since 1986, local government in Britain has had a dual structure, composed of a single tier of metropolitan districts and London boroughs, and two tiers of county and non-metropolitan districts. In some areas, a third tier of parish councils is also present. In London, there are currently 32 local authorities and the City of London of corporation, which has special administrative status.

These tiers of government do not exist in a hierarchical relationship to each other; each has its own separate responsibilities and operates autonomously from the other. The distinction between metropolitan and non-metropolitan refers to the functions of these districts. In metropolitan areas the authorities are responsible for, among other things, education, social services and libraries. In non-metropolitan districts these services are the responsibility of the corresponding county councils. The London boroughs are responsible for most local government services within their geographic boundaries, with special arrangements made for such things as fire, civil defense, and waste disposal.

There currently are some 25,000 councillors in Britain (England and Wales). All councillors are elected for a four-year term of office in a simple majority electoral contest. There is no limit to the number of terms that a councillor may serve. The timing of local authority elections varies in the different tiers of government. In most local authorities (counties, parishes and communities in England and Wales; all London authorities) all councillors are elected every fourth year (the last of these
elections was in May 1990). In the metropolitan districts, one third of the councillors are elected in each of the three years when there is a county election (the last of these elections was held in May 1991). The non-metropolitan district councils are free to choose from either of these two systems. All local authorities are divided into wards; in the metropolitan districts three councillors are elected from each ward, in the other tiers there may be from one to three elected ward members.

In the 1980s, the most important debates over the construction of race-related political agendas and the introduction of initiatives promoting racial equality took place within the confines of local government. The rise of local authorities controlled by the left in the Labour party had important implications for racial politics. These Labour-controlled local authorities, especially in London, became (and remain) the primary vehicle for advancing anti-racist programs by those concerned with the struggle for racial equality.

The pursuit of race equality at the local council level did not meet with universal success. In a number of authorities, "the policies suffered from bungled and zealous implementation which fuelled rather than alleviated racial tensions." The lack of success, however, was not solely the result of implementation problems:

The pursuit of racial equality inevitably involves difficult dilemmas and choices which have sometimes been ignored or brushed aside...By not being more circumspect about the (race) policies' potential, councils raised expectations which could not be fulfilled. Under constant pressure from local Labour parties and black activists, race which was given a priority which too often ignored the inherent constraints and dilemmas (Lansley, Goff and Wolmar 1989, 139-40).
And, as Ousley (1988) notes, "most of these innovative authorities (were) ill-prepared for dealing with the enormous conflicts generated when institutional racism is confronted. As a consequence, good intentions either (went) wrong, or (took) an extraordinarily long time to be converted into good practices, or (became) secondary when compared to other dilemmas facing local government" (p. 138). Also, the 1988-89 round of Conservative local government reforms, namely the poll tax, housing, education and contract compliance initiatives had a negative effect on race policies and programs. In addition, the Conservative Party's efforts to secure votes via attacks on equal opportunities policies and anti-racism legislation also served as formidable obstacles to local authorities achieving success in these efforts. As a result, "anti-racist, race equality and multicultural programs have so far been largely marginal, symbolic and cosmetic" (Butcher, Law, Leach and Mullard 1990, 134).

Nonetheless, some limited gains have been achieved, albeit slowly and not as comprehensively as might have been hoped: the number of black staff in town halls have increased, access to services is more fairly provided, race monitoring is a fairly widespread practice and race issues have been firmly placed on the local political agenda. Even in the aftermath of the defeat of the urban left, local government appears to remain the best hope for achieving ethnic minorities' goals of race equality, multiculturalism and freedom from racial harassment.
Data

The data for this study were gathered in two ways: through in-depth, semi-structured personal interviews and through the use of a mailed questionnaire. I conducted a series of personal interviews with 46 ethnic minority officeholders. These interviews were designed to allow for open-ended discussion with respondents, thus affording me the opportunity to acquire detailed information, particularly with reference to the perceptions of these elites (see Appendix A for a full discussion of interview methods and sample).

I complemented this series of personal interviews with a mail survey. Mail questionnaires were sent to all ethnic minority local councillors. Although mail surveys have a number of drawbacks, particularly with respect to the types of questions compatible with their closed-ended format, the use of this instrument allowed me to significantly increase the breadth of my study. Given the number and geographic distribution of my respondents, as well as time and cost constraints, a mail survey afforded me the opportunity to gather information on a large number of ethnic minority officeholders (see Appendix A for a full discussion of survey methods and response rates).

Previous Research

This study emerges from work that has been done by scholars on two continents: the study of black elected officials by researchers in the United States and the analysis of British ethnic minority politics by both British and American scholars.
I briefly discuss the nature of this work in order to establish the foundation for my study.

The Study of Black Elected Officials in the United States

Researchers concerned with racial politics in the United States have devoted substantial energies since the 1970s to the study of minority elected officials. These scholars have generally concluded that the election of blacks and Hispanics to political office has had important implications for both minority communities (symbolically and with respect to actual policies and benefits) and the American political system. My study is closely patterned after the work of American researchers because of the similarities in the patterns of emergence of these elites in the American and British situations, the generally favorable conclusions of American scholars as to the import of minority representation, and because of the absence of any similar research on minority elected officials in Britain to date.

Scholars in the United States have argued that black elected officials are a group worthy of study because they constitute an "essential resource for the black community's political status, consolidation and extension." By competently holding governmental office, "blacks in government demonstrate to other blacks the practicality of self-respect and the feasibility of high aspirations, and to whites the inefficiency and injustice of racial discrimination and, most importantly, the certainty of powerful and sophisticated black opposition to such discrimination" (Conyers and Wallace 1976, 6). These officials are also notable because of the special burden they
carried as the first wave of elected minority elites. This burden arose out of the fact that these elites not only affected the affairs of government, but because they created standards for their successors and their constituents. As such, they "orchestrated the expectations of the entire citizenry" and sent powerful messages about the legitimacy of the political system to that citizenry (Cole 1976, 25). Finally, the arrival of these elites into formal political institutions was seen as noteworthy not only in light of their gains in prestige, but because of the unprecedented share of governmental power that their minority group had achieved. These same justifications for study hold true for the British case. The recent election of ethnic minorities in Britain is potentially as significant as the rise to governmental power was for blacks in the United States in the 1970s, both for ethnic minorities themselves and for the British political system as a whole.

Descriptive studies. The earliest set of American scholars concentrated on a number of descriptive tasks, seeking to document the numbers of black elected officials, their social and political backgrounds, their career paths, their regional incidence and their distribution across elective offices (see Cole 1976; Conyers and Wallace 1976; Campbell and Feagin 1975). Their studies were conducted in the aftermath of rapid increases in the numbers of black elected officials in the 1970s in the United States and they filled an existing gap in knowledge about minority elites. This work therefore serves as a guide to the study of a similarly emerging elected elite in Britain.
More recent studies of black elected officials compare black and Hispanic politicians and reveal differences between the experiences of these two ethnic groups in terms of recruitment, their experiences in office and their impact (see Browning, Marshall and Tabb 1984; Hero 1986; Mladenka 1989). Others have also demonstrated that ethnic minority groups in the United States differ in their mass level political orientations and activities (see Antunes and Gaitz 1975; Lovrich 1974; Lovrich and Marenin 1976; Parenti 1967; Taebel 1978). These inter-ethnic comparisons serve as useful models for a comparison of the characteristics of Asian and Afro-Caribbean politicians and their political attitudes and behaviors. While I have no reason to expect that the differences observed between blacks and Hispanics will resemble those that may be found between Asians and Afro-Caribbeans in Britain, these American studies provide a foundation for a comparison of Asian and Afro-Caribbean Britons, particularly because they have demonstrated that ethnic minority groups respond to the formal political system differentially.

*ELECTING MINORITIES TO OFFICE.* A second strand of the literature on black elected officials focused on the conditions that facilitated the election of blacks to office. These studies examined such things as electoral systems, socioeconomic conditions, black resources and community segregation and their relationship to black electoral success (see Darcy and Hadley 1988; Engstrom and McDonald 1981; Karnig 1979; Kramer 1971; McManus 1978; Taebel 1978; Vedlitz and Johnson 1982; Welch and Karnig 1978; Welch and Karnig 1980). My research only touches upon some of these issues. I am not concerned with the character of the electoral system since, unlike the
United States, the form of electoral system is the same throughout Britain and therefore presumably does not have the differential effects that have been observed across systems in the United States.

**The impact of minority officeholders.** A third strand of analyses in this area was concerned with the impact of black elected officials. Scholars have examined the extent to which electoral political success has produced substantive benefits for blacks. Particular attention has been paid to the impact of black political power on municipal employment (see Browning, Marshall and Tabb 1984; Dye and Renick 1981; Eisinger 1982; Mladenka 1989), on city budgetary allocations (see Welch and Karnig 1980) and for policy responsiveness (see Browning, Marshall and Tabb 1984; Cole 1976).

Those who have considered the effects of the presence black officeholders on the minority share of municipal jobs conclude that the election of minority mayors and council members results in a notable increase in minority city employment. Researchers who have examined the influence of black officials more generally have argued that the election of blacks also makes a difference in policy formulation and implementation, in appointments and in symbolic terms for the black community at large. As Cole concludes, "black elected officials do not represent simply an 'illusion' of power," and their election to office produces increased benefits for the black community (1976, 221). In short, scholars generally agree that the election of blacks to political office in the United States has been important not only symbolically but with respect to actual policies and benefits.
These latter findings further justify my study. If students of the American experience had concluded that the election of blacks to office had not advanced the interests of minority communities, then it would seem unreasonable to expect that their newly emerging counterparts in Britain would fare any better. However, since the conclusions of researchers in the United States have generally been favorable with respect to minority effectiveness in office and to the significance of their election, there is reason to accept the merit of a study of the attitudes and behaviors of ethnic minority officeholders in Britain.

The Study of British Racial Politics and Ethnic Minority Elites

The study of British racial politics. There has been considerable time and effort spent on the study of race and ethnicity in British society since the 1950s. This has been an endeavor pursued by social scientists from a number of disciplines. Social anthropologists and sociologists have produced studies of migration and settlement patterns. Other sociologists have focused extensively on specific issue areas associated with immigration and settlement such as housing, education, employment and health care. Still others have studied the character of community based immigrant organizations, patterns of immigrant integration and participation, and immigrant experiences with local community structures and officials. These studies have provided us with valuable insights into racism, racial disadvantage, urban deprivation and the day-to-day experiences of ethnic minorities in Britain. They have afforded us an understanding of the political culture and socialization processes of
ethnic minorities, as well explaining their relationships to individuals, organizations and institutions in their communities. This latter aspect of these studies is particularly noteworthy for the illumination of a number of factors, both within the ethnic minority communities themselves and in British society at large, which have served as barriers to the integration of ethnic minorities into British society.

The study of the more explicitly political effects of race on British society was taken up at a much later stage than many of the aforementioned studies. The contribution of political scientists to the field of race research prior to the late 1970s was marginal at best. Of late, however, political scientists have devoted more time to the study of the various ways in which race has influenced British political life in the postwar era. They have focused on the electoral and party participation of ethnic minorities, white and nonwhite racial attitudes, differences in the political behavior and attitudes of Asian and Afro-Caribbean Britons, central government racial policymaking and policies, local racial policymaking and implementation and local struggles for political equality, and the politics of urban racial unrest. I rely on this body of work to establish the setting for my study and to provide a framework for my analysis.

The study of British ethnic minority elites. Despite the seeming breadth of this existing research, students of race and politics in Britain have yet to focus specifically on ethnic minority political elites. Absolutely neglected have been those elites who have achieved elected political office. It is not incorrect to say that at present we
know very little about the attitudes and behaviors of ethnic minority elites, elected or otherwise.

While there are a number of studies that are based on interviews with ethnic minority leaders, the focus of these studies is not on the elites themselves, but rather on a number of issues and political activities about which elites were uniquely qualified to provide information. For example, Rex and Tomlinson (1979) were concerned with describing social relations between individuals and groups in a multi-ethnic, multi-racial setting, while Beetham (1970) was interested in the decision-making process in one particular case of race relations. Young and Connelly (1981) also utilized minority elite interviews in their study of how local authorities responded to the presence of large numbers of ethnic minorities in their midst and Jacobs (1986) used similar interviews in his analysis of black politics and interest groups. In each of these analyses the focus was not on elites as political entities in and of themselves, but merely on using these elites as informants for some larger issue. Thus, while many scholars have talked with minority elites of all types in Britain, they have not been concerned with providing information specifically about these elites themselves. My research is intended as an initial step in providing some insight into the attitudes and behaviors of one particular segment of this elite.

Until very recently there was only one analysis that focused exclusively on minority group leaders conducted by British racial politics scholars. This is a study that relied on interviews with 46 leaders of the larger formal and semi-formal Afro-Caribbean and Asian associations that were conducted in 1968 (Manderson-Jones and
Kamath 1971). These interviews were designed to examine the perceptions and attitudes of these elites "within the social process of discrimination." Much of the information that this analysis provides us with is not pertinent to the contemporary racial situation. Leaders were asked to reflect on discriminatory situations that have changed dramatically since 1968 and their responses were reflective of largely immigrant experiences rather than those of established minority citizens. Overall, this study provides some useful information about the convictions of a small group of minority leaders in the late 1960s, but cannot be used to generalize to the character and perceptions of minority elites today, unless, perhaps, it is to show how they have changed over time.

There are a few studies that, while not centrally focused on ethnic minority elites, have analyzed their characteristics in the course of their discussions. None of these brief considerations provides a comprehensive examination of even a segment of minority elites, but, aside from the work of Manderson-Jones and Kamath, they are the best analyses of ethnic minority elites scholars have provided us with so far. For example, Hill and Issacharoff (1971), in their study of 8 community relations committees, set aside half a chapter for a discussion of the characteristics of the immigrant executive committee members of the councils (N=56). Their study gives us limited and inadequate knowledge in this area. Their central concern, however, was not to provide a detailed analysis of these elites.

There also has been some brief discussion of black leadership styles in the existing literature. Collins, in a 1957 overview of the situation of ethnic minorities in
Britain, identified two such leadership styles among British minority groups. He described these styles as "instrumental" and "model", with the former being leadership based on the occupation of formal authority positions and the use of traditional cultural authority ascriptions and the latter involving leadership based upon prestige derived from social position (i.e., black sportsmen, politicians or film stars as role models).

Pearson (1981), in his discussion of black leadership styles, argues that Collins' typologies are lacking in that they are meant to apply across the board to all ethnic minority groups in Britain. He maintains that "it appears unlikely that similar leadership models can be used to explain leadership patterns within Afro-Caribbean and Asian groupings because of their cultural diversity and the distinctiveness of their respective colonial histories" (p. 164-5). Pearson goes on to try to apply Collins' models to Afro-Caribbeans in his case study of a local community and finds that the diversity within the Afro-Caribbean community itself makes such broad categorizations of leadership styles very difficult, even within a single ethnic group.

Both Collins and Pearson talk of leadership styles in very general terms (although Pearson is only referring to such styles in a single community) and they do not refer to concrete examples of ethnic minority leaders who fall into their patterns. It also should be noted that their observations were made in the context of much broader studies; like Hill and Issacharoff they were not centrally concerned with the study of minority leaders.
A more recent analysis that addresses leadership issues in the ethnic minority communities is that of Anwar and Werbner (1991). This is a collection of works considering leadership issues in Britain's ethnic minority communities. The analyses included in this work do not focus on individual leaders and their characteristics, concerns or experiences. Rather, their focus is on leadership roles in particular communities and their cultural significance. Generally, this volume is more anthropological than political in its focus.

The observations described above, even when taken together, do not constitute a thorough examination of British ethnic minority elites. None of the research that has been discussed here has been conducted with the intent of providing a comprehensive analysis of the attitudes and behaviors of ethnic minority leaders. Hill and Issacharoff provide us with only the barest bones of a characterization of who these individuals are and then take us no further in terms of understanding such things as how they came to be members of the executive committee or their motivations. Manderson-Jones and Kamath's study stands as a dated analysis of a few minority group leaders' perceptions of racial discrimination. And, while Collins and Pearson talk in broader terms, they really do not give us much information about the character of minority leadership. Clearly, if the aforementioned observations are all we know about ethnic minority elites, then further study of these individuals is required.
Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation is divided into three sections. The first lays out the political setting for my research. The second part examines a number of indicators of ethnic minority elite political integration. In the final section I consider the extent of this integration and the implications of my findings for ethnic minority politics and British politics overall.

The first part of the dissertation establishes the political context for my research. In Chapter II, I examine the nature of the ethnic minority community in Britain, considering patterns of immigration, their demographic and socioeconomic status, and the diversity of these communities. Chapter III presents a discussion of patterns of ethnic minority representation in Britain.

The second part of the dissertation involves a discussion of a number of potential indicators of elite political integration. Chapter IV examines the role orientations of ethnic minority councillors. I consider the political objectives these elites define for their communities in Chapter V. Chapter VI involves a discussion of ethnic minority elites' views on the effectiveness of a variety of forms of political participation and strategies. The focus of Chapter VII is on these councillors' experiences on local councils and their perceptions of their own effectiveness. Finally, in Chapter VIII, I examine ethnic minority elites' basic beliefs about the British political system overall.

In the final section of the dissertation, I summarize the findings of my study and consider their implications for the future of ethnic minority political integration in
Britain and for British politics in general: Is the election of ethnic minorities to political office likely to promote the use of traditional forms of participation by ethnic minorities at the mass level? Does the nomination and election to office of ethnic minorities represent a devolution of power by the existing political parties, thereby denoting further evidence of change in the nature of British politics? Will the presence of ethnic minorities in formal political institutions alter the way in which the "race question" enters into the strategies of governmental bodies and political parties in the future?
1. The ethnic origins of Britain’s nonwhite population basically divide along Afro-Caribbean (or West Indian) and Asian lines. The Asian category primarily includes Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. A smaller percentage of the nonwhite population derives from Southeast Asia, the Mediterranean and other parts of the New Commonwealth. Scholars have referred to these ethnic groups in a variety of ways: the entire racial population has been referred to as “black” or “nonwhite”; West Indians have been termed “blacks” and Asians “browns”; or each group has been identified by its country of origin. The ethnic minority groups themselves have increasingly come to identify themselves with descriptors such as “West Indian British” or “Pakistani British”, reflecting the fact that they are no longer immigrants to Britain, but first generation British citizens. I have chosen to avoid the term “black” because of its imprecision; I will refer to Britain’s nonwhite population as its ethnic minority population and to this population’s leaders as ethnic minority leaders. The exceptions to this will be instances where reference to specific ethnic groups is more appropriate.


3. See, for example, Glass 1960; Little 1948; Patterson 1965; Peach 1968.

4. See Ballard 1979; Miles 1982; Rex and Moore 1967; Rex and Tomlinson 1979.


6. See Anwar 1980, 1986; Crewe 1983; Layton-Henry 1984; Layton-Henry and Studlar 1985; Messina 1987; Studlar 1986; Welch and Studlar 1985. Variously, these studies: provide information about the lack of representation of nonwhites in British political institutions (both parties and elected bodies); offer insights into patterns of nonwhite participation in political parties; describe nonwhite voting patterns and turnout levels; and describe the degree to which minorities engage in other forms of political activity (e.g., campaigning, political conversations, reading editorials). For the most, these are primarily descriptive analyses of the mass level political behavior of ethnic minorities.

7. For example, Studlar (1977, 1979 and 1980a) examines white and black political attitudes comparatively, as well as the racial attitudes of members of Parliament and the social context variables which affect white social attitudes towards immigrants.
8. See Anwar 1986; Hill and Issacharoff 1971; Layton-Henry 1978, 1984; Layton-Henry and Studlar 1985; Pearson 1981; Studlar 1985, 1986; Welch and Studlar 1985. This literature is discussed fully in the third chapter of this study. I rely on the extant literature for information about the socioeconomic and cultural features of British ethnic minorities since it is obviously beyond the scope and focus of my research to pursue such data.

9. This is the area in which the bulk of studies of British racial politics by political scientists fall. Among many others, the most informative and well-executed of those in this category are: Ashford 1981; Ben-Tovim and Gabriel 1982; Bulpitt 1986; Dummett and Dummett 1982; Katznelson 1976; Layton-Henry 1984; Messina 1985; Reeves 1983; Solomos 1987; Studlar 1980b; Young 1983. This strand of the literature has attached considerable significance to the role of the national government in contributing to and sanctioning racial inequalities through immigration control and race relations legislation. The primary emphasis of these analyses is upon national level political processes and actors.

10. See Beetham 1970; Ben-Tovim, Gabriel, Law and Stredder 1986; Jacobs 1980, 1986; Messina 1987; Newton 1976; Young and Connelly 1981 for a number of interesting case studies of the ways in which local authorities have responded to the presence of minorities, how they have implemented central government policy initiatives on race, and how race has been politicized at the local level both in elected bodies and among minority communities.

11. Benyon and Solomos (1987, 1988) have examined the issues underlying urban unrest and its causes most exhaustively. Cashmore and Troyna (1982) also study the factors which have promoted violent reactions by Britain’s black youth.
Chapter II

The Ethnic Minority Population in Britain

British society was for centuries characterized by a high degree of ethnic and racial homogeneity. Britain was traditionally a country of emigration rather than immigration, with many Britons going to other countries in search of employment and opportunities, or to serve the Empire in the colonies. The small number of immigrants who traveled to Britain prior to World War II arrived in spurts and their assimilation into British society was achieved with relative ease. The wave of immigration from the "New Commonwealth" countries that occurred after World War II initiated one of the major social changes of the postwar era in Britain. The colonial immigrants to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s were distinct from the native population in cultural, linguistic, religious and racial terms. This immigration thus created a society that is multinational, multicultural, and multiracial.

In this chapter I outline patterns of immigration to Britain, characterize the demographic and socioeconomic status of Asian and Afro-Caribbean Britons, and illustrate the diversity of this ethnic minority population.
New Commonwealth Immigration to Britain

Explaining Immigration

The Second World War was an important impetus for migration from the New Commonwealth countries to Britain. The British government actively recruited workers from its colonies to deal with the wartime labor shortage. Other colonial workers came voluntarily to aid in the war effort. These immigrants had no trouble finding employment and were well received by the native British population, who saw them as allies in the national struggle for survival.

The wartime experiences of New Commonwealth citizens also promoted their postwar migration. The uprooting of many colonial peoples from their home communities during the war loosened existing homeland ties. British colonials serving abroad also had their horizons widened and saw opportunities for work in postwar Europe. Additionally, encounters with native Britons during the war gave the colonists the impression of a society that would welcome their presence (Layton-Henry 1984, 18-19). These factors served as a catalyst for the movement of New Commonwealth citizens to Britain.

The economic environment in Britain after the war was also conducive to immigration from the New Commonwealth. The postwar expansion of the British economy "created substantial shortages of labor, particularly in the relatively stagnant sectors of the economy, for example textiles, metal manufacture, and transport, where low pay, long hours and shift work made the jobs unattractive to native workers" (Layton-Henry 1984, 24). Immigrant workers were drawn by these employment
opportunities and formed a necessary replacement labor force in unskilled and semiskilled positions for which British workers were not available or for jobs that they were not willing to do.

Citizenship Rights

The ease with which this migration occurred was made possible by the 1948 British Nationality Act that established "the rights of citizens of British colonies and Commonwealth countries to enter, work and settle in Britain" (Runnymede 1980, 30). Because they were not considered aliens, New Commonwealth immigrants were not initially subject to immigration controls and were able to enter the country without hindrance or concern for their numbers. Once in Britain, these immigrants were granted equal rights with British citizens and were eligible for British citizenship after a qualifying period of residence. This was especially significant because most immigrants had immediate political rights, including the right to vote.

Such rights of free entry were exceptional in postwar Europe. In most Western European countries citizens of former colonies were clearly defined as "foreigners" and their entry was restricted by immigration controls similar to those applied to any other foreign citizen. For example, four Overseas Departments of France enjoy full French citizenship, but their population and immigration rates were small (Martinique, Guadeloupe, Reunion, Guane). Until 1968, complete freedom of movement in France was also granted to Algerians and to fifteen former French colonies in Africa. These immigrants remained "foreigners" however and had to apply
for French citizenship. The Netherlands also extended freedom of movement to residents of two overseas territories: Suriname and Dutch Antilles. In 1970 Suriname became a republic with separate citizenship, but easy access to the Netherlands was granted until 1980. Since 1981 conditions for family reunion have been much more restrictive for all immigrants to the Netherlands (Coleman 1987, 1147). West Germany, which had been stripped of its colonies after the First World War, did not maintain any rights of free entry for immigrants after World War II.

The Rate of Immigration

As a result of this ease of entry, immigration to Britain from the New Commonwealth was substantial throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Migration in the 1950s first came from the West Indies, and was rapidly followed by migration from the Indian subcontinent (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh). This migration from the ex-colonies was further encouraged over time by "the sponsorship of the early migrants,...their reports of employment opportunities available, and...by the operation of travel agents who made a good living encouraging migration" (Layton-Henry 1984, 23).

According to official estimates, the ethnic minority population in Britain in 1951 was less than 70,000. In the period 1951-1961, the number of New Commonwealth immigrants in Britain doubled from 276,000 to 541,000 (Anwar 1991a, 2). By 1971, 1.2 million Britons were enumerated in the census as born in the New Commonwealth. In 1981 the ethnic minority population had risen to 2.2 million
(although a sizable proportion of this population was born in Britain, not immigrant).

Over the course of only three decades, the size of the ethnic minority population increased nearly thirty-fold. In percentage terms, the ethnic minority population rose from less than one percent to four percent of the total British population in thirty years.

Other European Immigration

This growth is quite remarkable because, as Bulpitt (1986) notes, "probably no other Western polity has witnessed such a rapid creation of a multiracial (multiethnic) society...without an explicit commitment by the government to such a development, and with a marked absence of any formal agreement by the bulk of citizens to such a policy" (p. 20). This stream of immigration was never organized formally and there was no British government arrangement to import "guest workers." Some British firms recruited privately in the New Commonwealth, but most immigrants had no specific job to go to (Coleman 1987, 1148).

In other Western European countries, however, explicit government efforts were made to attract foreign workers. These efforts were accompanied by strict limitations on the rights and privileges of immigrants and a clear vision of their status as temporary. In France, "the bulk of immigration occurred during the 1970s, when manual workers—nearly always men—were imported, mainly from independent Algeria, with the understanding that they could work in France but would not have the right to bring over family members to join them." West Germany also recruited
foreign workers and was even more stringent in its immigration policy: "the German
government long encouraged the arrival of Turkish workers, but made it clear from
the start that they would never become German citizens and should all eventually
return home" (Evans 1989, 10). In contrast to the British case, the postwar influx of
immigrants to other Western European countries was not unplanned and from the
outset this immigration was subject to much greater government control than was
found in Britain (although these controls were not necessarily successful, particularly
in terms of ensuring the temporary nature of this immigration).

Ethnic Minority Population Demographics

As was noted above, the ethnic minority population in Britain, according to the
1981 census, was just over 2.2 million or 4.2 percent of the total British population.
A 1990 estimate of the ethnic minority population by the Office of Population
Censuses and Surveys was 2.58 million or 4.7 percent of the total population. Of
this ethnic minority population, an estimated 1.2 million (55 percent) are of Asian
origin (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, East African Asian), about 0.55 million (25
percent) are of Afro-Caribbean (West Indian) origin, and the remaining 20 percent
have their roots in Southeast Asia, the Mediterranean and other parts of the New

The ethnic minority population is estimated to be increasing by more than
80,000 per year, and by the year 2000, the size of this population is expected to have
increased to about 3.3 million, or 6.7 percent of the total British population (The
Times, July 5, 1990; Bulpitt 1986, 20). After the year 2000, the percentage of ethnic minorities relative to the total British population is generally expected to remain stable, as net migration is projected to be small. It has also been argued, however, that the ethnic minority population could continue to grow relative to the total population because its birth rates are very much higher than those of the overall population, although these too may stabilize over time.

Birthplace

An increasing proportion of the ethnic minority population is born in Britain. According to the 1981 census, 93 percent aged 0 to 4, 81 percent aged 5 to 13, and the majority (60 percent) aged 16 to 19 were born in Britain. It is estimated that over half of the Afro-Caribbean population7 and nearly 40 percent of the Asian population are British-born citizens (Anwar 1991a). In 1990 it was estimated that 47 percent of the ethnic minority community was born in the New Commonwealth and 45 percent were born in the United Kingdom.8 Hence, a significant proportion of the ethnic minority community is no longer "immigrant," but native-born British.

Age

In comparison with the total British population, the Asian and Afro-Caribbean population is very young. Again according to the 1981 census, more than half of the ethnic minority population was under age 25, compared with about 33 percent of the population at large. Perhaps even more significantly, 40 percent of the Asian
population and 30 percent of the Afro-Caribbean were under age 16, as opposed to only 22 percent of the total population. There are also far fewer ethnic minorities at the older end of the population: three percent of ethnic minorities were over 65 in 1981, while 12 percent of the total British population fell into this grouping. According to 1990 estimates, Afro-Caribbeans and Africans have the greatest number of elderly people and fewer children. Over time, the age distribution of the ethnic minority population is expected to more closely resemble that of the British population overall.

This comparative youthfulness of the ethnic minority population is particularly significant in political terms. Because the British voting age is 18, the ethnic minority population constitutes an even smaller proportion of the electorate than it does of the total British population. It is also notable with respect to employment, in that young people are generally more likely to be unemployed (or take longer to enter into jobs) even without racial discrimination (Runnymede 1980, 55).

Sex

The ethnic minority population is similar to the total British population with respect to gender. Over time the balance of the sexes in the Afro-Caribbean population has come to resemble that of the general population, with about 48 percent male and 52 percent female. While there is still a high ratio of men to women in the Asian population, particularly among Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, the Asian gender ratio is also moving towards that of the general population (Anwar 1991a, 5).
Settlement Patterns

About 80 percent of the ethnic minority population is centered in London, the Midlands and the north of England. There is some degree of geographic dispersion between ethnic groups, however. Except for Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, ethnic minority groups have their highest regional concentration in London. Afro-Caribbeans are highly concentrated in Southeast England (65 percent), with over half in the Greater London area (56 percent). Nearly half of those of Indian origin (48 percent) also live in the Southeast, as do 57 percent of Bangladeshis and 65 percent of East African Asians. Pakistanis tended to migrate to the Midlands and the north of England. Only 31 percent of Pakistanis live in the Southeast; the remainder of the Pakistani population live in the urban areas of the West Midlands (22 percent), Yorkshire and Humberside (21 percent) and the Northwest (16 percent). A sizeable proportion of Bangladeshis also live in these areas. With the exception of the Pakistanis, ethnic minority settlement patterns have largely been dictated by employment opportunities. Pakistani settlement patterns were primarily the product of "chain migration" based on kinship ties (Anwar 1991a, 4-5).

Ethnic minorities have tended to settle in declining urban industrial centers; by 2000 this will have occurred to such an extent that possibly one-third of the population of inner London and other urban areas will be of Asian or Afro-Caribbean descent (Studlar 1980b). The bulk of ethnic minorities live in a relatively small number of local authority areas. For example, in the London boroughs in the late 1970s, the ethnic minority population varied between 1 percent of the total population
in Havering and 14 percent in Haringey. Brent, Haringey, Lambeth, Ealing, Hackney and Islington all had more than 10 percent of their population born in the New Commonwealth. Within these boroughs, the population further concentrated in a few wards (Runnymede 1980, 5). The constituencies with the highest proportions of ethnic minorities frequently have a variety of ethnic minority groups in their midst.

Although the ethnic minority population is small relative to the total population size, the concentration of this population in a small number of regions, cities and wards tends to make them highly visible. For example, this concentration has created cause for some comment on the "statistical" significance of ethnic minorities as electors in the areas of their concentration. According to the 1981 census, it was estimated that there were about 100 parliamentary constituencies in which the ethnic minority population was more than 10 percent. There were 58 parliamentary constituencies with more than 15 percent ethnic minority population, 19 had more than 25 percent and 7 had over 33 percent, with 3 approaching almost half (Anwar 1990b, 34). The geographic concentration of the ethnic minority population has also made ethnic minority problems remote from the daily lives of most British citizens (a fact that has facilitated the minimization of these problems by policymakers).

At the same time, there has also been some geographical dispersion between ethnic minority groups across the country. This has "produced a wide variety of local settlement patterns, diverse forms of minority political organization, and a lack of national political unity among minority communities." Even within areas of inner city concentration of different ethnic minority groups, there is a high degree of residential
segregation in neighborhoods. In such areas, "ethnic minority groups have retained significant barriers in terms of cultural mix and political organization" (Jacobs 1988, 42).

Ethnic Minority Socioeconomic Status

In socioeconomic terms Asian and Afro-Caribbean citizens differ from the general British population. However, there are also socioeconomic distinctions between and within ethnic minority groups. Some ethnic minorities have prospered and advanced in British society, while others remain on the economic fringes. The following is a brief survey of the socioeconomic status of this population.

Employment

Ethnic minority employment patterns as a whole differ in a number of ways from those of the British population at large. These differences are significant because the employment status of ethnic minorities is a "fundamental aspect of their position in British society." A 1988 Labor Force survey indicated that ethnic minorities constituted 4.6 percent of the working age population in Britain, or 1.5 million people (Anwar 1991a, 8). Proportionately more Asians and Afro-Caribbeans have unskilled or semiskilled jobs (primarily in manufacturing industries). Ethnic minorities work in these occupations because these were the jobs that were initially available to them, but it is also the case "that movement out of these...occupations is retarded by racial
discrimination" (Runnymede 1980, 59). Manual and nonmanual ethnic minority workers are also likely to earn less and have lower status than white workers. Asians and Afro-Caribbeans occupy fewer supervisory positions than do whites, and are also noticeably underrepresented in the service sector. This latter point is especially important, since the service sector is the single largest employment area for the total British population.

There are employment distinctions between ethnic minority groups as well: under a tenth of Afro-Caribbean men with jobs are self-employed, compared with nearly a fifth of Asian men (The Economist, August 27, 1988, 11-12). Recent trends indicate that the number of self-employed Asians is increasing at a faster rate than among the indigenous population as well (Anwar 1986, 15). In London a majority of Afro-Caribbeans are in transport and laboring jobs, while Pakistanis are concentrated in service occupations and in the clothing trades. In the West Midlands most ethnic minorities hold laboring jobs and are largely employed in furnace, forge, foundry and rolling mills (Runnymede 1980, 63).

Anwar (1986) has identified a number of factors that govern the pattern of "poor" jobs among ethnic minorities:

Their newness, the different educational backgrounds of workers from different ethnic groups, the higher incidence of the lack of fluency in English among Asian workers, different residential patterns for the majorities of white and ethnic minority workers, an ethnic minority labor market which seems to be in some respects quite different from that of white workers, and widespread racial discrimination both direct and indirect (p. 15).
This pattern of "poor" jobs determines, in large part, "in which areas (ethnic minorities) settle, where their children go to school, how they interact with the indigenous labor force and population generally, their chances of participation in civic life, and their overall status in society" (Anwar 1986, 13).

The unemployment of ethnic minorities increases proportionately when the general level of unemployment in the country is rising, especially among young men. A Afro-Caribbean in Britain is twice as likely to be unemployed as a white man. The 1985 Labor Force Survey (published in 1987) recorded unemployment among whites in Spring 1985 at 10 percent, for all minority groups the figure was 20 percent, for Afro-Caribbeans 21 percent, Indians 17 percent, and Pakistanis and Bangladeshis 31 percent. The unemployment rates were thus worst for ethnic minorities living outside the Southeast and significantly higher for ethnic minorities overall. Unemployment is particularly high among young people in Britain: among those aged 16 to 24, 16 percent of whites were unemployed, 34 percent of Afro-Caribbeans, and 48 percent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. Unemployment figures for Indian youths were better than for the other groups, but at 24 percent they still were in far worse shape than whites (Jacobs 1988, 104). High ethnic minority unemployment rates can be attributed to a number of factors: ethnic minority "school-leavers" entering the workforce have difficulty in finding employment as a result of fewer available jobs and their lack of qualifications, greater increases in unemployment rates in the regions populated by ethnic minorities, racial discrimination, poor training and language barriers (Runnymede 1980, 66).
Housing

Asians and Afro-Caribbeans live in lower standard housing than the rest of the British population and have less access to public housing. Ethnic minorities have much higher residential densities than whites; this density is particularly high among Asians. As a function of their economic position, ethnic minorities also are concentrated in the poorest inner city areas, where the quality of housing is particularly poor.

Ethnic minority groups differ in terms of the types and quality of housing they secure. Approximately 75 percent of Asians own their own homes, compared with 40 percent of Afro-Caribbeans and 60 percent of the general population. Owner-occupation by Asians outside of London is as high as 90 percent in some areas. It is important to note that most of these Asian-owned homes are still in inner city areas where their quality remains substandard (Anwar 1991a, 11). Around 46 percent of Afro-Caribbeans live in council-owned houses and flats. In council housing, they tend to live in older interwar estates than whites, are more often in flats than detached and semi-attached houses than whites, and are more likely to be above the more favored ground and first floor levels than whites (Jacobs 1988, 111). There does appear to be racial discrimination in the allocation of public housing.

Education

Ethnic minorities in Britain are systematically disadvantaged in comparison with the British population at large with respect to education. Asian and
Afro-Caribbean children enter an educational system that is organized on an assumption of cultural homogeneity and staffed by personnel without training to prepare them to teach children either born outside of Britain, or in Britain of parents with a distinct culture (Runnymede 1980, 92). The British educational system is characterized by a marked absence of multiracial, multicultural or antiracist programs. The educational provisions, both with respect to staff and curriculum, which have been made for ethnic minorities are widely acknowledged as substandard; the system "has tended to reflect the racist ideology within British society that is, in part, a product of Britain's colonial and imperial past" (Runnymede 1980, 93). Asians have especially suffered because of their lack of fluency in English. Since no provisions have been made for multilingual education, their lack of fluency is a serious impediment to their advancement in the educational system. The language barrier is not a problem for Afro-Caribbeans since English is their native tongue.

Diversity in the Ethnic Minority Population

Contemporary British society is heterogeneous not only with reference to differences between whites and ethnic minorities, but also with respect to diversity among and within ethnic groups. The ethnic minority population is commonly viewed as forming a group that has homogeneous characteristics and problems. It is a mistake, however, to consider Asian and Afro-Caribbean Britons as a cohesive and undifferentiated block. The members of Britain's ethnic minority population can be argued to have only three common features: first, they are primarily immigrants (or
descendants of immigrants) from former British colonies; second, they are mostly black or brown skinned; third, they face varying degrees of prejudice and
discrimination in their dealings with the white population (Airey and Jowell 1975, 264).

In religious, cultural, linguistic, racial and, to some extent, socioeconomic
terms Britain's ethnic minorities have little in common. In fact, reference even to separate but internally homogeneous Afro-Caribbean and Asian communities, particularly the latter, is misleading; there are significant divisions to be found even within these groupings. As Pearson (1981) notes,

> On one level the majority of Asian and Afro-Caribbean Britons share common social class backgrounds, but if we turn to the internal dynamics of minority group organization and identification, particularly the bases for status distinctions, the essential task of separating out the social and cultural divisions within a common class position must be confronted.... These internal distinctions not only apply to the major cultural and geographical divisions...but also to the very important regional, linguistic, religious, political and other differences within these respective groupings (p. 3).

Even more importantly for my research, Werbner (1991) further argues that "while ethnic groups may share fundamental political goals, entry into both local and national mainstream politics also reveals, simultaneously, internal divisions and disparate goals within these communities and among (those) seeking to represent them" (p. 29). In particular, styles of leadership in various communities are different.

Some of these differences, particularly with respect to settlement patterns, demographics and socioeconomic status, have already been described in the course of this chapter. Yet to be discussed are the distinctive religious and cultural
characteristics of Britain's ethnic minority groups and their varying patterns of attitudes and behaviors.

Religion

There are significant religious differences between Asians and Afro-Caribbeans. Religious devotion is strong among all Asians, whatever their faith. There are three major religious divisions in the Asian population: Islam, Hinduism, and Sikhism. Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants are largely devout Muslims. The Muslim community is divided between more and less fundamentalist practitioners. However, all Muslims feel very strongly that their cultural and religious traditions, which stress the unity of culture with religion as a whole concept of life, be preserved in Britain. Muslims have expressed a desire to "resist becoming too closely assimilated into the white-dominated society that has often displayed little respect for foreign religious traditions" (Jacobs 1988, 66). Their political organizations have a strong sense of religious identity and largely focus on obtaining government provisions for preserving Muslim culture, such as creating separate Muslim marriage and inheritance laws and establishing Muslim schools.

About four-fifths of Indian immigrants practice Sikhism, a variation of Hinduism. The remaining one fifth of the Indian population is strongly Hindu. Sikh and Hindu temples are a communal focal point. Temple life is both a focus for religious worship and a center for political activity. The temples provide "a way for community leaders to communicate political demands to the community and are a
sanctuary where traditional practices may be preserved and defended against the influence of native British culture" (Jacobs 1988, 67). Sikhs and Hindus have been less centrally concerned than Muslims with obtaining formal governmental recognition of and provisions for their religious and cultural values. Nonetheless, the links between their religion and their political activities remain strong.

The strong religious ties of the Asian population provide a focus for their political orientations that is not found among Afro-Caribbeans. The dividing line between religion and politics for Asians, especially Muslims, is often a very fine one. This religious distinctiveness constitutes a major, politically salient, cleavage between the Asian population and native British society, as well as between Asians and Afro-Caribbeans. The religious differences between Asians sometimes create significant problems within their population as well. Muslims are traditionally hostile to Hindus and this hostility occasionally manifests itself in relations between Pakistanis and Indians.

The religious variations that divide the Asian community are not found among Afro-Caribbeans. Afro-Caribbeans are by and large Christian, a fact that makes them less religiously distinct from the native British population than are Asians. Their Christian beliefs do, however, isolate them from their Asian counterparts. The religious devotion of Afro-Caribbeans is also not nearly as strong as that of Asians and their religious ties generally do not motivate or affect their political activities.
Caste

Caste distinctions also exert an influence on Asian attitudes and behaviors (although nominally there are no castes among Sikhs and Muslims). All three Asian religious groupings "in practice tend to maintain forms of hierarchical status differences between people within their communities that reflect caste differences but that have become adapted to the British class system of social categorization" (Jacobs 1986, 47). These distinctions are primarily occupation-based and transfer into distinct organizational affiliations between groups (for example, "lower" caste members—workers—are often trade union or Indian Workers' Association members). Such caste distinctions are not found among Afro-Caribbeans.

Communal Ties

Strong communal and kinship ties are a hallmark of the various Asian groups; these ties are not found among Afro-Caribbeans. While there are some kinship ties among Afro-Caribbeans from the same island of origin, these are weak and exert little influence on their behavior or attitudes. Traditional religious and cultural values are central unifying factors in Asian life, and homeland politics and influences remain important. For example, among Pakistanis, there is "a strong sense of not only belonging to an extended family but also to a biradarl (kinship group) of which a branch is in Britain but the center of which is in Pakistan (Modood 1990, 148). Among Asians, kin-organizations are a prime focus of trust (Anwar 1991b, 41).
For Afro-Caribbeans, on the other hand, a chief point of reference is the "host community, the 'Mother Country,' whose language, history, traditions, and institutions they had been taught to think of as their own" (Fitzgerald 1988, 253). Beyond this, the social organization of Afro-Caribbeans "stresses individualism rather than mutualism." Afro-Caribbeans are "primarily concerned with their own families and view any problems encountered locally in a personalized sense rather than within a broader, 'Afro-Caribbean,' communal organization" (Pearson 1981, 153).

Associational Activities

These differing communal orientations transfer into varying patterns of organizational activity between Asians and Afro-Caribbeans. It is reported that there are more than two thousand ethnic minority organizations in Britain. These include social, welfare, religious, educational, political and professional associations formed at the national, regional and local level. Such organizations are primarily based on ethnic, regional or national origins, or on religion. Among this multiplicity of organizations, there is no one representative national organization covering all ethnic groups. As Anwar notes, "although some attempts have been made in the past to form a national civil rights organization...there seems no prospect in the near future for such a development" (Anwar 1991b, 42).

The important role kinship ties play in Asian social, economic and political life translates into significant organizational activity and strength. Asians belong to a variety of groups; among these are "Indian Workers' Associations, temples and
welfare organizations. While these groups are often fragmented along linguistic, religious, regional or economic lines, "within these boundaries a high degree of communal cooperation is often established (Pearson 1981, 11).

The apparent proclivity of Asians for establishing and joining organizations and associations stands in sharp contrast to the scarcity of Afro-Caribbean associations, especially those with political aims (Pearson 1981, 167). From the earliest period of Afro-Caribbean settlement, there is a "consistent pattern of low levels of participation in formal associations" (political or otherwise) among Afro-Caribbeans (Pearson 1981, 7). In his study of Afro-Caribbean organizational behavior, Pearson found that 87 percent of his sample did not belong to any voluntary associations, particularly those with nonrecreational functions (p. 70).

When Afro-Caribbeans do organize, their associations tend to take the form of small scale self-help groups. These tend to be short-lived and prone to fragmentation. As Jacobs (1988) notes, "(Afro-Caribbean) organizations tend to be less directly identifiable, very diverse and often focused more upon (localized) political issues" (p. 74), such as policing, youth issues and housing discrimination. Pearson attributes this lack of associational activity and sense of communal responsibility among Afro-Caribbeans to their "go-it-alone" tendency, which does not lend itself to widespread formal associational activity within and between groupings (p. 153).
Political Attitudes and Behavior

The cleavages in the ethnic minority community along religious, linguistic, cultural, regional and economic lines undermine the possibility for the creation of a unified and permanent ethnic minority political force that crosses ethnic lines. These divisions have instead manifested themselves in dissimilar mass level ethnic minority political attitudes and behavior. Asians and Afro-Caribbeans have organized politically around distinctive political concerns; Afro-Caribbeans tend to be most concerned about policing and discrimination issues, while Asians concentrate on cultural acceptance and educational opportunity.

Asian and Afro-Caribbean election turnout levels vary: Asians maintain high voting rates, while Afro-Caribbeans are much less likely to vote. Asian turnout patterns are closer to those of whites than those of Afro-Caribbeans; they are much more likely to declare themselves registered to vote and also to express a firm intention to vote. Higher levels of voting are reported in heavily Asian constituencies than those with concentrations of Afro-Caribbeans (Layton-Henry and Studlar 1985, 310). As Layton-Henry notes:

Generally, research suggests that Asian voters participate at higher levels than their white neighbors, which is perhaps not too surprising given that white voters in inner city constituencies have below average rates of turnout.... In contrast to Asians, Afro-Caribbeans have lower levels of turnout than whites (Layton-Henry 1990, 51-2).

In part, this greater likelihood to vote among Asians is attributed to their greater involvement in community organizations that encourage their participation in elections. In a 1984 Greater London Council survey, 83 percent of Asians endorsed
the importance of voting in giving people a say in how the country is run, compared to 40 percent of Afro-Caribbeans who believed it was not worth voting (the comparable figure for whites was 32 percent) (Fitzgerald 1988, 261). The low levels of turnout among Afro-Caribbeans have often caused them to be stereotyped as disinterested in British politics; however, this is not necessarily the case.

Despite their higher rates of voting, the Asian electorate is more passive politically than Afro-Caribbeans in almost all other forms of political endeavor. Afro-Caribbeans put relatively little value on voting, but are more interested in politics generally than are Asians. They are more politically active than Asians: "when political activities involve direct political discussion and open commitment, Asians seem less willing to become involved than either (Afro-Caribbeans) or whites" (Layton-Henry and Studlar 1985, 312). Afro-Caribbeans are more likely to discuss political matters and attempt to persuade others to share their political views. Survey evidence does not "suggest a general spurning of British politics but rather an aspiration to greater involvement" by Afro-Caribbeans (Fitzgerald 1988, 259). As an explanation for these patterns of participation, Studlar (1986) offers the following argument:

In voluntary activities, individualism results in appreciable Afro-Caribbean participation, especially in comparison with Asians. Voting, however, is less voluntary, and more subject to mobilization behavior. As the more hierarchical and communal group, Asians are more readily mobilized to turn out at the polls than are the more individualistic Afro-Caribbeans (p. 174-5).

Neither ethnic minority group endorses unconventional political activity such as rioting, (although the urban riots of the 1980s indicate a tendency among a small
proportion of Afro-Caribbeans to engage in such activities). The majority of ethnic minorities view the existing parties as their best chance for increasing the political influence of their group.

Support for the Labour Party is overwhelming among both Asians and Afro-Caribbeans. Within every social class Labour support is higher and Conservative voting is lower among both Afro-Caribbeans and Asians than among whites (Layton-Henry and Studlar 1985, 310). The rate of defection to other parties by both groups also is much lower than in the electorate as a whole. There is more movement between parties among Asians than Afro-Caribbeans, although there is no evidence that Asian voters are shifting in significant numbers from their traditional support for Labour.

Afro-Caribbean support for Labour is based almost exclusively on class considerations, at least as far as their perceptions are concerned. Most choose Labour out of a perceived general group interest rather than because of particular ideological or policy positions (Studlar 1986, 176). Among Asians a significant minority support Labour for more ethnic reasons, which indicates a possibility that "other parties might be able to attract middle class Asian voters by making a specific appeal to them" (Layton-Henry and Studlar 1985, 311). Asians also appear to be more likely potential converts to the Conservative Party because of their more conservative values with respect to the family, religion, education and the work ethic. However, "the ethnic consciousness and mobilization capacities of Asians (also) makes them more
dependable Labour voters when they decide that Labour supports their interests" (Studlar 1986, 176).

Although they are more politically vocal and active, there is also evidence to suggest that Afro-Caribbeans are more frustrated with the British political system than are Asians. Afro-Caribbeans are more likely to display feelings of racial injustice and to feel in conflict with British society than are Asians. They tend to feel that the political system is nonresponsive to their demands and they often display symptoms of alienation (in the form of the urban riots of the 1980s, for example). These feelings may be aggravated by the individualistic tendency of Afro-Caribbeans and their lack of strong communal organization, which makes it difficult for them to articulate their grievances. In short, somewhat paradoxically, Afro-Caribbeans appear to be both politically more interested and more alienated than other ethnic minorities (Layton-Henry and Studlar 1985, 316).

The collective, mutually supportive nature of Asian community may serve to deflect similar frustrations among Asians both from being expressed and from affecting the political system. Asians are better organized and politically more successful in terms of articulating demands. As a result, they display fewer signs of alienation from British society. Ironically, the group that is more internally divided and culturally segregated from the native society (Asians) is apparently better integrated into mainstream British politics than is the group (Afro-Caribbeans) "which is more accepting of the usual British mechanism for political integration, class consciousness" (Layton-Henry and Studlar 1985, 317).
Conclusions

The demographic and socioeconomic status of Britain’s ethnic minority population, as well as its diversity, will likely affect a number of the factors that influence ethnic minority councillors’ basic beliefs about the British political system, their perceptions of ethnic minority politics and participation within that system, and their political strategies and activities. The status of ethnic minorities in British society will also influence ethnic minority councillors’ role orientations, political goals, and interactions with existing political institutions. In addition, the religious, cultural and socioeconomic diversity of Britain’s ethnic minority population may produce different patterns of attitudes and behaviors among councillors from different ethnic minority groups.
Notes

1. This term refers to the British colonies which achieved formal independence in the 1950s and 1960s and subsequently joined the ranks of the "Commonwealth." This includes India, Pakistan, the West Indies, East Africa, Southeast Asia and the Mediterranean Commonwealth. Pakistan, which left the Commonwealth in 1973, is also included because its citizens retained some immigration privileges, particularly those relating to family reunion. Bangladesh, which separated from Pakistan in 1973, elected to join the Commonwealth and is included in the New Commonwealth grouping. The term excludes Australia, New Zealand and Canada. New Commonwealth citizens had the status of British citizens and could travel and settle in Britain without restriction.

2. Britain is similar in this respect to many other countries in Western Europe. In the postwar era Western Europe has "gradually developed into a racially and culturally diverse complex societies" as a result of immigration (Evans 1989, 11). In addition to the migration of New Commonwealth citizens to the U.K., Europe has witnessed an inflow of North and West Africans to France, Turks to West Germany, Indonesians and Surinamese to the Netherlands, and Pakistanis to Sweden.

3. The ethnic and racial origins of Britain's minority population basically divide along Afro-Caribbean (or West Indian) and Asian lines. The Asian category includes Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and East African Asians. A smaller percentage of the ethnic and racial minority population derives from Southeast Asia, the Mediterranean and other parts of the New Commonwealth. Scholars have referred to these groups in variety of ways: the entire population has been referred to as "black" or "nonwhite"; West Indians have been termed "blacks" and Asians "browns"; or each group has been identified by its country of origin. The groups themselves have increasingly come to identify themselves with descriptors such as "West Indian British" or "Pakistani British", reflecting the fact that they are no longer immigrants to Britain, but first generation British citizens. I have chosen to refer these ethnic and racial groups as a whole as Britain's ethnic minority population and to its leaders as ethnic minority leaders. The exceptions to this will be instances where reference to specific groups is more appropriate. I will avoid the terms "black" and "brown" because of their imprecision, and "nonwhite" because of its racist overtones.

4. However, the eventual return home of these immigrants has not occurred in either Germany or France and these countries have had to deal with the same problems that have arisen in the U.K. as a result of the immigrant presence.
5. It should be noted that the 1981 census did not provide an accurate assessment of the size of Britain's ethnic minority population because a specifically "ethnic" question was not asked. Information was collected on the basis of birthplace, but not on parents' birthplace. Thus, those British-born ethnic minorities who lived apart from their parents were not identified as ethnic minorities by the census. As a result, any information drawn from the 1981 census about the ethnic minority population is likely to be an underestimate. In addition, given that it is now 1993, the size of the ethnic minority population has undoubtedly increased. However, figures from the 1991 census are not yet available; as such, these remain the best available population figures.

6. This estimate is based on several years data from Labour Force Surveys (Population Trends, Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, July 1990).

7. This figure is higher for West Indians because Afro-Caribbean immigrants began to arrive in Britain before immigrants from the Indian subcontinent.


10. The number of Muslims in the U.K. is close to one million. While this is a substantial number, the Muslim population in France (primarily North African Arabs) and West Germany is more than double than that in the U.K. and the total in the European Community is over 6 million (Modood 1990, 144).
Chapter III
The Representation of Britain's Ethnic Minorities

One way to examine the political integration of ethnic minorities into the political process is to consider the absolute number of ethnic minority representatives elected to serve in local and central government. As Browning, Marshall and Tabb (1984) note, in all political systems, the most important indicator of a particular group's status in the political system is the presence of members of that group in elective offices (p. 19).

A 1981 Home Affairs Select Committee report on racial disadvantage noted that,

It would be a welcome sign of progress if there was an increase in ethnic minority involvement in local politics...for it is by successful participation in the political system rather than through separation or special representation that the political future of Britain's ethnic minorities must lie (Wong 1988, 11).

As local political parties and ethnic minorities themselves came to embrace the Home Office strategy, the number of ethnic minority local councillors in Britain slowly rose over the course of the 1980s, and, in 1987, four ethnic minority members were elected to Parliament for the first time in the postwar period. In the 1992 General Election, two additional Asian members of Parliament were elected, and the four sitting Labour members all increased their portion of the vote.
The political representation of ethnic minorities is an important new development in British politics, as it is an indication of their increased participation and engagement in mainstream politics and institutions. In this chapter I discuss the pattern of ethnic minority local government representation that has developed in Britain since the early 1980s.

The Pattern of Representation

Representation in the 1980s

The emergence of black officeholders in the British political system did not occur in significant numbers until the early 1980s. Prior to this time, the number of ethnic minority representatives on local councils was minimal and in the postwar era no member of an ethnic minority had been elected to the House of Commons. However, as increasing numbers of ethnic minorities became dissatisfied with their lack of power in and access to local government, they became involved in their local political parties and the local political process. In addition to increasing involvement stemming from ethnic minority dissatisfaction, the major political parties in the 1980s, especially the Labour Party, engaged in recruitment efforts to promote ethnic minority political participation.

One product of these activities was a gradual and substantial increase in the number of ethnic minority political representatives over the course of the 1980s. Because there has never been a single authoritative listing of these elected officials, their exact number over this period is unknown. At best there are a variety of
estimates which have relied on sources of varying degrees of accuracy. According to such estimates, the highest levels of representation historically have been achieved in the London boroughs. This is not surprising given patterns of ethnic minority population concentration. Thus, in London in 1974 there were four ethnic minority councillors; this figure had risen to 35 by 1978. Following the 1982 local elections the number of ethnic minority councillors in London more than doubled to 79 (Anwar 1986, 109), and estimates of the number of London ethnic minority councillors after the 1986 local elections ranged from 132 to 179.

There is far less information available about the election of ethnic minority councillors outside the London boroughs, and scholars again differ in the figures that they report. It is clear that the level of representation achieved beyond the London boroughs was far less significant than in London, although it was substantial in some districts. For example, in 1984 it was reported that Leicester council had the same percentage of nonwhite councillors as their population percentage in the city. Estimates following the 1986 and 1987 elections placed the number of ethnic minority councillors beyond the London boroughs between 70 and 80 (Studlar and Welch 1990, 24).

Into the 1990s

Because of the scant and unreliable existing data on ethnic minority elected representatives, a first step in my research involved identifying the ethnic minority councillors returned in the local elections held in May 1990. I believe that the
information that I compiled during the course of my field research represents the most comprehensive listing of ethnic minority councillors to date, particularly with respect to the London boroughs.6

**Overall representation.** The number of ethnic minority representatives in local government in England continued to increase as a result of the 1990 local elections. Overall, I estimate that at least 328 members of ethnic minority groups currently hold seats on local councils throughout the country (see Appendix D for councillor listings).7 This figure represents 1.6 percent of all local councillors in England, thus indicating that ethnic minorities continue to be underrepresented relative to their population size (4.2 percent in 1980).8

Ethnic minority councillors are overwhelming members of the Labour Party (92.4 percent). Asians predominate among ethnic minority councillors, numbering 224 (68.3 percent), compared to 104 Afro-Caribbeans (31.7 percent). These figures imply that Asians are overrepresented relative to Afro-Caribbeans given their share of the ethnic minority population in the country overall (55 percent). Nearly 17 percent of ethnic minority councillors are female. Of these ethnic minority councillors, just over 50 percent were incumbents as of the 1990 elections.

**The London Boroughs.** The May 1990 local elections returned members of ethnic minority groups to 28 of the 32 London borough councils. As of December 1990, there were 193 sitting ethnic minority councillors in the London boroughs, comprising 10.1 percent of their councillors overall. The majority of these elected officials (102) were serving for the first time, with 91 having been re-elected to their
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borough</th>
<th>Controlling Party</th>
<th>Number of Councillors</th>
<th>Number of Ethnic Minority Councillors</th>
<th>Percent Ethnic Minority Councillors</th>
<th>Percent Ethnic Minority Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brent</td>
<td>No clear majority</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hackney</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newham</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haringey</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ealing</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hounslow</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewisham</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waltham</td>
<td>Forest</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenwich</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower Hamlets</td>
<td>Liberal Democrat</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwark</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redbridge</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wandsworth</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camden</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillingdon</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barking and Dagenham</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barking and Dagenham</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnet</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrow</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islington</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kensington and Chelsea</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merton</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croydon</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enfield</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bexley</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutton</td>
<td>Liberal Democrat</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bromley</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Havering</td>
<td>No clear majority</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston upon Thames</td>
<td>No clear majority</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond upon Thames</td>
<td>Liberal Democrat</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,915</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

councils in 1990. As might be expected, the highest numbers of ethnic minority representatives were elected in those boroughs with larger ethnic minority populations. Table 1 provides a listing of the distribution of ethnic minority councillors in the London boroughs.

Over 90 percent of ethnic minority councillors in London were members of the Labour Party. Of the London ethnic minority councillors, nearly two-thirds were of Asian origin (see Table 2). The number of female ethnic minority councillors in London rose in 1990, to 44 from 25 in 1986. There were a high number of Afro-Caribbean women elected to office relative to Afro-Caribbean males. Additionally, only 10 percent of Asian councillors were female, as opposed to over 40 percent of Afro-Caribbeans.

Table 2. Ethnic Minority Representation in London by Gender and Ethnic Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Liberal Democrat</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asian</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Totals</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>116 (60.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Afro-Caribbean</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-Caribbean Totals</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>77 (39.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>All Councillors</strong></td>
<td>178</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Representation beyond London. I estimate that there were 135 sitting councillors on metropolitan and non-metropolitan councils in England as of December 1990, though the data pertaining to the number of ethnic minority councillors elected to local councils outside of London are less accurate than that for the London boroughs. This number represents a notable increase over the previously reported figure of 70 to 80 in 1986. As was the case with the London boroughs, those districts with the largest ethnic minority populations achieved the greatest levels of representation on local councils. A listing of the number of ethnic minority representatives elected in districts that have large ethnic minority populations and where they were elected in largest numbers is presented in Table 3.

As is the case with the London boroughs, ethnic minority councillors beyond London were disproportionately members of the Labour Party, numbering 125 (92.6 percent) and had the greatest success in obtaining seats in Labour-controlled districts. The majority of these councillors were returned to office in the last local elections: 78 were incumbents at the last election, 15 were newly elected and the status of the remaining 42 could not be determined.

The estimated number of Asian councillors (108) beyond London far exceeded the number of Afro-Caribbean councillors (27). This may reflect Asians' larger population size relative to Afro-Caribbeans outside of London. However, it also reflects the difficulty in identifying Afro-Caribbean councillors on the basis of their names. Asian names are quite distinctive from the typical British name. Afro-Caribbean names, on the other hand, are virtually indistinguishable from typically
Table 3. Level of Representation on Selected Non-London Councils

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Controlling Party</th>
<th>Number of Ethnic Minority Councillors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leicester</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slough</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bradford</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nottingham</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandwell</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derby</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luton</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolverhampton</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These councillors were not confirmed in office.

British names. Thus, it is quite likely that my list of council members understates the number of Afro-Caribbean councillors.

Explaining Representation in London

The partisan characteristics of a particular borough had significant implications for ethnic minority representation in London. Ethnic minorities were represented in all Labour-controlled authorities in London and, with few exceptions, their highest levels of representation were achieved on Labour councils. The presence of a large ethnic minority population in a particular borough was not sufficient to
guarantee ethnic minority representation, particularly in boroughs that were not under the control of the Labour Party. Rather, the fate of the Labour party in the London boroughs was of the greatest significance in explaining patterns of ethnic minority representation.

Representation and Party Control

Of the 13 London boroughs in which Asian and Afro-Caribbean councillors occupied more than ten percent of council seats, nine were Labour-controlled (see Table 1). Studlar and Welch (1990) described similar patterns of representation in their study of ethnic minority candidates in London. They found that the most important predictor of electoral success for ethnic minority candidates was party incumbency. According to their research, ethnic minority candidates in electoral wards in which their party was in control, especially the Labour Party, had a very strong likelihood of being elected. They also found that running in London on a Labour ticket enhanced a candidate's electoral chances more than running on the ticket of any other parties. The observed level of representation of ethnic minorities on Labour-controlled authorities supported these findings.

The fact that those electoral wards that had large ethnic minority populations were likely to be Labour strongholds (Studlar and Welch 1990, 10) also helps to explain the high number of ethnic minority representatives in two boroughs not controlled by Labour. Ealing and Brent are traditional Labour strongholds that experienced large, unanticipated swings to the Conservatives in the 1990 local
By and large, ethnic minorities were successful in these two boroughs in wards where Labour retained control at the 1990 elections and where there were also large ethnic minority populations. For example, in the four wards in Ealing where ethnic minorities were particularly successful, the Asian population ranged from 60 to 85 percent, with the number of Asian eligible voters numbering nearly as high (Anwar 1986, 21).

The exceptions to this pattern of high ethnic minority representation primarily in areas of Labour strength were Redbridge (Conservative) and Tower Hamlets (Liberal Democratic) councils. The relatively higher level of representation of ethnic minorities on these councils may be partially explained by ethnic minorities' stronger participation in the (non-Labour) parties that controlled these councils. While the majority of ethnic minority councillors in these boroughs were Labour members, the total number of ethnic minority councillors was bolstered by the election of several councillors who were members of the controlling, non-Labour parties. Thus, in Redbridge there were two Conservative ethnic minority councillors, and on Tower Hamlets council there were four Liberal Democratic councillors. This pattern was consistent with earlier findings that membership in the Incumbent party also enhanced an ethnic minority candidate's chances for electoral success (Studlar and Welch 1990).

Higher levels of ethnic minority representation in these non-Labour boroughs may also be explained by the fact that in these boroughs there were a number of electoral wards with concentrated Asian populations. This is particularly true in Tower Hamlets, where an estimated 40,000 of the 180,000 Bangladeshis living in
Britain are settled in a few of the borough’s wards. In these wards, which also tended to be Labour strongholds, ethnic minority candidates were very successful.

Representation Relative to Population Size

The importance of the partisan status of a borough for ethnic minority representation was further illustrated by the relationship between the level of representation and ethnic minority population size. In 14 of London’s 32 boroughs, the level of ethnic minority representation equalled or exceeded, or was within five percent of, the ethnic minority population ratio in the borough (see Table 4). Of these councils were Labour-controlled. On the two non-Labour councils where ethnic minorities achieved representation commensurate with or exceeding their population size, there were a significant number of Labour ethnic minority councillors.

Ethnic minorities generally have not made large gains in representation in Conservative-controlled boroughs (see Table 4). On the three Conservative councils where the level of ethnic minority representation nearly equalled the ethnic minority population ratio, all had relatively small ethnic minority populations (six to nine percent) and only one to three ethnic minority councillors. Thus, it was relatively easy to achieve representation levels approximating the ethnic minority population size. Beyond these councils, there was a marked pattern of underrepresentation relative to population size in safe Conservative boroughs with fairly substantial ethnic minority populations. In 8 of the 12 London boroughs controlled by the
Table 4. Relationship Between Party Control and Ethnic Minority Representation in London

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Controlling Party</th>
<th>Equals or Exceeds</th>
<th>Near\textsuperscript{a}</th>
<th>Below\textsuperscript{b}</th>
<th>None</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Democrat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No clear majority</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a} Within five percent.
\textsuperscript{b} Greater than five percent.
Number of cases = 32

Conservatives, ethnic minorities were represented at levels either well below (more than five percent) their population ratios or were not represented at all. In Conservative boroughs in which ethnic minority populations ranged from 12 to 18 percent, ethnic minorities controlled only 3 to 8 percent of council seats (or from 2 to 5 councillors). Thus, in Conservative boroughs, the pattern of representation was one in which the existence of relatively large ethnic minority populations did not necessarily transfer into commensurate levels of political representation on the local council.

There were exceptions to the general pattern of stronger ethnic minority representation in traditionally safe Labour boroughs (Table 4). There was poor representation relative to ethnic minority population size on five Labour councils. One
explanation for this pattern may be the wider political realities in these authorities. Of particular significance was how the Labour Party fared in the 1990 elections in these boroughs.

For example, in two of these boroughs (Hammersmith and Fulham and Islington), there were wide swings in the number of seats controlled by Labour in the 1990 elections as a result of voters' perceptions of the general competence of their local authority. Labour managed to retain control of these councils, but received smaller percentages of the vote than in previous years (Rallings and Thrasher 1991). This pattern also held true for Brent council (no clear majority party in 1990, but traditionally Labour-controlled) where the failure of ethnic minorities to gain proportionate representation may perhaps be partially related to Labour's overall difficulties (a loss of 13 seats) in the borough in the 1990 election. Thus, the conditions in the 1990 election in these districts were not conducive to further increasing the level of ethnic minority representation.

In Labour-controlled Haringey and Lambeth, ethnic minorities had greater success in terms of the absolute number of councillors elected (14 and 8 respectively) in 1990, but these numbers remained well below their population percentages. Lambeth is particularly notable because the number of ethnic minority representatives elected decreased at the 1990 election. The reasons for these patterns are unclear, but one possible explanation may be the fact that in both these boroughs many ethnic minority councillors have been associated with the "loony left," which may have
resulted in their failure to be reselected for candidacy or re-elected even if selected by their local party.

Finally, on the four London councils where ethnic minorities had not achieved elective office by 1990, the ethnic minority population was five percent or less. Additionally, none of these boroughs was an area in which Labour has historically performed well. Given patterns of representation observed elsewhere, the lack of representation in these boroughs therefore is not surprising.

Thus, the observed pattern of ethnic minority representation in the London boroughs was one in which ethnic minorities were generally well-represented (both in terms of absolute numbers and relative to their population size) on local councils where Labour has traditionally been in control. Ethnic minorities in London had their greatest electoral success on Labour councils and in Labour-controlled wards on non-Labour councils. In Conservative-controlled and Liberal Democratic authorities, even the presence of a large ethnic minority population did not guarantee proportionate or near-proportionate levels of representation on local councils.

Conclusions

There was a substantial increase in the number of ethnic minority local councillors in Britain over the course of the 1980s. Ethnic minority groups achieved representation in all tiers of local government across the country. In some instances, ethnic minority councillors controlled a significant proportion of the seats on their councils. In a number of authorities, ethnic minority communities achieved levels of
representation proportionate to their population size. Asians in particular made substantial inroads into the local governmental system and Afro-Caribbean women stood out for their high levels of participation, relative to both Asian women and Afro-Caribbean males.

It is important to note, however, that despite these increases in ethnic minority representation, problems of underrepresentation or no representation relative to ethnic minority population size persist throughout Britain. In Britain, as in the United States, many cities with substantial minority populations have no minority representation on local councils, or little representation.

Ethnic minority councillors were predominantly representatives of the Labour Party, with small numbers of councillors elected from other parties. Not surprisingly, ethnic minorities were most successful in achieving seats on local councils that were historically controlled by the Labour Party, both in London and the rest of the country. This pattern was consistent with the Labour Party’s being the primary channel for ethnic minority political activity in the country.

In London, the presence of a significant ethnic minority population in a borough did not automatically translate into representation on local councils, particularly in Conservative-controlled or Liberal Democratic districts. In these latter areas, ethnic minorities who were members of the controlling non-Labour parties were elected to councils, but not to the degree observed among Labour Party members. This appeared to hold true for districts beyond London as well. The observed patterns of representation suggested that ethnic minorities’ achievement of
elective office was most closely linked to the fate of the Labour Party at election
time.

There is no question that the number of ethnic minorities elected to office has
grown dramatically since the 1980s. As Browning, Marshall and Tabb (1990) note in
their study of a similar pattern in the United States in the 1970s, while this trend may
be obvious, its significance is not as clear. Of even greater importance than the mere
fact of increased representation is the effects such representation will have. In the
remainder of the dissertation, I consider a number of questions concerning the
implications of these increased levels of representation, particularly for the political
integration of ethnic minority elites.
Notes

1. Several members of ethnic minority groups had been elected to the House of Commons in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Also, Lord Pitt was an Asian member of the House of Lords prior to 1987.

2. This assumption is often made by those discussing the implications of the election to office of minorities. See, for example, Anwar 1980, 56; Butcher, Law, Leach and Mullard 1990, 123; Cole 1976; Conyers and Wallace 1976; Fitzgerald 1990, 17; Jacobs 1988, 78-9; Wong 1988, 11.

3. The figures on the exact numbers of ethnic minority councillors prior to the 1990 elections must be considered with caution. There is no organization that gathers information on ethnic minority councillors, such as the Joint Center for Political Studies in the United States which produces the National Roster of Black Elected Officials. As such, researchers in this area have been left to piece together this information from a myriad of sources. The numbers I offer here have been gathered from a variety of publications.

4. Studlar and Welch (1990) estimate this figure to be 132. A listing compiled by the Commission for Racial Equality totals 142, and The Economist (June 28, 1986, 58) claims that 179 black councillors were elected in London, stating that this is an increase of 50 over the 1982 elections.


6. The London borough figures were gathered by personal visits to each of the London borough town halls. As a result, I am fully confident in the accuracy of my London councillor listings.

7. 286 of these representatives are confirmed as presently holding office. The other 42 are unconfirmed for the reasons explained in Note 9 below.

8. The total number of seats on local councils in England in 1986 was 20,846 (Gyford, Leach and Game 1989, 31).

9. This figure includes 42 councillors, 13 in the metropolitan authorities and 29 in the non-metropolitan, who have not been positively identified as having been returned to office at the 1990 elections. The non-London councillors were identified on the basis of councillor listings prior to the 1990 elections, as well as information obtained from town halls in districts with large ethnic minority populations. Positive identification was accomplished on the basis of returned postal surveys or confirmation through
contact with their town hall. Because of the large number of metropolitan and non-
metropolitan authorities it was not possible to contact all of the relevant town halls for
confirmation. Given the fact that nearly all councillors who stand again for office are
re-elected, it is reasonable to assume that a significant proportion of these identified
individuals remain councillors.

10. I do not have the exact ethnic minority population figures for the non-London
boroughs. For these areas I can only speak of general trends based on my knowledge
of large ethnic minority populations.

11. One of these, Ealing borough experienced a six percent swing to the
Conservatives in 1990 and Labour lost 15 seats. In Brent, where Labour suffered
large losses (13 seats), there was a seven percent swing to the Conservatives and
Liberal Democrats gained as well.

12. These calculations are based on 1981 census population figures. The actual ethnic
minority population in these boroughs is, ten years later, undoubtedly higher. Thus,
my conclusions as to the degree to which ethnic minorities have achieved
representation commensurate with their population size may be overly optimistic, but
are the best possible estimates given current population figures.
Chapter IV
The Representational Roles of Ethnic Minority Councillors

As was seen in the previous chapter, ethnic minorities made substantial inroads in achieving representation on local councils in the 1980s. However, the effect of this representation will not be solely a function of their numerical presence on governing bodies. An important factor influencing the articulation of ethnic minority interests and ethnic minority political integration is the representational orientations of ethnic minority elected representatives.

As was discussed in Chapter III, an ethnic minority councillor may represent ethnic minorities in purely descriptive terms: that is, on the basis of "what he is or is like, on being something rather than doing something" (Pitkin 1967, 61). However, ethnic minority councillors' representation need not (and should not) simply be measured by the correspondence of the characteristics of these representatives (e.g., race, religion, ethnicity) with those of their constituents. Instead, it may be considered in terms of the degree to which ethnic minority councillors go on to more substantively represent ethnic minorities by consciously acting on their behalf. In Pitkin's words, in substantively acting for others, "the represented thing or person is present in the action rather than the characteristics of the actor..." (1967, 144).
This notion of substantive representation is a particularly important concern of those who study minority officials, in whatever country. A central question is the extent to which minority elites represent the interests of minority groups alone and identify solely with the group to which they belong. The election to office of a minority member is by no means seen as a guarantee that the needs or preferences of the minority community will be reflected in the representative's orientation towards their role or behavior in office. Further, the extent to which minority representatives dissociate themselves from their groups (or align themselves to them) will have important ramifications for their articulation of minority interests in political decision-making processes and for minorities' political integration more generally.

A key question is, therefore, the extent to which ethnic minority representation in Britain involves "an acting for others, as an activity in behalf of, in the interest of, as the agent of, someone else" (Pitkin 1967, 113). In other words, do ethnic minority councillors pursue issues and articulate positions that reflect the interests of a majority of ethnic minorities? Such substantive representation of ethnic minorities by their local councillors might be evidenced by the following:

Ethnic minority councillors' recognition of ethnic minorities as a politically significant group.

Their further recognition of such things as "ethnic minority" issues and distinctive ethnic minority interests.

Their identification of who should handle these concerns, of who is best qualified to do so.

The representational orientations of ethnic minority councillors may in turn serve as indicators of their political integration in several ways:
If ethnic minority councillors believe they represent only ethnic minorities and act in such a fashion, they will likely alienate and anger their non-ethnic minority constituents and colleagues, perhaps creating barriers to their own integration into policymaking and electoral institutions in the future.

If ethnic minority councillors dissociate themselves completely from ethnic minority issues and representing ethnic minority interests, this will imply their cooptation, rather than integration, into existing processes and institutions. This, in turn, will likely send a negative message to ethnic minorities as to the effects of increased representation and the wisdom of seeking solutions to their problems through election to office and traditional political channels.

If ethnic minority councillors balance the representation of the broader interests of their constituencies with the more specific interests of their ethnic minority constituents, this will promote these councillors political integration by facilitating their acceptance into the political process among their white constituents and peers, while at the same time demonstrating to their ethnic minority constituents that electoral channels also work on their behalf.

In short, the manner in which ethnic minority councillors interpret their substantive role as elected representatives is one important indicator of elite political integration.

In this light, in this chapter I consider who ethnic minority councillors see themselves as representing and how they define their functions and roles vis-a-vis these constituencies. I first examine the nature of the electoral wards these councillors represent and the character of the electorates who supported them. I then consider whether these elected officials consciously think of themselves primarily as representatives of ethnic minorities. I further examine councillors' perceptions of the representational styles they have adopted in relation to their constituencies. I also evaluate the relationship between these representational views and the issues to which
these councillors devote most of their time. Finally, I discuss the effects of party
discipline on ethnic minority councillors’ representational behavior.

Ethnic Minority Councillors and Their Electorates

Two possible influences on the representational roles that elected officials
adopt are the character of the areas they represent and the nature of the electorate that
supports them (Eulau, Wahlke, Buchanan and Ferguson 1978, 115-18). For the most
part, ethnic minority councillors in Britain were elected from electoral wards with
predominantly white populations (in terms of the number of electors). Among those
surveyed, less than 20 percent (27) of ethnic minority councillors estimated the ethnic
minority electorate in their wards as being 50 percent or more, while just over 50
percent (73) of respondents estimated the ethnic minority electorate in their ward was
25 percent or less.

Reflecting this diversity, those councillors interviewed indicated that their
electoral support came from a cross-section of the population of their wards,
irrespective of their estimates of the size of the ethnic minority population in the
ward.2 All estimated that they could not have been elected solely on the basis of the
ethnic minority vote.

In the election of ethnic minorities to office the general tendency among
interviewees was to identify party affiliation as being more important to voters than
ethnic identity. Many councillors believed that voters marked their ballots on the basis
of party preferences rather than on a candidate’s ethnic background. This finding
supports those of Studlar and Welch (1990), Fitzgerald (1986) and Layton-Henry (1990) that nominating ethnic minority candidates for local office does not hinder otherwise strong party feelings. Studlar and Welch argued that "having a large nonwhite population in the ward is undoubtedly helpful in securing party nominations...but once nominated, party takes over as the main impetus for voter choice" (1990, 19). The comments of ethnic minority councillors supported this argument.

The impressions of those interviewed also supported the argument that ethnic minority candidates perform the same as white candidates at local elections (Fitzgerald 1986; Studlar and Welch 1990). There was a general belief among interviewees that ethnic minority candidates enjoyed the support of the vast majority of ethnic minority voters in their wards, but that they also benefitted from, and indeed relied upon, the support of white voters as well. The majority of interviewed councillors also did not believe that their being from an ethnic minority cost their party votes at election time.

These findings further support earlier work in this area that indicated that ethnic minority candidates who were adopted in "safe" seats were as likely to win as any other candidate. As Layton-Henry (1990) notes, "in the 1980s, generally, ethnic minority candidates are being accepted as 'party' candidates, by both whites and ethnic minority electors, irrespective of their color, and political parties need not worry about losing white electors' support" (p. 114).

Thus, ethnic minority councillors identified themselves as representing electoral wards that were racially and ethnically heterogeneous. As a result, they saw
themselves as having been elected by a diverse group of voters. They additionally believed that their own ethnicity had little effect on their election to office, with their party affiliation having had the strongest influence on those who voted for them.

These findings have notable implications for ethnic minority elites' political integration, particularly as such integration is facilitated by increased representation on local councils and in Parliament. Ethnic minority councillors have not been selected for office only by ethnic minority electors. In fact, ethnic minority candidates have been successful in winning office in districts that are predominantly white. This implies that their ethnic minority status did not serve as a barrier to their selection as candidates and election to office. The ascension to office of these individuals in the context of such electoral diversity may be interpreted as an indicator of their integration into electoral processes and institutions.

Ethnic Minority Councillors and Their Constituents

Related to the question of the type of electorates ethnic minority councillors represent is the manner in which they orient themselves toward these electorates. A central question in considering the representational relationship between ethnic minority councillors and their constituents is the degree to which the representation of ethnic minorities takes precedence over that of other constituent groupings. Elected representatives, whatever their race, ethnicity or gender, must identify the constituency to which they feel most responsible. They may see themselves as working for the general good of the whole community, or they may take the view that
there is no such thing as the "general good" or the "common will" and choose to represent the interests only of those they believe voted for them. Given the nature of party politics in Britain, elected officials may also believe that they owe their allegiance more to their party than their individual constituents. Others may choose to break away from the party if its policy conflicts with their own judgement or with the interests of their electors. Still others may identify primarily with the views of organized groups in the community (Newton 1976, 115).

There is an additional representational dimension to be considered when studying ethnic minority representatives. It is often assumed by those considering the impact of ethnic minority representation that "the emergence of vocal and articulate black councillors in significant numbers...constitutes a first essential step on the ladder to a real and equitable share of political power for black people in Britain" (Wong 1988, 7). We thus might expect Afro-Caribbean and Asian officeholders to be more likely to represent the distinct group interests of nonwhites (Studlar and Welch 1990, 21). This might be the case because the assumption of elected office might provide "minorities with the opportunity of ensuring that their representatives acted as 'tribunes' for minority communities" (Jacobs 1988, 81). However, evidence at the mass level suggests that ethnic minority voters do not necessarily believe that ethnic minority candidates will more fully represent their interests than white candidates might. In a discussion of a 1987 poll Layton-Henry (1990) notes that among ethnic minority respondents there was some support for the view that ethnic minority
candidates would represent their interests better than another candidate (37 percent), but that a larger percentage believed they would make no difference (p. 59).

These arguments raise the issue of whether ethnic minority elected councillors did in fact give first priority to articulating in the policy-making process the interests of the ethnic minority group to which they belong. As was hypothesized at the outset, the extent to which these councillors defined themselves as ethnic minority representatives will be an important indicator of their political integration. It is therefore especially important to consider who ethnic minority elected councillors see themselves as representing.

To identify their representational orientations, ethnic minority councillors were asked to articulate their position on the following statement: "Ethnic minorities see their responsibility mainly as representing the interests of the Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities." An overwhelming 85.6 percent of respondents (137) disagreed with this position. There was a greater tendency for Afro-Caribbeans to see themselves primarily as ethnic minority representatives (27.2 percent, N=12) than for Asians to do so (9.5 percent, N=11). Further inquiry into the class identities, partisan involvements, and political histories of these councillors did not reveal any factors that distinguished the minority of councillors identifying themselves as ethnic minority representatives from those who did not. There was some evidence indicating that they were perhaps more likely to be members of the working class and weaker partisans (in terms of degree of partisan involvement). However, neither relationship was strong.
Of those councillors who defined their primary constituency as being a group other than ethnic minorities, nearly 60 percent (84) described themselves as representatives of their borough or city as a whole, while an additional 23 percent (33) identified most strongly with their local party. Among this latter group of councillors, there was a somewhat greater tendency for them to have had histories of more extensive partisan involvement (relative to those identifying with their borough or city). They were also somewhat more likely to have been party members longer. Party officeholders did not necessarily identify more closely with their party.

Asian councillors were more likely than Afro-Caribbeans to identify strongly with their party: nearly 38 percent (39) of Asians who defined a constituency other than ethnic minorities felt a primary responsibility to some form of party organization (either their national party, local party, or party group). Among Afro-Caribbean councillors, little responsibility toward the national party or party group was articulated, and only a small percentage strongly identified with their local party (18 percent, N=7).

A More Complex Representational View

As with the survey respondents, there was scant support among interviewees for the notion that as ethnic minority councillors they represented only their own communities. The general tendency was to again identify most closely with their borough or city overall. The majority of those interviewed saw themselves as
responsible at a minimum to all of the people who live in their wards, but many also
claimed responsibility for the borough as a whole.

    We are elected by all people, not only ethnic minorities, so we are
    responsible to all our constituents.... I am available to all people (Asian
Labour councillor).

    I resist it (being an ethnic minority spokesperson), I will not do it.
Sometimes almost to the point of deliberately going the other way
(African Conservative councillor).

    I concentrate on the public in general...it is not only the Labour Party I
represent. I represent the whole ward, not only those who voted for
Labour, once I am elected I act as a councillor...for all, whether black,
white, yellow, whatever color they are, I represent everybody (Asian
Labour councillor).

The interview data further indicated that these councillors' identification of their
primary constituencies involved more than a simple designation of one particular
group. There was a general perception among those interviewed that as ethnic
minority councillors they additionally had a special responsibility to their ethnic
minority constituents. This was especially true among Afro-Caribbean councillors.

    For example,

    I don't know who out there has put an 'X' and voted for me. I say to
them, I represent all the people in my ward. If a black chap comes to
my surgery and a white chap, I'll do the same for both. But I know
how the black fellow feels because I am black myself. So, if there is a
little bit more I might have to do because I know the situation as a
black man and what he faces, my leaning will be slightly to him, if
there is a leaning. But it doesn't mean I'll forget the white fellow
(Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

    I see myself as a representative of the whole community...but I do
stress that the black community has particular problems and therefore I
will spend more time on those particular problems (Afro-Caribbean
Labour councillor).
We are supposed to take on board the problems of all people of the borough. But I feel a special responsibility to ethnic minorities and also people expect that of me as well. It doesn’t mean that the service I give to blacks is going to be better than what I give to the white person (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

This special responsibility did not mean, however, that these councillors neglected their white constituents. Additionally, this special sense of responsibility was described as being both self-imposed and a function of the expectations of their ethnic minority constituents.

These relatively weak representational associations with the ethnic minority communities did not mean that these constituencies were absolutely neglected by ethnic minority councillors, however. Further elaboration of these representational relationships among interviewed councillors revealed that some form of ethnic minority representation was nonetheless taking place. While none of those interviewed described themselves as solely working for ethnic minorities, most noted that they made special efforts to see to the needs of their ethnic minority constituents and make sure that their voices were heard in local councils.

The Role of an Elected Representative

Elected officials may adopt a number of possible role types in terms of the manner in which they represent their constituents. In Pitkin’s view, the central controversy of political representation is as follows:

Should (must) a representative do what his constituents want, and be bound by mandates or instructions from them; or should (must) he be free to act as seems best to him in the pursuit of their welfare (1967, 145)?
Those representatives who see themselves as relatively free and independent agents who are elected to follow their own consciences, exercise their own judgements, and act according to their own assessments of situations are commonly referred to as trustees. Representatives who place greater emphasis on the views and demands of the people and see it as their duty to follow the wishes of the majority are described as delegates. And elected officials who combine the orientations of both delegate and trustee, playing different roles at different times, or at one and the same time, are known as politicos (Newton 1976, 118).

Newton (1976), in a study of local councillors in Britain, noted that a common argument is that "the British expect their rulers to govern more than represent them. If these attitudes are shared by governors and governed, one would expect to find more trustees and fewer delegates among Britons" (p. 619). However, contrary to this argument, Newton's research findings were such that there was "little support (for) the idea that elected representatives in English local politics feel free, within broad limits, to exercise their own judgement" (p. 621).

My research generally supports this latter argument. When asked to choose the theory of political representation that most closely matched their own (trustee v. delegate), the majority of surveyed ethnic minority councillors (59.7 percent, N=89) identified themselves as fulfilling the role of a delegate. These representational philosophies differed somewhat along ethnic lines: Afro-Caribbean councillors were more likely to adopt the delegate role (71 percent, N=30) than were Asian councillors (55 percent, N=59).
In the interviews, ethnic minority councillors expressed ideas about their representational roles that were less clearly defined. In fact, the interview responses portrayed many of these elected officials more as politicos than trustees or delegates. That is, interviewed councillors were sensitive to conflicting alternatives, flexible in the way they resolved the conflict of alternatives, and less dogmatic in their representational style as it related to their decision-making behavior (Eulau, Wahlke, Buchanan and Ferguson 1978, 119).

For example, many councillors said that as elected representatives they continually balanced the views of their constituents with their personal feelings and beliefs as well as with the advice and positions of their parties. This ongoing process of comparison and evaluation is illustrated by the following comments:

You have to put all three together and take the best out of it. It's always a conflict. You have to make a best judgement...you have to compromise (Asian Labour councillor).

I do not see myself simply as a delegate of somebody...I should be able to take an issue and, when there is conflict between the party's thinking and my thinking, or the constituents' thinking and my thinking, be able to balance these views. That is a balance which every politician needs to make (Asian Labour councillor).

I take the position of my constituents in mind a lot and balance that against the party's advice and position. I vote to what they've told me and my conscience (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

While all those interviewed professed to engage in this "balancing act," most councillors agreed that when their own positions conflicted with those of their constituents, they tended to follow their own judgement. This was particularly the
case when their personal concern for the needs of the borough as a whole conflicted with their constituents' wishes.

It's your conscience and the needs of your ward...because your ward is a mixed bag of people, it means that there are different views within that ward and you've got to weigh those views and make a decision that you think is going to benefit the majority of the people (Afro-Caribbean Conservative councillor).

It isn't always possible to agree with your constituents, because as a politician it is important to make up your own mind about issues (Afro-Caribbean Conservative councillor).

When I am in conflict with my constituents...I explain my position and follow my own ideas (Asian Labour councillor).

It is my own judgement. I look at the facts and try and relate them to the policies and what effect it is likely to have for the borough and I make representation along those lines (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

In short, while the survey data identified ethnic minority councillors as primarily assuming the delegate's role, further elaboration of this concept by those interviewed revealed that these councillors may tend more towards the politico's role. In this capacity they assumed different roles at different times, often balancing their own judgement with the wishes of their constituents, the broader interests of their constituency and the views of their parties.

The Issue Orientation of Ethnic Minority Representatives

Related to these councillors' identification of their primary constituencies and their representation of these constituencies is the actual content of their political work and the type of issues upon which they choose to concentrate. Elected representatives
may spend most of their time on general local issues, on more partisan issues, or on particular problems brought to them by individual citizens (Newton 1976, 624). This aspect of an elected official's role orientation is of special significance when considering ethnic minority representatives, particularly with reference to their political integration. If they chose to specialize in and focus on primarily ethnic minority issues and problems, to the neglect of their other constituents' concerns, this would imply a lack of integration in terms of their being broad-minded, well-rounded political actors. Or, if they left these issues to be addressed solely by their white colleagues, or to be ignored altogether, this might indicate that a process of cooptation, rather than integration, was taking place. It is thus important to consider the types of issues on which these councillors concentrate.

According to the survey data, the majority of ethnic minority councillors spent the bulk of their time in office concentrating on general council work and on issues that were important to their parties. This was consistent with their earlier identification of their boroughs and their parties as the constituencies to which they feel most responsible. The vast majority of respondents reported spending less than ten percent of their time on each of the following issues: race relations, Asian, Afro-Caribbean or religious issues. Conversely, 31 percent (51) spent ten percent or more of their time on party issues, and 71 percent (118) spent a large proportion of their time on general local issues.

Similar issue orientations were also found among those councillors interviewed:
People expect me to concentrate on ethnic minority issues. I do not see that as my role. My role as a councillor is to take up any issue I like.... If I am good on some general issue, I should not be expected just because I am black to just deal with black issues (Asian Labour councillor).

I took the view that I will not go along with a narrow path. I will pursue the mainstream issues. I will try to identify the issues that ethnic minorities face, but I will not take only those issues up (Asian Labour councillor).

If an issue on race or something like that comes up, I don’t say anything. I keep back because I think it is for them (whites) to deal with, not me. I might chip in at the end, but I let them take the lead (Asian Labour councillor).

In short, ethnic minority councillors appeared to have made a concerted effort to avoid being perceived solely as ethnic minority spokespersons, despite pressures to do so from both their ethnic minority constituents and, frequently, their white peers. Many in fact resented the assumption by their colleagues and constituents that they were only qualified to deal with ethnic minority issues and therefore made a special effort to prove their ability to work on a variety of general issues on their councils. However, the comments of these councillors did not indicate that they refused to deal with ethnic minority issues. Rather, they made an effort to avoid being "pigeonholed" and allowed to only work on such matters. As such, in terms of the issues they pursued on their councils, these councillors appeared to strive for integration into the general work of their councils, but not to the extent that they allowed ethnic minority issues to be ignored altogether.
Ethnic Minority Councillors as Party Representatives

Finally, because party groups have come to play an increasingly important role in British local politics, the effect of party considerations on local councillors' representational behavior must be examined. It is possible that even if these councillors wished to act as ethnic minority "tribunes," the strictures of party discipline might preclude them from doing so. Or, for that matter, that any other representational orientation they might hold would be similarly overridden by partisan pressures. As Fitzgerald (1990) notes,

The parties expect loyalty to the party line to prevail over all else.... The parties accept caucusing by political factions (up to a point); they accept lobbying by groups of members on behalf of particular causes; and they accept that individual members may have particular interests such that they act and speak on behalf of outside pressure groups. But such activities are supposed to be subordinate to accepting the party whip...So the parties might not be prepared to countenance (ethnic minority) members organizing and voting on an exclusively racial basis and would decry any notion that they were representative of and accountable to anyone but the party and their constituents (p. 27).

One way to determine this effect is to examine how often these councillors voted with their party in council and committee. As Newton (1976) notes, "this aspect of the representative’s role differs from (others) in that it depends on actual behavior and not upon reported attitudes" (p. 630).

Those councillors surveyed reported patterns of voting behavior that clearly indicated the effects of party discipline. Overall, 52 percent (82) of ethnic minority councillors had never abstained or voted against their party in council or committee and only 9 percent (14) had done so many times. Thus, the majority of respondents voted along party lines.
In general, the overall strength of ethnic minority councillors' partisan allegiances was reinforced in the interviews. There was a clear consensus among those interviewed that party loyalty was a very important dimension of their view of their responsibilities as elected representatives:

If I am not in favor of something or my constituents are not in favor of something, but there is an overall party line, then I'll have to accept that and come back to my constituents and explain to them what has happened and these are the reasons why (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Basically, when you stand you are a Labour Party councillor, you are not just an individual and you have to go with the collective and represent the views of your party.... I'm accountable first of all to my party and then to the people, because I am first of elected as a (Labour Party) candidate, then I am elected by the people outside (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Either you don’t stand up as a councillor for the party and say look, I don’t agree with the manifesto and I don’t want to stand up for you; or you take it and say yes, I am a councillor, this is the bible I am going to use (the manifesto) and you go for it (Asian Labour councillor).

Nonetheless, as with those surveyed, a number of those interviewed also expressed a willingness to break with the party line when that line conflicted with their own personal views. According to the survey data, of those councillors who had voted against their party in the past, there was no greater likelihood of their doing so on ethnic minority issues than on more general local issues. However, those councillors interviewed generally expressed a willingness to break the whip when issues concerning the ethnic minority community in particular were at stake:

I look at the party manifesto and what I promised my electorate and the black community and if they conflict, then I break the whip. I follow my conscience.... I vote against the party when I disagree with it (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).
On black issues I wouldn't accept any party mandate (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

I think there will no doubt be occasions where I will have to break the party rules and vote against issues because some things are so dear to me that no matter the consequences I'll have to follow my conscience (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

There sometimes can be a conflict of loyalties and you have to balance that. But I would never compromise principles when it comes to issues about the needs of the black and ethnic minority communities just for the sake of satisfying or keeping party loyalties (Asian Labour councillor).

These findings are consistent with the tendency of those councillors interviewed to describe themselves as politicos, implying that they went their own way when their personal feelings conflicted with the views of their constituents or of their party.

Explaining Patterns of Partisan Voting

While the majority of ethnic minority councillors indicated that they voted along party lines, 48 percent of survey respondents noted that they had on occasion broken with their party. What differentiated those who had never defied party discipline from those who were willing to do so occasionally or even frequently? In this section I analyze the effects of party identification, ethnicity, partisan records and tenure in office on partisan voting.

*Party identification.* The effects of party varied according to party affiliation. The bivariate analysis revealed that the majority of Labour councillors stated that they had never gone against their party (54 percent), while 37 percent had voted against the party a few times (Table 5). Conversely, (while keeping in mind that the number
# Table 5. Partisan Voting by Party Membership, Ethnic Group and Partisan Records

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Many times</th>
<th>A few times</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Number Of Cases</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
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<td>Labour</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>7.14*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liberal Democratic</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>59.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<td>9.04**</td>
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<td>32.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Organized group member</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>8.31**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-group member</td>
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<td>35.1</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>97</td>
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<td>Black section member</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6.84**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Black section member</td>
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<td>37.6</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<td>54.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<td>Held no office</td>
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<td>50.0</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<th>Length of party membership</th>
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<td>1-5 years</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>84.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18.66**</td>
</tr>
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<td>6-10 years</td>
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<td>46.8</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>35.9</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>50.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>21 or more</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election Year</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978-81</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10.11*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-85</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986-89</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*$p \leq .10$

$**p \leq .05$
of Conservative respondents was small) about 86 percent reported that they had voted against their party at least a few times. These councillors' partisan voting behavior was thus consistent with the role orientations commonly associated with Labour and Conservative Party members. That is, the notion that Labour Party members more frequently act as delegates, both of their constituents and their party, while Conservative politicians rely more on their own judgements (Newton 1976, 118).

**Ethnicity.** There were some group differences observed with respect to patterns of partisan voting (see Table 5). Afro-Caribbean councillors were more likely to vote against their party than were Asian councillors, which is consistent with Afro-Caribbeans' identification as weaker partisans (Layton-Henry and Studlar 1985). Nearly sixty percent of Asian respondents report that they had never abstained or voted against their party in council or committee, compared to 32.6 percent of Afro-Caribbeans. This is not to say that Afro-Caribbean councillors frequently defied their party, however: only 14 percent of Afro-Caribbeans said they had gone against their party many times.

These patterns may seem to contradict the earlier findings with respect to councillors' role orientations in which Asian councillors were identified as more likely to identify with the role of trustee. That is, they described themselves as representatives who were elected to follow their own consciences and exercise their own judgements. On this basis, one would expect them to be more willing to vote against their party. However, Asian councillors were also identified as being more likely to identify their party as the constituency to which they felt most responsible.
These findings suggest that primary constituency identifications overrode Asian councillors' trustee role orientations. That is, their tendency to identify more strongly with the trustee's role may have been overshadowed by a more powerful strain of party loyalty.

*Tenure in office.* An additional factor that may differentiate party voters from less-disciplined councillors is length of tenure in office. It is possible that those councillors elected earlier will feel more secure and confident in their council and party positions and therefore be more willing to risk going against their parties. In contrast, those councillors elected more recently might be more likely to be subject to strong discipline. Additionally, these councillors are still early in their council careers, and it may be important for them to prove their loyalty to their parties. Thus, to vote against the party, particularly on a frequent basis, is a choice that entails much greater political risk for newer councillors. It is also the case that those councillors who have served longer will have had greater opportunity to have voted against their party than those councillors elected more recently. For example, those elected in 1990 had only limited opportunity to be faced with situations that might have compelled them to break with their party.

The survey data indicated that, as hypothesized, those ethnic minority councillors elected earlier were more likely to have voted against their party in the past. For example, of those councillors who were elected in 1990, less than one-third (15) had voted against their party, while over 50 percent (50) of those elected in the
period 1982-89 and nearly two-thirds (11) of those elected in 1978-81 had broken with party ranks.

**Partisan records.** One would further expect that the partisan backgrounds of ethnic minority councillors would influence partisan voting behavior. For example, councillors who were party members longer or were more active in their parties might be more willing to challenge party discipline because they felt more secure in their partisan status (or felt a less compelling need to prove their party loyalty having been long-standing members).

It would appear that these councillors' positions in their parties did affect their willingness to "break ranks" (see Table 5). Those councillors who had been party members for less than five years were very unlikely to have voted against their party, while among those councillors who had been party members longer there was a general tendency to have broken with the party on a more frequent basis, although this pattern was inconsistent. Councillors involved in organized party groups were also more likely to have gone against their party. This was particularly true for Labour Party Black Sections members, who were over three times as likely to have voted against their party many times. This latter finding is consistent with Black Sections members' tendency to be more militant, and perhaps less loyal, Labour Party members. The effects of having held party office on party voting were not strong.

Thus, the bivariate analysis indicated that a number of variables appeared to influence ethnic minority councillors' likelihood of voting against their party. To further determine which of these variables were most useful in explaining variation in
partisan voting, a multiple regression equation was calculated (see Table 6). Of the
seven variables analyzed, only three were statistically significant—length of tenure in
office, ethnicity and membership in organized party groups. All three variables
exhibited a similar level of influence, as their standardized regression coefficients, in
absolute terms, ranged from .19 to .24.

In confirmation of the bivariate findings, the regression equation indicated that
councillors who were elected earlier or who had been members of organized groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regression</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>( \beta )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party identification</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic group</td>
<td>-.32**</td>
<td>-.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of group in party</td>
<td>.26*</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black section member</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Held party office</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of party membership</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election year</td>
<td>.04*</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( R^2 )</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted ( R^2 )</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of cases</td>
<td>145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* \( p \leq .05 \), two-tailed test.

\** \( p \leq .01 \), two-tailed test.
in their party had a greater tendency to have broken with their party. Additionally, the regression supported the finding that Afro-Caribbean councillors were more likely to have defied party discipline. The relationships observed in the bivariate analysis between the other variables and party vote did not appear to be meaningful when they were considered relative to these three variables. This is not surprising since the patterns of variation observed between these other variables and party voting, while statistically significant, were in some cases inconsistent (e.g., length of party membership) or in other instances not particularly strong (e.g., holding party office). Some variables were highly correlated with others, for example, election year and length of party membership ($r = .62$). In this case, the effects of length of party membership that were observed in the bivariate analysis were overshadowed by the influence of election year.

Taken together, election year, ethnicity and organized party group membership accounted for 13 percent of the variance in voting behavior. The addition of the remaining four variables to the regression calculation increased the adjusted $R^2$ only slightly, to 16 percent.

Thus, party loyalties generally had an important influence on ethnic minority councillors' representational behavior. The majority of these councillors reported voting behavior that indicated a reluctance to break ranks with their parties. These findings generally suggest the integration of ethnic minority councillors into partisan decision-making processes. The majority of councillors concede to the discipline of their parties most of the time and only a small minority professed to break ranks on a
frequent basis. Those councillors who had gone their own way tended to be longer-standing members of their councils and to have more extensive histories of partisan involvement, especially in terms of organized party group membership. Additionally, Afro-Caribbean councillors were more likely to defy party discipline.

The data from the interviews further indicated that such patterns of disciplined party voting do not necessarily have negative implications for the representation of ethnic minority interests. Many of those councillors interviewed indicated that they would not allow their loyalty to their party to completely override their commitment to representing ethnic minority interests. There was a general consensus among those interviewed that when the interests of ethnic minorities were at stake, they would be more likely to go against their party's mandate. Thus, while party discipline did appear to have a strong influence on ethnic minority councillors' representational behavior, such partisan pressures did not always override their commitment to their ethnic minority constituents.

Conclusions

Ethnic minority councillors were elected from racially and ethnically diverse constituencies, and their electoral support was drawn from a cross-section of these areas. Reflecting these facts, ethnic minority councillors saw themselves as representing both whites and ethnic minorities. There was little support for the notion that, as ethnic minority elected representatives, they spoke only for the ethnic minority communities and acted only as representatives of ethnic minorities' special
interests. There was a clear sense among a majority of councillors that they were elected to serve at least all of the people in their wards, if not the entire borough. In addition, some councillors identified most strongly with their party.

At the same time, however, there was a general consensus among these councillors that as ethnic minorities they had a responsibility to their ethnic minority constituents that required them to pay special attention to their needs. However, this did not translate into a neglect of their white constituents. Rather, ethnic minority councillors sought to represent the many rather than the few, while balancing this representation of the majority with the needs of the minority, particularly members of ethnic minority groups. This concern with the needs of a broad constituency was also reflected in the issue orientations of ethnic minority councillors. The majority of ethnic minority councillors focused their attention on general council work and partisan issues, rather than areas of concern only to ethnic minorities.

The majority of those councillors surveyed identified with the role of a delegate. However, among those interviewed there was a strong indication that their representational roles were not as clearly defined in practice. Rather, in much of their decision-making ethnic minority councillors act as politicos, choosing between the trustee and delegate roles depending upon the issue at hand.

Many councillors also articulated a strong allegiance to their parties that often overrode their own judgements and their sense of responsibility to their constituents. Further elaboration among interviewed councillors indicated, however, that there was a strong tendency to break with the party when the latter's position went specifically
against the interest of ethnic minorities. Ethnic minority councillors who were elected earlier and councillors who were more active in their parties (especially in terms of organized group membership) tended to be more likely to defy party discipline. Ethnicity also had a notable effect on partisan voting, with Afro-Caribbean councillors demonstrating a greater tendency to break with their party.

Thus, the evidence discussed here suggests that the election to office of ethnic minorities did not automatically transfer into the representation of ethnic minorities specific interests, to the extent that this is to be accomplished through these representatives operating as "ethnic spokespersons". These councillors did not act solely as tribunes for ethnic minority communities. However, in keeping with the indicators described at the outset of the chapter, ethnic minority councillors did recognize ethnic minorities as a politically significant group. Further, they articulated an awareness of "ethnic minority issues" and ethnic minority interests that required their attention (as well as the attention of their white colleagues). Lastly, these councillors noted that in certain circumstances their being an ethnic minority made them uniquely qualified to address these issues and represent these interests. However, they at the same time believed that these concerns could also be adequately addressed by their white colleagues. Thus, some form of substantive representation is taking place. Ethnic minority councillors generally recognized a representational responsibility to their ethnic minority constituents. They claimed to pursue issues and articulate positions that reflected the interests of ethnic minorities wherever and
whenever they believed it was feasible to do so. However, they at the same time did not see this as their sole or even primary responsibility.

The role types adopted by ethnic minority councillors generally have positive implications not only for the representation of ethnic minority interests, but for these elites' political integration as well. The findings discussed in this chapter generally imply the integration of these elites into local political processes. Ethnic minority councillors have not approached their representational responsibilities on a racially or ethnically separate basis. As was hypothesized at the outset of the chapter, for the most part, ethnic minority councillors balanced the representation of the broader interests of their constituencies with the more specific interests of their ethnic minority constituents. They have chosen to orient themselves vis-a-vis their constituencies in a manner that is inclusive, adaptive and broad-minded. These councillors did not single-mindedly pursue a delegate or tribune's role vis-a-vis one particular constituency, involving the narrow representation of the interests of the few. Rather, they balanced the demands of their constituents with larger considerations such as the needs of their borough overall or of their parties. Such decision-making behaviors indicated a desire for incorporation into local political processes through cooperation, compromise and a concern for matters beyond the specific needs of one particular constituency. Councillors sought integration and acceptance. Further, this balancing process will presumably serve to promote their political integration by facilitating their acceptance into the political process among their white constituents and peers.

2. See Appendix A for a description of the survey and interview data utilized in this analysis.

3. All relationships discussed in the dissertation are statistically significant at a .10 level, unless otherwise noted. I have chosen to use the .10 level because of the difficulty in attaining significance with a smaller number of cases. As Blalock (1979) notes, "when a sample is small, it requires a much more striking relationship in order to obtain significance" (p. 201). Thus, I have decided to use a .10 level of significance, which is a somewhat less conservative measure than is normally applied in the social sciences.

4. These findings are based on responses to the question "There are two theories of political representation. The first says that the representative should be the delegate of the people and should act as they want him to. The second says that the representative should exercise his own judgement and act according to his own assessment of the situation. Which of these two views comes closest to your own?"

5. The noted discrepancy between survey and interview responses can be regarded as a methodological artifact reflecting the ability to solicit more nuanced, detailed answers in the interview setting than is possible with a closed-ended questionnaire. In this instance, interviewees were more likely to first identify with the delegate's role, but then go on to describe representative behavior that indicated a stronger tendency to act as a politico.
Chapter V

The Political Objectives of Ethnic Minority Councillors

In Chapter IV, I focused on how ethnic minority councillors oriented themselves to their jobs—their personal positions on their roles as elected representatives and their relationship to ethnic minority groups. As was illustrated, these councillors generally approached their responsibilities in a manner that indicated role orientations that were inclusive and accommodative. These role orientations implied a desire for incorporation and acceptance into local political processes. Did such feelings carry over into the goals and policies they were to pursue in office? Did the political objectives articulated by ethnic minority councillors focus on integrationist aims?

To answer such questions, in this chapter I move to another level of observation, from these councillors' purely personal positions to considering the broader objectives they associate with the ethnic minority community overall. I shift from indicators pertaining to ethnic minority councillors' representational styles to the kinds of objectives these councillors intend to pursue. As Conyers and Wallace discussed in their study of black elected officials in the United States (1978), when considering minorities' goals, one must consider notions of minority independence versus integration. Such a dichotomy involves a choice between a collective
independence based on racial (or ethnic) identity and an individual option that explicitly ignores racial (or ethnic) identity (p. 22-23). Hence, with respect to their objectives, the question is one of whether ethnic minority councillors favor "integration into the prevailing structures of society or a rejection of them in favor of alternative political, social, and economic forms of organization" (Jacobs 1988, 170). Or, if they seek some middle ground involving more limited integration accompanied by the maintenance of their ethnic and cultural identities.

Evidence from the United States suggests that black elected officials pursue objectives that favor minority integration into existing societal institutions.¹ In Britain, it is widely argued that such a process of integration into mainstream British society is in the best interests of the ethnic minority communities (Layton-Henry and Studlar 1985, 307-8). However, it need not be the case that ethnic minority councillors concur with such a course. One other possibility is that they place greater emphasis on maintaining complete separation between the white and ethnic minority communities. Another is that they seek a separateness of the ethnic minority communities with respect to social and cultural identities, but favor integration in political and economic terms. In this chapter I thus explore the goals these representatives have defined for their communities. These goal definitions will be indicators of the extent to which these representatives envision for themselves and their communities a future that involves the attainment of political, social, and economic integration in British society.
In light of these considerations, in this chapter I consider the goals and policy preferences of ethnic minority communities as articulated by ethnic minority councillors. I discuss their opinions as to the most pressing problems facing ethnic minorities, their broad goals and policy preferences, and their positions on a variety of proposals for achieving these objectives. In specific policy terms, I investigate whether ethnic minority representatives seek policies of positive discrimination or the creation of a policy environment that promotes ethnic minority self-help.

I further seek to explain variations observed in the goals defined by these councillors by examining their political backgrounds, class affiliations and ethnicity. These variables might affect their goal definitions in a number of ways. For example, one might hypothesize that:

Ethnic minority councillors who have political histories involving stronger associations with the ethnic minority communities (for example, those who had been members of ethnic minority organizations or Labour Party Black Sections) will define objectives that involve the maintenance of ethnic minority group identities or ethnic solidarity, support for multiculturalism and opposition to complete assimilation.

Further, since Afro-Caribbean councillors tended more than their Asian counterparts to identify themselves as ethnic minority representatives, this will result in their being more supportive of ethnic minority solidarity, of some autonomy in political and economic terms, and of the preservation of their cultural heritage.

That socioeconomic differences may influence ethnic minority councillors' support for economic policies and programs involving government assistance to ethnic minorities such as housing and health care. In this regard, Asian councillors may differ from Afro-Caribbean councillors, given the differing socioeconomic statuses of their two communities.
In the first portion of the chapter, I consider ethnic minority councillors' views about the problems facing ethnic minorities in Britain.

The Problems Facing Ethnic Minorities

The nature of the goals or policy objectives that ethnic minority councillors identify as necessary for ethnic minority progress will be related to the type of problems they see as being most critical for their communities. Over two-thirds of survey respondents (67.5 percent) identified discrimination as the most important problem facing ethnic minorities, with unemployment ranking second (28.9 percent) and crime identified as the third most important (4.7 percent). A number of councillors also mentioned education, housing, restrictive immigration laws and the dilution of cultural values as being other important problems facing ethnic minorities.

Survey data and interviews with ethnic minority councillors revealed the primacy of discrimination or racism issues. All councillors interviewed mentioned racism or discrimination in their response to a question regarding the most important problems facing ethnic minorities in the country. For example,

The biggest problem is racism (discrimination). It doesn't matter what you do, it is just there (Asian Labour councillor).

Racism (discrimination) is probably the worst problem in our society.... I think that until we begin to accept that all people of all races, of all colors, of all creeds are equal, we haven't really started to live as human beings together and so it must be the greatest problem (Afro-Caribbean Conservative councillor).

There was also a clear consensus among those interviewed that while other problems, such as unemployment, housing, education, the poor quality of social services and the
poll tax, were shared with the white working class, these problems were compounded
by the effects of racism and discrimination. The following comments illustrate their
positions:

Racism, that is the major problem. Then, the other general problems
that the society as a whole faces—housing, education, social
services...whatever the general public faces, we face with the extra
dimension of the racism of the society (Asian Labour councillor).

Most of the issues facing blacks today are also issues facing white
working class people—poll tax, housing, unemployment. But within
these issues there is a differentiation, because there is discrimination
(Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Our problems are more or less the same as those of the white working
class...the problems are the same...between blacks and whites, it is just
a question of magnitude (Asian Labour councillor).

In short, in support of the survey data, those councillors interviewed identified
discrimination and racism as the most significant problems confronting ethnic
minorities. They further noted that other problems that ethnic minorities face were
issues not only in and of themselves, but were compounded by the effects of racism
and discrimination. Beyond racism and discrimination, ethnic minority councillors
generally identified problems for their communities that were similar to those they
commonly saw as the most pressing confronting the white working class as well.

Ethnic Minority Goals

The ethnic minority communities in Britain are argued to have three political
goals: equal opportunities, anti-racism and multiculturalism (Butcher, Law, Leach and
Mullard 1990, 120). Additionally, they are said to be concerned with overcoming
exclusion from the political system and gaining greater access to the institutions and decision-making process of the state. I consider whether the perceptions of ethnic minority councillors were consistent with arguments such as these. Their various objectives will reveal the degree to which ethnic minority councillors in Britain aspire to achieving integration into prevailing societal structures.

Through interviews and analysis of survey data, it was apparent that ethnic minority councillors generally desired increased integration into mainstream political, economic, and social life. The majority of those councillors interviewed articulated long-term goals characterized by the following statements:

I think ethnic minorities must make a conscious decision to play an active part in the political arena in this country. If they fail to do that, then their future will be very bleak. Mainstream participation in the society is the goal (Asian Labour councillor).

Ethnic minorities should be well-represented, they should be fully integrated and politically aware. If they are not represented and aware, no one will do anything for them (Asian Labour councillor).

To be a proper citizen of the society, to be allowed to fulfill themselves, and total integration into the mainstream (Asian Labour councillor).

Ultimately, people will be part of the system. It doesn’t matter what you say about your culture, your religion, you still must be part of the country you live in (Asian Labour councillor).

They should get involved in the fabric of society, in the day-to-day running of the country, that is important. Full integration, without losing cultural identity (Asian Conservative councillor).

I feel very strongly that the second generation of immigration communities must join the mainstream political institutions in the U.K. to influence events relating to our needs and welfare (Asian Labour councillor).
The only solution is through the system. More involvement by ethnic minorities is essential. The potential is there for them to have great power. There is a need for black political involvement (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Survey data tended to support these positions. There was little support among these councillors for any statements that implied a desire to maintain separate ethnic minority enclaves, whether they be social, political or economic, in British society (Table 7).

This support for integration into mainstream institutions was accompanied, however, by a general belief in the need to create a multiracial, multicultural society. Reflecting their support for multiculturalism, 76.5 percent of ethnic minority councillors agreed that laws protecting the rights of those with cultures that differ from that of mainstream society should be introduced in Britain. Such laws might allow for the wearing of traditional dress (e.g., saris, turbans) in the workplace, or for vegetarian meals to be served in schools.

*Explaining goal differences.* It was hypothesized earlier that Afro-Caribbean councillors would be more likely to support goals involving ethnic minority solidarity and some degree of autonomy given their greater tendency to have identified themselves as ethnic minority representatives than Asian councillors. Survey data supported this hypothesis, as Afro-Caribbean councillors tended to favor maintaining group solidarity and some separation in political and economic terms more than Asian councillors (Table 7). For example, nearly 59 percent of Afro-Caribbean councillors agreed that ethnic minorities should make a special effort to support ethnic minority businesses, compared to only 11 percent of Asian councillors. Similarly, 40 percent
Table 7. Broad Goals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>All Councillors</th>
<th>Asian Councillors</th>
<th>Afro-Caribbean Councillors</th>
<th>$t$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subculture/Separation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minorities should not have anything to do with whites if they can help it.</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.7 (6)</td>
<td>2.5 (2)</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minorities should shop in in ethnic minority-owned stores whenever possible.</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>11.0 (12)</td>
<td>58.5 (24)</td>
<td>6.85***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minorities should always vote for ethnic minority candidates.</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>20.0 (22)</td>
<td>39.5 (17)</td>
<td>2.46*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiculturalism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British laws should be changed to accommodate ethnic minority distinctiveness.</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>73.8 (82)</td>
<td>83.4 (35)</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minorities should make every effort to become &quot;just like&quot; native Britons.</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>30.1 (34)</td>
<td>9.3 (4)</td>
<td>2.83**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$p \leq .02$

$p \leq .01$

$p \leq .001$

Number of cases in parentheses.

of Afro-Caribbean councillors, or more than twice the number of Asian councillors, supported the suggestion that ethnic minorities should always vote for ethnic minority candidates. Further, less than 10 percent of Afro-Caribbean councillors believed that ethnic minorities should become "just like native Britons," compared to 30 percent of Asian councillors.
It was also postulated that councillors who had stronger associations with the ethnic minority communities would define objectives involving group solidarity, an emphasis on multiculturalism and opposition to assimilation. This assumption was supported by the survey data (see Table 8). Those councillors who were members of Labour Party Black Sections were more likely to oppose the statements implying the

### Table 8. Broad Goals, Role Orientations and Organizational Affiliations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Black Section Member</th>
<th>Ethnic Minority Organization Member</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subculture/Separation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minorities should not have anything to do with whites if they can help it.</td>
<td>6.8 (2) 4.3 (5) .60 5.0 (6) 6.6 (2) .26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minorities should shop in in ethnic minority-owned stores whenever possible.</td>
<td>38.4 (10) 20.9 (25) 2.24** 26.9 (32) 13.3 (4) 1.54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minorities should always vote for ethnic minority candidates.</td>
<td>17.2 (5) 27.5 (33) 1.05 28.5 (35) 10.3 (3) 2.07**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiculturalism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British laws should be changed to accommodate ethnic minority distinctiveness.</td>
<td>82.7 (24) 75.8 (91) .97 80.3 (98) 63.3 (19) 2.30***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minorities should make every effort to become &quot;just like&quot; native Britons.</td>
<td>6.8 (2) 27.6 (34) 2.39*** 22.0 (27) 34.4 (11) 1.66*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p \leq .10$

** $p \leq .05$

*** $p \leq .02$

Number of cases in parentheses.
loss of ethnic minority distinctiveness. As expected, 75.9 percent of Black Sections members strongly disagreed with the notion that ethnic minorities should become just like native Britons, while only 45.5 percent of non-Black Sections members strongly disagreed with this notion. To a lesser degree, those ethnic minority councillors who had previously been members of ethnic minority organizations (such as the Indian Workers Association) were also more likely to oppose ethnic minority assimilation.

A regression equation was developed for each goal included in Table 7 to determine how well differing ethnic and associational backgrounds accounted for observed variations. Each equation incorporated variables that identified councillors' (a) ethnic minority backgrounds; and membership in (b) the Labour Party Black Sections or (c) other ethnic minority organizations. Analysis of the regression confirmed the findings reported in the bivariate analysis (see Table 9). The regression analysis indicated that the explanatory power of the three variables was significant regarding councillors' opinions as to whether ethnic minorities should make special efforts to frequent ethnic minority-owned businesses. In this instance, the variables accounted for 21 percent of the variance in support for this goal. Of the three, only ethnicity was statistically significant, and, in terms of relative importance, its effect was more than four times that of the other two variables. This confirms the bivariate analysis, which indicated that Afro-Caribbean councillors were much more likely to support this position. The bivariate analysis also indicated that Black Sections membership was a meaningful influence on this view. However, when considered relative to ethnicity in the regression calculation, the effect of this variable was not
Table 9: Regression Analysis of Broad Goals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Goal A*</th>
<th>Goal B*</th>
<th>Goal C*</th>
<th>Goal D*</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>Constant</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>4.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic group</td>
<td>-.62***</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Section member</td>
<td>-.45</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minority organization member</td>
<td>.54**</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.70****</td>
<td>.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted $R^2$</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of cases</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p \leq .10$, two-tailed test.
** $p \leq .05$, two-tailed test.
*** $p \leq .02$, two-tailed test.
**** $p \leq .01$, two-tailed test.
***** $p \leq .001$, two-tailed test.

*Goal A*: Ethnic minorities should always vote for ethnic minority candidates.
*Goal B*: British laws should be changed to accommodate ethnic minority distinctiveness.
*Goal C*: Ethnic minorities should shop in ethnic minority-owned stores whenever possible.
*Goal D*: Ethnic minorities should make every effort to become "just like" native Britons.

Similar equations provided only limited explanations for variations in councillors' views on the other three goals. The equations' adjusted $R^2$ ranged from .04 to .08. Other variables would have to be brought into the analysis to more fully understand the determinants of ethnic minority councillors' goal perceptions. Despite the equations' limited explanatory power, some interesting variations were noticeable regarding the variables' relative influences on the various goals. Reflecting the
bivariate analysis, ethnicity tended to be the strongest influence on views regarding whether ethnic minorities should always vote for ethnic minority candidates, or whether ethnic minorities should make every effort to become "just like" native Britons. Regarding this latter view, organizational and Black Sections memberships were revealed to be nearly equivalent to ethnicity in terms of their relative effect. Ethnicity played a negligible role in determining a councillor's position on whether British laws should be changed to accommodate ethnic minority distinctiveness. In this instance, and again confirming the bivariate results, ties to ethnic minority associations were a significantly stronger influence.

There was thus overall majority support for the goals of incorporation (political, social and economic) and multiculturalism among ethnic minority councillors. However, councillors with stronger ties to the ethnic minority communities (in terms of group membership) were more likely to articulate goals that favored the maintenance of ethnic minority group identities and the preservation of cultural values. The relationship between ethnicity and councillors' goal preferences was particularly salient, with Afro-Caribbean councillors being strong advocates for ethnic minority solidarity and some form of group autonomy. There was weaker support among these latter groupings of councillors for notions that involved assimilation on the part of ethnic minorities or the complete separation of the white and ethnic minority communities.
Ethnic Minority Councillors’ Policy Preferences

In light of these goal definitions, what sort of policies did these councillors advocate to attain their objectives? Was particular emphasis placed upon economic rather than social programs? Were programs supported that involved ethnic minority integration or separation? To answer such questions, surveyed ethnic minority councillors were asked their opinions on a broad range of policies and programs.

The policy and program preferences of ethnic minority councillors were consistent with their identification of important problems facing ethnic minority communities. Consequently, these councillors appeared to be concerned with affecting changes that would bring about economic advances for their communities and improve the likelihood of ethnic minority citizens succeeding in a society in which racism and discrimination were believed to be formidable obstacles.

Further, as with their definitions of broad goals, ethnic minority councillors’ policy preferences indicated a desire to be more active participants in mainstream British society. There was broad support for the proposals included in Table 10 among all ethnic minority councillors (with the exception of separate ethnic minority schools).

A more detailed analysis of the survey data provided insight into subtle differences between Afro-Caribbean and Asian councillors’ preferences. Afro-Caribbean councillors were especially strong supporters of policies or programs that would bring about economic advances for ethnic minorities. For example, 73.8 percent of Afro-Caribbean councillors identified establishing more ethnic minority
\[
\begin{array}{lcccc}
\text{Table 10. Policy and Program Goals} \\
\hline
\multicolumn{3}{c}{\textit{Percentage Identifying These as Very or Fairly Important}} & & \\
\text{Statement} & \text{All} & \text{Asian} & \text{Afro-Caribbean} & t \\
& \text{Councillors} & \text{Councillors} & \text{Councillors} & \\
\hline
\textbf{Employment} & & & & \\
More ethnic minority-owned businesses & 88.4 & 85.8 (90) & 95.2 (40) & 1.63 \\
More ethnic minority partners, directors and managers in white-owned businesses & 91.8 & 92.5 (99) & 89.7 (35) & .51 \\
Job training programs for ethnic minorities & 95.9 & 95.3 (100) & 97.5 (38) & .83 \\
Employment rights for ethnic minorities & 84.8 & 81.2 (86) & 94.9 (37) & 2.06^* \\
\textbf{Education} & & & & \\
Separate ethnic minority schools & 11.6 & 10.3 (11) & 15.0 (6) & 1.62 \\
More Asian and West Indian studies programs in schools & 80.7 & 76.2 (80) & 92.5 (37) & 2.25^* \\
Multicultural, multilingual education & 93.6 & 95.3 (101) & 88.6 (31) & .12 \\
Complete racial integration in schools & 87.1 & 88.1 (96) & 84.2 (32) & .30 \\
\textbf{Social Programs} & & & & \\
More equitable allocation of council housing & 97.3 & 96.4 (108) & 100.0 (41) & 1.22 \\
Low cost financing for housing purchase & 83.5 & 82.3 (88) & 86.9 (33) & .65 \\
Free day care centers & 80.5 & 79.0 (87) & 84.6 (33) & .75 \\
Better health care facilities & 92.7 & 90.8 (99) & 97.5 (40) & 1.41 \\
\hline
^*_{p \leq .05} & & & & \\
Number of cases in parentheses.
\end{array}
\]
owned businesses as being very important, as compared to only 41 percent of Asian councillors. However, this relationship was not statistically significant at a .10 level.

One possible explanation for this lower figure for Asians may be that a substantial number of Asians are already small business owners, as opposed to Afro-Caribbeans, who are more likely to be employees. Asian councillors were also less supportive of the notion that every ethnic minority should be guaranteed a right to a job by the government. A higher percentage of Afro-Caribbeans identified such employment rights as very important (an additional 20 percent) and as more important overall. These responses indicated an especially strong belief on the part of Afro-Caribbean councillors that the government bears an economic responsibility for ethnic minorities.

Similarly, there was broad support among Asian and Afro-Caribbean councillors for an educational system that acknowledged the racial and ethnic diversity of its student population and for racially integrated schools. However, twice as many Afro-Caribbean councillors identified school programs that would preserve their cultural heritage as being very important.

The class backgrounds of ethnic minority councillors did not appear to have affected their policy and program preferences. In addition, there was equal support for the policy proposals included in Table 10 among those councillors who were members of Labour Party Black Sections and those who were not. However, there were fairly significant differences in the emphases placed on these proposals between these two groups. Black Sections members were more likely to have identified many of these programs as being very important for ethnic minority progress. The same
was true for those councillors who had been members of ethnic minority community organizations. For example, 50 percent (59) of ethnic minority organization members saw Asian and West Indian studies programs in schools as very important, compared to 22.2 percent (6) of those who did not belong to such organizations.

Thus, while there was broad agreement among all ethnic minority councillors as to the importance of the proposals included in Table 10 for ethnic minority progress, some variations were observed with respect to the strength of support for these proposals. Afro-Caribbean councillors were strong advocates for economic programs. As was hypothesized at the outset, these differences may be a reflection of the differing socioeconomic statuses of the Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities. Those councillors who were affiliated with ethnic minority associations or political groupings also articulated policy preferences that placed greater emphasis on the importance of many of these policies for ethnic minority progress.

**Governmental Solutions**

As we have seen, ethnic minority councillors generally agreed on the types of problems facing ethnic minorities and the policies or programs that were required to obtain their objectives. Of further interest is who these councillors believe bears the responsibility to address these concerns. The survey data revealed that ethnic minority councillors strongly endorsed the notion that the central government must take an active role in addressing the social and economic problems of ethnic minorities, rather than ethnic minorities relying solely on their own resources. Additionally, a majority
of councillors supported solutions that involved preferences for ethnic minorities in employment, educational opportunities and housing. Nonetheless, there was also a clear consensus among Asian and Afro-Caribbean councillors that members of the ethnic minority community, particularly those who have achieved success, must take responsibility for their own communities as well (see Table 11).

**Explaining solution preferences.** Bivariate analyses were conducted to explore the relationship between several postulated influences on ethnic minority councillors' attitudes toward methods for addressing ethnic minorities' problems. These influences included ethnicity, class background, and association with ethnic minority organizations and political groupings. Several conclusions can be drawn from these analyses (Table 11).

First, Asian and Afro-Caribbean councillors agreed on the necessity of government action. However, Afro-Caribbean councillors expressed far greater support for special consideration being given to ethnic minorities in hiring, university admissions and service delivery. Hence, there was a stronger tendency among Afro-Caribbeans to believe that the central government owed ethnic minorities special treatment.  

Secondly, the class backgrounds of ethnic minority councillors also affected their opinions as to the government's responsibilities vis-a-vis ethnic minorities. Over three-quarters of those councillors who identified themselves as working class agreed that ethnic minorities deserved special government consideration, while only 55.1 percent of middle class identifiers supported such a plan.
Table 11. Solutions by Ethnicity, Class, and Associational Backgrounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Percent Agreeing</th>
<th>$x^2$</th>
<th>Percent Agreeing</th>
<th>$x^2$</th>
<th>Percent Agreeing</th>
<th>$x^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Councillors</td>
<td>65.1 (99)</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.0 (14)</td>
<td></td>
<td>87.6 (135)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Background</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>64.7 (66)</td>
<td>5.35***</td>
<td>10.1 (11)</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>92.4 (97)</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-Caribbean</td>
<td>84.6 (33)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.1 (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>90.5 (38)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>77.4 (65)</td>
<td>9.55****</td>
<td>10.3 (9)</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>91.8 (78)</td>
<td>.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>55.1 (27)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.5 (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>90.0 (45)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associational Background</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Minority Organization Member</td>
<td>71.1 (81)</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>8.3 (10)</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>91.5 (108)</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Ethnic Minority Organization Member</td>
<td>66.7 (18)</td>
<td></td>
<td>13.8 (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>92.9 (26)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Section Member</td>
<td>76.9 (20)</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>3.80*</td>
<td>84.6 (22)</td>
<td>2.70*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Black Section Member</td>
<td>69.4 (77)</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.9 (14)</td>
<td></td>
<td>94.1 (111)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p ≤ .10  
*p ≤ .05  
*p ≤ .02  
*p ≤ .01  
Number of cases in parentheses.

No respondents identified themselves as members of the upper class.
Third, ethnic minority councillors with ties to ethnic minority community organizations and political groupings tended to be more strongly supportive of government intervention than were those councillors who had not been involved with such groupings. For example, 70.5 percent (86) of ethnic minority organization members strongly disagreed with the statement that the government should not make any special efforts vis-a-vis ethnic minorities because ethnic minorities should help themselves, compared to only 32.3 percent (10) of non-organization members. However, this relationship was not statistically significant at a .10 level. Similarly, all Labour Party Black Section members disagreed with this statement (86.2 percent, N=25 disagreeing strongly), while only 55.4 percent (67) of non-Section members disagreed strongly with this view. These two variables did not appear to affect councillors' views on ethnic minorities receiving special consideration in hiring or admissions decisions. However, Black Sections members were somewhat more inclined to disagree with the view that successful ethnic minorities are obligated to help less fortunate ethnic minorities. This may indicate a greater interest among Black Section members in obtaining outside help for their communities.

Regression equations using ethnicity, class and associational backgrounds were constructed to evaluate their relative influence on ethnic minority councillors' views on government intervention (see Table 12). The regression equation concerning attitudes about ethnic minorities who have "made it" had no explanatory power. In the other calculations, these variables' explanatory power was somewhat limited—each equation had an adjusted $R^2$ of .08. Despite this limitation, analysis of the equations
Table 12. Regression Analysis of Proposed Solutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Goal 1*</th>
<th>Goal 2*</th>
<th>Goal 3*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>6.36</td>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>2.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic group</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-.60**</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class background</td>
<td>-.22</td>
<td>-.53***</td>
<td>-.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minority organization</td>
<td>-.50*</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>member</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Section member</td>
<td>-.55*</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.43*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( R^2 )</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted ( R^2 )</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of cases</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* \( p \leq .05 \), two-tailed test.  
** \( p \leq .02 \), two-tailed test.  
*** \( p \leq .01 \), two-tailed test.

*Goal 1* = National government should not make any special efforts to improve the social and economic position of ethnic minorities because they should help themselves.

*Goal 2* = Ethnic minorities should be given special consideration when decisions are made about hiring applicants for jobs, admitting applicants to universities and allocating public housing.

*Goal 3* = Ethnic minorities who have "made it" should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of poor ethnic minorities.

revealed several interesting differences. For example, concerning ethnic minority councillors' opinions as to whether ethnic minorities have a responsibility to help themselves rather than the government making any special effort on their behalf, memberships in ethnic minority organizations or Labour Black Sections were two to four times stronger in their effect than either ethnic group or class. That is, members of these organizations were more likely to disagree with this view. Moreover, the first
two variables were statistically significant at the .05 level, whereas neither ethnic group or class were statistically significant. The variables’ roles were reversed relative to providing special considerations to ethnic minorities. In this case, ethnic group and class background were both statistically significant (and at the .02 or greater level), and were far more influential than either variable concerning associational backgrounds. Finally, only Black Section membership was a statistically significant influence on views concerning ethnic minorities and their obligations to each other. These findings all confirm the observations reported in the bivariate analysis.

In short, among those surveyed, there was overall support for the idea that the central government has a responsibility to assist with the incorporation of ethnic minorities into mainstream British society, as opposed to an exclusive strategy of ethnic minority self-help. Afro-Caribbean councillors, as well as those councillors identifying with the working class, were especially strong supporters of special preferences for ethnic minorities. In addition, councillors with ties to ethnic minority organizations and political groupings were stronger advocates of special government efforts for ethnic minorities.

A More Specific Policy Goal

As was noted, ethnic minority councillors identified discrimination as the most serious problem facing ethnic minorities. Given their conviction that the central government has a responsibility to address ethnic minority problems, in what specific
manner did ethnic minority councillors want discrimination addressed? As was
discussed, a majority of councillors believed that ethnic minorities should be given
special consideration in employment, education and housing decisions. What form did
they believe this "special consideration" should take? Did councillors express a
preference for positive discrimination? That is, did they support policies that involve
the setting of quotas for such things as admissions or hiring practices or that involve
preferential treatment of less qualified ethnic minorities in order to increase their
access to the work force? Or did they emphasize "positive action?" That is,
legislation that provides training for ethnic minorities to improve their qualifications
and that emphasizes equal opportunities?

The interviews indicated that there was little support among ethnic minority
councillors for policies that involved positive discrimination. Instead, the bulk of
Asian and Afro-Caribbean councillors expressed support for positive action policies:
that provide for training for ethnic minorities so that they can compete equally with
whites; that emphasize the recruitment of ethnic minorities; and that encourage ethnic
minorities to participate in the work force. Support for "positive action" was
commonly demonstrated as such:

I don't talk about positive discrimination. Positive action, yes,
discrimination, no.... Black people don't want to be discriminated in
favor of, they just want action taken against the things that
discriminated against them in the past. So I talk about positive action
(Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

I don't support positive discrimination, but I do support positive action.
Because positive discrimination means that you are lowering the
standards of something; you are doing a favor rather than giving a right
to that person. Positive action means that you are treating the individual equally (Asian Labour councillor).

I'm in favor of positive action, but I don't think it should just be done for the sake of it. I think if someone is capable and they are given the opportunity they can do a job, then yes that is a positive step forward. But I wouldn't say just because you are black we are going to put you there to redress an imbalance. I think they are two different things...on the one hand, I think that you should address the imbalance, but you shouldn't do that just for the sake of it (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Hence, there was a clear sense among ethnic minority councillors that ethnic minorities have a right to be treated fairly and equally, on the basis of their abilities. They were further interested in policies that "encourage people to take their share in society" and that provide equal opportunities for ethnic minorities to do so.

Opposition to positive discrimination was also based on a firm conviction that such policies would be counterproductive because of the resentment they might engender in the white population. Also, many councillors maintained that ethnic minorities do not feel entitled to anything simply because of their skin color. Their goal instead was policies that provide for equal access to services and opportunities for all people. This position was echoed by councillors from all parties and ethnic groups:

I believe in everyone being given an opportunity, but no one should be given a flying start. I don't want to be given something because I am black. What I demand is that I should be given what I think is due to me because I've got the experience or training, this is what I demand. I don't demand to be treated specially or given sympathy (Asian Liberal Democratic councillor).

I support policies of real access for blacks. I say, why do they have to build up something special for me that is going to create resentment
against me by working class whites who...feel I am getting more access to resources than them (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

I am against positive discrimination because it creates great resentment. If a minority gets special privileges, the majority of the people will begin to feel that they are being deprived, so they will become antagonistic, so it won’t help create a better situation. What I feel is that consideration must be given to the underprivileged. I favor equal opportunity policies (Asian Labour councillor).

I personally believe that positive discrimination does not help eradicate discrimination, if anything it creates it or it breeds more discrimination. What we need is to treat each on their merit. If the person has the qualifications or the right experience, then the job should go to them. Not because of their color, but simply because of merit (Asian Conservative councillor).

Those councillors interviewed thus expressed a strong preference for policies to combat discrimination that guaranteed equality of opportunity and emphasized fairness and merit. There was little support for preferential treatment on the basis of skin color. Ethnic minority councillors did not seek policies that involved treating ethnic minorities differently from white citizens, but rather emphasized ethnic minorities’ desire to be treated equally with other citizens.

Conclusions

The evidence with respect to ethnic minority councillors therefore suggested a moderate community of elected representatives whose goals, when taken together, pointed toward a desire for the integration of ethnic minority communities into British society. The general pattern was one of majority agreement on the goal of full participation in mainstream political and economic institutions, rather than separation along racial or ethnic lines. There was at the same time widespread support among
ethnic minority councillors for broad societal acceptance of their communities' cultural distinctiveness. This reflected an interest in maintaining ethnic and cultural identities, as opposed to purely assimilating into British society. Among those councillors interviewed, particularly strong emphasis was placed on increasing ethnic minorities' access to political decision-making and the political arena in general.

These councillors thus expressed little interest in maintaining strict boundaries between the ethnic minority communities and mainstream British society. Rather, the majority of councillors' views supported the argument that "a process of integration into mainstream society is in the best interests of the ethnic minority communities in Britain" (Layton-Henry and Studlar 1985, 307-8). There was overall support for objectives and strategies that involved inclusion into local political processes, as well as into mainstream social and economic institutions.

The policy and program preferences of ethnic minority councillors were consistent with their goal and problem definitions. Generally speaking, there was broad support for policies that further implied the integration of ethnic minorities into social and economic institutions. Ethnic minority councillors also strongly endorsed a variety of government programs specifically aimed at addressing ethnic minority problems.

As was hypothesized, some group differences were observed with respect to both the goals and policy preferences of ethnic minorities. Slightly stronger support for the maintenance of group identities and autonomy was observed among Afro-Caribbeans. There was also a tendency for Afro-Caribbean councillors to be
especially strong supporters of government policies and programs directed towards ethnic minorities, particularly with respect to housing and employment issues and the maintenance of cultural diversity. These latter distinctions may be attributed in part to socioeconomic differences between these two groups.

As was also proposed at the outset of the chapter, those councillors with stronger ties to the ethnic minority communities or who were members of ethnic minority community organizations or political groupings) tended to define objectives that implied a more limited form of integration. For example, they were more likely to express views that supported group solidarity, multiculturalism, and complete opposition to ethnic minority assimilation than those who did not have such ties. However, with the exception of multiculturalism, there was still majority support among these councillors for more integrationist goals. Similar patterns were observed relative to the emphasis placed upon policy and program preferences. Councillors with stronger ties to the ethnic minority community were more likely to define such proposals as being very important. Lastly, these councillors were more likely to be strong advocates of government assistance to ethnic minorities. Thus, the political backgrounds of ethnic minority councillors had some effect on the objectives they defined and the programs they supported.

Additionally, relative to middle class identifiers, working class identifiers also tended to articulate goals that involved a more limited form of integration, stronger support for multiculturalism and group autonomy and opposition to complete assimilation. These variations in goal definitions did not transfer into similar
differences with respect to policy and program preferences between working and middle class respondents. However, councillors identifying with the working class were stronger supporters of special preferences for ethnic minorities than were middle class identifiers.

Widespread support for policies stressing equal treatment and opportunity was a final indication of ethnic minority councillors’ commitment to the goal of integration for their communities. There was no support for notions of differential or special treatment for ethnic minorities. Rather, ethnic minority councillors emphasized policies that would treat ethnic minorities in the same fashion as white citizens and facilitate their entrance into mainstream institutions.

This general lack of support for policies of positive discrimination has especially positive connotations for political integration. Ethnic minority councillors by and large rejected such policies on the grounds that they would create white resentment and, as such, serve as barriers to ethnic minorities’ integration into societal institutions, whether they be political, social or economic. Thus, such policies were generally rejected solely because of their non-integrationist tendencies. In addition, support for policies of positive action was generally justified by these councillors in terms of ethnic minority citizens being afforded equal access to societal institutions. Thus, these councillors advocated the creation a policy setting that would promote the integration of ethnic minorities, rather than their being treated differentially or separately.
In short, to the extent that ethnic minority councillors claimed that ethnic minorities in general had an interest in achieving political (and other) integration, and that they as their elected representatives were interested in facilitating and promoting such integration, their election to office implies the potential for progress in this endeavor. It is clear that ethnic minority councillors came to office with the goals of political integration and increased participation in mind. Their commitment to such goals may potentially have a positive effect in terms of educating and mobilizing ethnic minority citizens to fuller participation in society.
Notes


2. These responses were provided to a question asking councillors to rank relative to each other these three problems.

3. When councillors used the term racism they were generally speaking about discrimination issues.

4. No equation was developed for the goal statement "Ethnic minorities should not have anything to do with whites if they can help it" because of the observed lack of variation (see Table 6).

5. The nature of this "special treatment" will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

6. The notion of "positive action" was introduced in Britain under the 1976 Race Relations Act.
Chapter VI
Forms of Political Participation and Organization

As was seen in Chapter V, the political objectives described by ethnic minority councillors generally implied a desire for integration into mainstream political institutions. The strategies that ethnic minority councillors endorse for the pursuit of these objectives will have equally important implications for ethnic minority elite political integration. In this chapter I thus consider these councillors' attitudes about the effectiveness of a variety of ways in which citizens in a democracy may exercise their participatory rights. These attitudes may in particular be of central importance insofar as elite attitudes influence mass behavior.

Participation in political parties and elections is often seen as a hallmark of political integration and support for democratic politics (Layton-Henry and Studlar 1985, 307). As Solomos further notes, such participation tends to reinforce identification with the rules, procedures and values of the polity, while enabling the articulation of demands, facilitating consent and strengthening acceptance of the legitimacy of the political system (1990, p. 141). Thus, the degree to which ethnic minority councillors attest to the effectiveness of traditional democratic activities will be an important indicator of their political integration. Were ethnic minority councillors to strongly endorse unconventional political activities and alternative
forms of political organization arranged along racial and ethnic lines, this could be interpreted as evidence of a lack of political integration.

In the literature on ethnic minority political participation in Britain, there has been considerable discussion of the effectiveness of conventional political activities for ethnic minorities. Although voting and election to political office are traditionally seen as the primary options for articulating political demands and achieving political system responsiveness in any democratic society, political participation need not be limited to formal institutional channels and may indeed fall into categories that are not commonly acknowledged as being legitimate. Additionally, participation in political parties and elections need not translate into issues achieving agenda status or increased policy responsiveness. In fact, it has been argued that in Britain "electoral politics has hitherto not been an effective vehicle for nonwhite demands" (Studlar 1986, 177). Studlar maintains that,

Participation in elections and parties will not necessarily lead to race-related issues reaching the formal agenda, much less result in outcomes preferred by nonwhites. At best such participation may help to legitimize nonwhites' participation as full citizens in British society and thereby improve their potential access to central decision-makers (p. 178).

Others have also argued that equal access to traditional avenues of participation is not found in Britain, particularly for ethnic minorities. As Solomos notes, "not all groups enjoy the same opportunity to participate politically through channels which are defined as legitimate" (1989, p. 142).

To the extent that ethnic minority councillors echo such observations, they may view other forms of participation as being more likely to be effective for
pursuing their goals. As active members of the formal political system, it is reasonable to assume that these elites will demonstrate a strong preference for traditional forms of participation. On the other hand, as members of what are commonly perceived to be relatively powerless minority groups, it is also possible that they may acknowledge a potential need for resorting to alternative forms of political voice and that they have formed opinions as to the viability, legitimacy and effectiveness of such alternative forms. In this chapter, I explore their opinions in this regard.

I also consider ethnic minority councillors' positions with regard to the viability of a number of alternative forms of political organization. Solomos (1989), in a discussion of the future development of ethnic minority politics, presents three possible patterns for the political incorporation of ethnic minorities in British political processes that involve distinctive forms of political organization:

- Full incorporation, if unequal, within British political institutions.
- Incorporation through ethnically or regionally-based organizations that would seek to advance the interests of particular ethnic groups by political means.
- Development of a common political identity across ethnic groups as an excluded black minority, in response to institutionalized racism and the politicization of racial issues.

I consider which of these patterns seems most likely given the attitudes of ethnic minority councillors about political participation and organization.

In this chapter I thus address two topics: I discuss the opinions of ethnic minority councillors as to the effectiveness of a variety of forms of participation, both
traditional and nontraditional. I further explore their opinions with reference to several alternatives to established political institutions.

To explain patterns of support for these political strategies and participatory activities, I examine such things as these councillors' previous political histories and behaviors and their attitudes toward the British political system overall. For example, the following possible relationships are explored:

Ethnic minority councillors whose experiences within formal political institutions were negative will view other avenues for participation as being more effective for achieving ethnic minority goals.

Those ethnic minority councillors who engaged in nontraditional political activities in the past will acknowledge the potential need for resorting to alternative forms of political voice to achieve political system responsiveness.

Those ethnic minority councillors who believe that the political system is dysfunctional, noninclusive and nonresponsive will rate as effective forms of political participation that are not traditionally perceived as legitimate or viable.

Those ethnic minority councillors who define political objectives that imply a desire to maintain separate ethnic minority enclaves will advocate forms of political organization that involve separation along racial and ethnic lines.

Those ethnic minority councillors with more extensive histories of partisan involvement, and with stronger records of partisan achievements, will be more likely to view the established party system as responsive and effective vis-a-vis ethnic minority concerns.

In the following section, I consider ethnic minority councillors' views with respect to the effectiveness of various forms of participation.
Forms of Participation

It is often argued that for groups lacking in organizational and economic resources, collective action in the form of protest is the most effective type of political action (see Gamson 1968; Piven and Cloward 1974, 1977). According to Piven and Cloward, "the ability of an outcast minority to advance in the face of majority prejudices partly depends upon its ability to develop countervailing power" (1974, p. 265). They argue that such power is to be developed through disruptive political strategies which create crises to which political leaders must respond. In their view, electoral-representative systems can never be responsive to the powerless in society, and protest is the only effective form of political action for members of powerless groups.

In the British case, "the absence of opportunities for institutional participation by local people" in local government (and national politics as well) has been frequently discussed. This lack of effective channels and opportunities for participation for inner city residents (large numbers of whom are ethnic minorities) is argued to have important implications for the maintenance of political order:

Participation is important not only to legitimize the regime and to aid the effectiveness of its performance, but also to enhance identification with the polity. Institutional participation facilitates integration and lowers the probability of dramatic non-institutional participation, or voice, in the form of violent protest. The lack of opportunities for participation in inner city areas may result in low levels of citizen consent and may adversely affect citizens' views of the political system's legitimacy (Benyon and Solomos 1988, 417).
In keeping with this perspective, Benyon and Solomos argue that the root cause for the resort to nontraditional forms of participation that was observed among ethnic minorities in the early 1980s, particularly violent protest, was "the exclusion of specific groups from the processes of political, social and cultural incorporation...as this exclusion operates systematically over a long period, it produces a deep sense of injustice in the excluded groups which can flare into a violent form of protest" (1988, p. 418). Thus, they pursue a line of argument similar to that of Piven and Cloward, envisioning a future of increasing disaffection among ethnic minorities and a consequent turn to unconventional political behavior.

Other scholars have argued, however, that protest politics, particularly violent protest, will be the exception rather than the rule among Britain's ethnic minorities. For example, Studlar (1986) notes the following:

Asians, who are by several indicators the most isolated group, are peaceful, fearful of violent repercussions and wedded to leaders who are reasonably adept at the politics of bureaucracy. (Afro-Caribbeans) are individualistic, lack organization and are probably too skeptical to mount an effective concerted attempt at political violence (p. 181)

He further argues that rather than sustained unconventional political behavior, what is more likely is sporadic, undisciplined street protest that is "not likely to yield substantial political benefit unless it can be utilized by nonwhite leaders as a threat to elicit political concessions" (1986, p. 182). Solomos (1990) also argues that any wholesale withdrawal from conventional political activities on the part of ethnic minorities is unlikely.
In light of such arguments, in this portion of the chapter I explore the types of participation ethnic minority councillors endorse as likely to be most effective in achieving their goals. Consideration is given to their assessments of both conventional and unconventional political activities, as well as those factors that appeared to influence their perceptions.

Effective Forms of Participation

The most traditional forms of democratic participation (running for office, voting, joining political parties and community associations) were overwhelmingly endorsed as "effective when ethnic minorities use them in pressing for change" (see Table 13). A majority of ethnic minority councillors rated these activities as very effective. These high approval ratings are not surprising given these councillors' status as active participants in the formal political system. One would not expect those individuals who comprise the formal political system to describe its most fundamental participatory activities as illegitimate or ineffective.

A variety of other conventional, but less institutionalized participatory activities (attending city meetings, contacting elected officials, joining single issue groups, signing a petition, and initiating court actions or legislation), also received majority endorsement as being effective, although they were more likely to be described as being only somewhat effective (Table 13). Overall, there was a general tendency to consider all conventional forms of political participation to be useful when ethnic minorities use them in pressing for change.
Table 13. Effectiveness of Various Forms of Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Very Effective</th>
<th>Somewhat Effective</th>
<th>Combined Effectiveness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Traditional</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Running for elective office</td>
<td>74.7</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>98.1 (151)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voting</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>96.8 (149)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joining political parties</td>
<td>74.8</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>96.7 (150)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joining/working in community associations</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>94.8 (147)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing/calling elected officials</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>88.4 (137)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending city meetings</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>83.2 (129)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiating court actions and legislation</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>71.8 (107)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joining single issue groups</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>69.2 (101)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signing a petition</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>63.9 (99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nontraditional</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending mass demonstrations</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>91.1 (133)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joining in boycotts</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>58.2 (85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupying buildings or factories (sit-ins)</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>30.4 (44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joining in wildcat strikes</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>26.1 (37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using group or violent protest</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>20.0 (29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refusing to pay taxes or rent</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>17.8 (25)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of cases in parentheses.

Two less conventional methods of expressing political voice, attending mass demonstrations and joining in boycotts, were also considered to be effective by a
majority of ethnic minority councillors. However, only 17.8 percent of councillors endorsed boycotts as being very effective, with an additional 40.4 percent viewing them as only somewhat effective. Mass demonstrations received significantly greater support, with 41.8 percent of councillors rating this activity as very effective and 49.3 percent as somewhat effective.

Beyond these two activities, nontraditional forms of participation did not receive majority endorsement as practical by ethnic minority councillors. Nearly one-third of councillors rated sit-ins as effective and just over one-quarter considered wildcat strikes to be useful in pressing for change. Nonetheless, only a small minority of councillors viewed any of these alternative forms of participation (with the exception of mass demonstrations as being very effective. Further supporting these findings, only one-third (56) of ethnic minority councillors agreed with the statement that the only way ethnic minorities can get government's attention is to go outside of normal political channels. An equal number of councillors strongly disagreed with this notion, thus indicating a general feeling among these councillors that traditional political methods work for ethnic minorities.

Explaining Views of Nontraditional Activities

Although a majority of councillors did not rate most nontraditional forms of participation as effective, from 17 to 30 percent of councillors did endorse such activities as worthwhile. I now consider a number of factors that may account for why
some ethnic minority councillors viewed less traditional forms of political participation as being productive.

*Ethnicity.* Some differences were observed in the opinions of Asian and Afro-Caribbean councillors with respect to the effectiveness of unconventional political behavior. Generally speaking, Afro-Caribbean councillors were more likely to consider some forms of these behaviors to be effective. For example, as Table 14 shows, 43.6 percent of Afro-Caribbean councillors rated sit-ins as effective, compared to only 25.5 percent of Asian councillors. Over one-third of Afro-Caribbean councillors described violent protest as useful in pressing for change, while only 14.3 percent of Asian councillors shared this view. Afro-Caribbean councillors' support for nontraditional behaviors was only moderate, however. Such activities were generally considered to be only somewhat effective by Afro-Caribbean councillors.

*Political objectives.* As might be expected, those councillors who defined the political objectives of ethnic minorities as being the maintenance of group solidarity autonomy were generally more likely to describe unconventional forms of participation as effective than were councillors who emphasized full incorporation. For example, of those who believed ethnic minorities "should be just like native Britons," only 3.1 percent (1) rated violent protest as useful, while 18.8 percent (6) viewed sit-ins and 9.4 percent (3) refusing to pay taxes or rent as effective. Of those who disagreed with this notion (and thus supported ethnic minority autonomy and multiculturalism), 26.5 percent (27) believed violent protest to be effective, 34.3 percent (35) rated sit-ins favorably and 18.6 percent (19) considered refusing to pay
Table 14. Effectiveness Ratings by Ethnic Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Asian Councillors</th>
<th>Afro-Caribbean Councillors</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mass demonstrations</td>
<td>90.2 (101)</td>
<td>80.0 (32)</td>
<td>1.68*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joining in boycotts</td>
<td>53.3 (56)</td>
<td>70.7 (29)</td>
<td>1.93*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit-ins</td>
<td>25.5 (27)</td>
<td>43.6 (17)</td>
<td>2.12**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wildcat strikes</td>
<td>26.0 (27)</td>
<td>26.3 (10)</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent protest</td>
<td>14.3 (15)</td>
<td>35.0 (14)</td>
<td>2.85***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refusing to pay taxes/rent</td>
<td>14.3 (15)</td>
<td>26.8 (11)</td>
<td>1.79*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p ≤ .10

*p ≤ .05

*p ≤ .01

Number of cases in parentheses.

taxes or rent to be a productive tactic in pressing for change. However, the relationship between this attitude and the pattern of support for refusing to pay taxes or rent was not statistically significant at a .10 level. Similar patterns were observed with respect to the effects of other political objectives on councillors' participatory views.

Past political behaviors. Among those councillors surveyed, only a small minority had engaged in such nontraditional activities as refusing to pay taxes or rent, wildcat strikes, sit-ins, or violent protests prior to becoming councillors. Overall, ethnic minority councillors had in the past restricted their political behaviors to more traditional participatory channels. I hypothesized that councillors who had engaged in
nontraditional political activities in the past would be more likely to view such activities as effective forms of participation for ethnic minorities.

Having participated in a nontraditional manner in the past significantly increased ethnic minority councillors' likelihood of endorsing such activities as being effective (see Table 15). For example, 52.6 percent of those councillors who had taken part in political protests that turned to violence endorsed such protest activities as effective, compared to a positive assessment from only 8.4 percent of those councillors who had never been involved in protest activities. Similarly, 66.7 percent of councillors who had participated in wildcat strikes attested to their effectiveness, while only 13.8 percent of those who had never been involved in strikes rated them as effective. The strength of these councillors' support for such activities was not as strong as it might have been, however. They generally endorsed such behaviors as being only somewhat effective.

Position in political system. I also hypothesized that those councillors who had held office for longer periods of time would be more likely to rate unconventional activities as being ineffective or illegitimate, given their longer involvement with the formal political system and, presumably, a stronger commitment to the legitimacy and effectiveness of established political processes. Conversely, I further expected councillors who had been elected more recently to be more likely to consider alternative forms of participation as potentially effective, given that they have had less time to develop confidence in traditional political institutions. The data, however, did not confirm these suppositions. The length of time these individuals had been
Table 15. Effect of the Political Behavior of Ethnic Minority Councillors on their Feelings of Effectiveness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Done in the past</th>
<th>Have never done</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attended demonstrations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very effective</td>
<td>41.8 (56)</td>
<td>27.8 (5)</td>
<td>13.00*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat effective</td>
<td>49.3 (66)</td>
<td>33.3 (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined in boycotts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very effective</td>
<td>26.8 (22)</td>
<td>6.3 (4)</td>
<td>29.37*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat effective</td>
<td>51.2 (42)</td>
<td>27.0 (17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined protests that turned to violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very effective</td>
<td>26.3 (10)</td>
<td>1.9 (2)</td>
<td>34.27*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat effective</td>
<td>26.3 (10)</td>
<td>6.5 (7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined in wildcat strikes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very effective</td>
<td>21.2 (7)</td>
<td>4.6 (5)</td>
<td>36.80*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat effective</td>
<td>45.5 (15)</td>
<td>9.2 (10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied buildings or factories (sit-ins)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very effective</td>
<td>20.8 (5)</td>
<td>6.6 (8)</td>
<td>27.13*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat effective</td>
<td>54.2 (13)</td>
<td>14.9 (18)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused to pay taxes or rent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very effective</td>
<td>23.5 (4)</td>
<td>3.9 (5)</td>
<td>30.12*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat effective</td>
<td>41.2 (7)</td>
<td>7.1 (9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p \leq .001$

Number of cases in parentheses.

Participants in the formal political system did not appear to have affected their views regarding the effectiveness of nontraditional forms of participation. Those councillors elected most recently (1990) were no more likely to rate positively nontraditional political activities than were councillors who had been elected in 1978.

Ethnic minority councillors who had risen to positions of authority on their councils might also be more likely to reject nontraditional forms of participation than
councillors who had been less successful in achieving council office. This might be the case because the latter individuals might feel dissatisfied with their ability to achieve anything in elective office and therefore might see other forms of political participation as being effective for ethnic minorities. This supposition also was not supported by the data. In general, councillors who had not held council office were no more likely to rate as productive alternative forms of participation than were those who had achieved some higher status on their councils.

*Feelings of influence.* Ethnic minority councillors’ opinions as to the effectiveness of alternative forms of political voice might also be influenced by their own feelings of influence in office. For example, those councillors who professed to have no, or little, ability to introduce measures onto their councils’ agendas might be more likely to view alternative political activities as more effective than participation in formal local political processes. In addition, councillors who believed that ordinary ethnic minority citizens had only limited, or no, ability to affect decision-making on local councils or Parliament might also be more supportive of nontraditional political activities, reflecting their lack of confidence in traditional forms of participation.

The evidence with respect to the effects of councillors’ perceived ability to influence their councils’ agendas did not reveal such relationships. Those ethnic minority councillors who believed that they could not affect their councils’ agendas were generally no more likely to view as useful alternative forms of political participation than were councillors who professed to be able to independently, or in cooperation with others, engage in agenda-setting.
Interestingly, ethnic minority councillors who believed that there was nothing ordinary ethnic minority citizens could do to affect local decision-making were also no more likely to rate as effective nontraditional expressions of political voice. Nor did these councillors demonstrate significantly lower levels of confidence in traditional forms of political expression. Similar patterns were observed with respect to those councillors who believed that ethnic minorities had little or no influence on Parliamentary decision-making.

*Views of the political system.* Lastly, these councillors’ opinions as to the legitimacy and effectiveness of the political system overall are likely to have had some effect on their views of political participation. One would expect that those councillors who believed that the political system was not responsive to ethnic minorities, that ethnic minorities had only limited capacity to affect the system, or that the political system responded to whites and ethnic minorities differentially might tend to be more supportive of ethnic minorities turning to alternative forms of participation to attract political system attention. The survey evidence in this regard revealed no clear pattern of explanation.

Those councillors who expressed little confidence in local government or Parliament in terms of these institutions’ responsiveness to ethnic minority concerns and problems were more likely to view nontraditional political activities as effective. However, even among those councillors who expressed no confidence in these institutions, there was not majority support for nontraditional political activities.
One would expect councillors who believed that elected ethnic minorities "can't change things for ethnic minorities" to be more supportive of a turn to alternative forms of political voice. The data indicated, however, that those who agreed with this statement were no more likely to rate nontraditional activities as effective than those who disagreed. In addition, those who believed that ethnic minorities must go outside normal political channels to receive government attention were only slightly more likely to rate nontraditional forms of participation as effective.

In short, ethnic minority councillors' feelings about the political system in general did not appear to strongly influence their views about political participation. While some differences were observed in the views of those who were positive about system responsiveness and those who were not, these differences were not large and did not appear across the board with respect to a variety of statements assessing their views of the political system.

Thus, the bivariate analysis indicated that having participated in a nontraditional manner in the past significantly increased the likelihood of councillors rating such activities as effective. In addition, councillors who endorsed political objectives that involved a greater degree of ethnic minority solidarity and autonomy were also more likely to rate unconventional political behaviors as effective. Finally, Afro-Caribbean councillors were somewhat more likely to view such activities as effective when ethnic minorities used them in pressing for change.
Regression equations were constructed examining the effects of a number of the variables discussed in the bivariate analysis on views of nontraditional participation. (The exception to this was mass demonstrations, where there was little variation to be explained.) I evaluated the effects of ethnicity, attitudes about assimilation, agenda-setting ability, confidence in the responsiveness of Parliament and local councils to ethnic minorities, and past participation. In general, the explanatory power of these variables, when taken together, was moderate—the adjusted $R^2$ ranged from .17 to .26 (see Table 16). Recalculating the regression equations using only those variables that were statistically significant (ethnicity and past behavior) did not alter the adjusted $R^2$ appreciably in any of the calculations.

Table 16. Regression Analysis of Participatory Views

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statistically Significant Variables</th>
<th>Nontraditional Forms of Participation</th>
<th>Refusing to pay taxes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Statistically Refining Significant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Violent Protest</td>
<td>Strikes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past participation</td>
<td>.75**</td>
<td>.93**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>-.27*</td>
<td>-.30*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted $R^2$</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of cases</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^* p \leq .10$, two-tailed test.  
$^{**} p \leq .001$, two-tailed test.

Closer analysis of the regression calculations revealed that when the effects of these six variables were considered relative to each other, only past behavior was
statistically significant in its effects on attitudes concerning all of the nontraditional behaviors considered. Ethnicity was found to be statistically significant in the calculations concerning boycotts, sit-ins and violent protest (see Table 16). In general, the effect of past participation in nontraditional political activities was two to three times that of ethnicity. Thus, as was discussed in the bivariate analysis, councillors who had participated in a particular activity in the past were more likely to rate such activities as effective.

Forms of Ethnic Minority Political Organization

In this portion of the chapter, I discuss the extent to which ethnic minority councillors believed that there was a need to seek alternatives to the "established politics" of the Labour and Conservative parties. Such alternatives might take the form of the creation of a separate ethnic minority party or parties, or of their own sections of the major parties (as in the Black Sections movement within the Labour Party), or of a nonpartisan pressure group. Again, as electorally successful members of the established mainstream parties, these councillors are unlikely to wholeheartedly endorse non-establishment politics. I explore, however, whether they view the major political parties as the most effective channels for making progress toward ethnic minority political goals.

A number of students of British racial politics have noted that some ethnic minority groups have concluded that the established parties provide no way forward for minorities. Jacobs, for example, notes:
The demand for an independent black political party which would stand against Labour and which would seek to aggressively defend black interests has had some appeal to those who regard the political system as racist and who see the established political parties in the same light (1988, p. 174).

Jacobs argues that those ethnic minorities who support the notion of an independent ethnic minority political party go far beyond the notion of ethnic minority sections within the existing parties because they see ethnic minorities "as having their own interests, which are quite distinct from those of whites." He further claims that the independent party idea is connected "with the idea of black nationalism, which seeks to promote black demands as part of a defense of black culture and nationhood" (1988, p. 174). Given the political objectives that were discussed in the previous chapter, it would seem unlikely that ethnic minorities might support the notion of an independent party on the grounds that Jacobs describes.

In contradiction to Jacobs' observations as to ethnic minorities' desire to break away from mainstream political institutions, other scholars argue that ethnic minorities generally feel a need to be involved in these institutions to have direct access to political power. For example, Fitzgerald (1988) argues that what the Evidence suggests is not a general spurning of British politics (by ethnic minorities), but rather an aspiration to greater involvement. Moreover, there is little sign of support...for increasing black involvement on a racially separate basis (p. 259).

With reference to an ethnic minority pressure group, Studlar (1986) also notes that while "there is always the possibility that a broad, effective umbrella group of nonwhites may be formed with a leadership that can command mass support,...it is highly unlikely" (p. 176). Hence, scholars differ as to the degree to which ethnic
minorities are interested in, or see a need for, breaking away from established political institutions, especially the political parties.

Evidence at the mass level does not suggest an intention to reject mainstream politics on the part of ethnic minorities. As Layton-Henry and Studlar argue,

The turnout and voting behavior of new and distinctive groups within the electorate are seen as means of assessing their involvement in mainstream politics (1985, 307).

Data from the 1987 general election indicated that the Labour Party remained the overwhelmingly popular choice among ethnic minority voters, with 72 percent of those polled indicating an intention to vote Labour, 18 percent Conservative and 10 percent Alliance. Actual voting patterns at the 1987 general election indicated that 61 percent of Asians and 92 percent of Afro-Caribbeans voted for Labour, compared with 31 percent of whites (Anwar 1990b, 43). The ethnic minority population remained a bulwark of Labour Party support (Layton-Henry 1990, 59).

One interpretation of such support patterns is that ethnic minority voters were given no alternatives to the mainstream parties. However, in the 1990 local elections the Islamic Party of Great Britain contested a number of local council seats throughout the country. The Islamic Party won none of the seats contested at that election, even in areas with large ethnic minority populations.\(^5\) Such results thus indicate that there is little interest among ethnic minorities at the mass level in turning away from the mainstream parties.

In this portion of the chapter, I consider the degree to which ethnic minority councillors support the creation of distinct forms of political organization for ethnic
minorities. Consideration is also given to a number of explanatory variables that may account for the organizational preferences observed.

Organizational Preferences

Ethnic minority councillors demonstrated widespread support for their communities working through the established party structure. Over 90 percent of councillors surveyed believed that this was very or fairly important. Widespread support was also demonstrated among councillors in the interviews:

I think that to be a full member of the system in the future you should be among them (whites)...I think that ethnic minorities would be better off getting involved in the party...then they can be effective...What we should be doing is supporting how the (party) system works, making sure enough blacks are joining the party (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Working through the (party) system is the way to achieve things for ethnic minorities. It is knowing the system, knowing how to use it, and knowing the limits of the system...We can succeed within the party system, in spite of the imponderables, in spite of the blockages and so on which are put in our way (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

In keeping with these findings, only 13.1 percent (17) of survey respondents supported the formation of an independent all-ethnic minority party and less than 10 percent asserted the importance of forming either independent all-Asian or Afro-Caribbean parties. This lack of support was also echoed among those councillors interviewed. Opposition to separate ethnic minority parties was often expressed not in terms of loyalty to existing partisan structures, but of a belief that the political system was structured in such a way as to make new alternative parties impotent. The following views are representative of this perspective:
At the moment there is no way we could hope of ever having any sort of strength to build our own political party. It would never get off the ground. We have to fight within the Labour Party to acquire power and responsiveness (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

As for a political party representing a particular community, I don’t think they’d have a hope in hell of winning anything. Simply because people get elected to office in a party set-up... and one sole voice, even if they get into the council or Parliament, will have no prestige or influence or rights, other than occasionally standing up and speaking. Whereas a member of a party group has at least access to the leaders and has a potential for obtaining office within the party and I think that is the way forward (Asian Conservative councillor).

Majority support was expressed, however, for the creation of ethnic minority sections in the established political parties among those councillors surveyed. Of those councillors interviewed who had an opinion on the formation of a Black Section in the Labour Party, there was also general support for such sections (59 percent). The majority of interviewees who supported Black Sections were Afro-Caribbean. Support for the Section was primarily based on a perceived need for the increased representation and articulation of ethnic minority interests, while at the same time continuing to work within established political structures:

I’m in the Black Section and we’ve always argued that you need to organize within the party and that’s the main benefit we see in having that organizational strength.... We believe we’ve had a major impact as a black organization within a mainstream party and the only black organization in a national party (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

I think the whole idea of Black Sections is to actually get the party to take on board some of the fundamental issues that affect the black community... part of the whole notion of Black Sections was in fact to get the party to take us seriously (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

We don’t want to be apart from the Labour Party movement, we want it to be within the structure, but be recognized that our concerns are
legitimate and we want them to be addressed (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Nearly all of those councillors interviewed who opposed the creation of separate ethnic minority sections felt that such sections represented separatism or exclusionism. Others went on to describe such sections on grounds similar to those used to reject policies of positive discrimination. Thus, they were rejected on the grounds that they involved a form of "special treatment" that would ultimately produce white resentment.

I myself am opposing it...because I feel that if we make a separate organization or grouping, then whatever we want to achieve, we won't be able to achieve without the help of the section.... We must cooperate with majority, not separate sections.... We can succeed not by confrontation, but cooperation (Asian Labour councillor).

The fighting for the Black Section movement has created animosity between Asians and blacks, and that I don't want to see because that weakens.... I opposed Black Sections early on. I said to the Labour movement, if we have to have a separate organization of blacks inside the Labour Party what we have is Labour Party apartheid (Asian Labour councillor).

I am personally dead against it still. I don't want them to provide us with special consideration.... If we are speaking on behalf of the (ethnic minority) community, they should activate, they should be represented on first a local basis, and then we ask for these things. If people don't want to come, then we should have individual ability so that everybody recognizes this person is okay, he should be there (Asian Labour councillor).

Those councillors interviewed were also asked about the utility of ethnic minorities forming a non-partisan pressure group to represent ethnic minority interests. Overall, there was little endorsement of such a strategy. Those opposing such a group were most likely to do so out of party loyalty, feelings that such groups
could not be effective, or that they were too often or too easily used for others' purposes. Such groups were often further described as isolationist and counterproductive.

Interviewed councillors who supported such a pressure group generally viewed it as the only way in which to get a nonresponsive party and political system to respond to ethnic minority demands. For example,

I support a black pressure group. I am convinced that we need a group to put pressure on the parties.... If we have a pressure group, then certainly we can campaign, we can lobby, not one political party, but every person, every system, every institution. This group should be nonpartisan...then we would be raising the issues rather than playing politics (Asian Labour councillor).

Thus, among ethnic minority councillors, the existing party system was by and large the political organization of choice. Support for existing partisan structures was widely demonstrated in both the survey data and among those councillors interviewed. Reinforcing this evidence was the widespread lack of interest in alternative partisan organizations or pressure groups among all councillors. The only new form of political organization that received endorsement from these councillors was the creation of ethnic minority sections within the existing parties (particularly the Labour Party), although Asian councillors were generally opposed to such sections. These support patterns are indicative of ethnic minority councillors' integration into existing political institutions. These councillors did not demonstrate a desire to "opt out" of prevailing political structures or to break away from the mainstream and organize on racially or ethnically distinct lines.
Explaining Organizational Preferences

Despite their general support for existing political organizations, a minority of councillors did stress the importance of creating distinctive ethnic minority political groupings. What distinguished these councillors from the majority? In this section I discuss a number of variables that may account for these differences.

*Ethnicity.* The data indicated that ethnicity influenced ethnic minority councillors’ views on organizational preferences. Over twice as many Afro-Caribbean councillors (25.0 percent, N=8) supported the idea of an independent all-ethnic minority party (compared to 9.2 percent of Asian councillors, N=9). Similarly, nearly 16 percent (5) of Afro-Caribbean councillors described a separate party as very important, compared to only 3 percent (3) of Asian councillors. Afro-Caribbean councillors were also more strongly in favor of creating independent ethnic minority sections within the parties, with 62.2 percent (23) seeing this as very important, while only 22.7 percent (22) of Asians took this position. However, this latter relationship was not statistically significant at a .10 level. Afro-Caribbean councillors were also twice as likely to support the formation of their own political party than were Asian councillors, although only 15 percent (6) of Afro-Caribbean councillors supported this idea. Similar patterns of support were observed among those councillors interviewed.

*Political objectives.* As was hypothesized earlier, councillors defining political objectives for ethnic minorities that implied a desire to maintain separate ethnic minority enclaves (either in social, political or economic terms) were more likely to be supportive of distinct forms of ethnic minority political organization. For example,
45.2 percent (14) of those who believed that ethnic minorities "should be just like native Britons" supported separate ethnic minority sections, compared to two-thirds (64) of those who disagreed with this sentiment. Councillors who supported statements implying ethnic minority group solidarity were also twice as likely to see the creation of an ethnic minority party as important.

**Associational histories.** One would expect councillors who had stronger ties to ethnic minority organizations or political groupings to view distinct ethnic minority political organizations as important for achieving progress. The survey evidence supported such a proposition. Stronger patterns of support for distinct ethnic minority political organizations were observed among councillors who were members of Labour Party Black Sections or ethnic minority community organizations. For example, 67.9 percent (72) of those councillors who belonged to ethnic minority organizations supported the formation of ethnic minority sections in the established parties, compared to only 35.7 percent (10) of those who did not belong to such groups. Not surprisingly, all Labour Party Black Sections members viewed ethnic minority sections as important, while 52.4 (54) percent of non-members saw such sections as important. Ethnic minority organization members were not more likely to support an independent ethnic minority party, however. On the issue of a separate all-ethnic minority party, 27.3 percent (6) of Black Sections members viewed this as important (18.2 percent as very important), while only 10.6 percent (11) of non-members held this view.
Partisan Backgrounds. One would further expect councillors who had more established partisan histories and who had held positions of authority in partisan bodies to be less likely to support distinct political organizations. The data showed that those who were party members for longer periods of time were less likely to advocate alternative forms of political organization for ethnic minorities. Those councillors who had held party office were also less supportive of separate ethnic minority political organizations. Party officers demonstrated lower levels of support for all such bodies.

Feelings of influence. Ethnic minority councillors' perceived ability to influence their councils' agendas did not affect their views of political organizations. Their feelings as to the ability of ethnic minority citizens to affect local councils and Parliament also had no influence on their organizational preferences.

Views of the political system. Generally speaking, those councillors who held more negative views of the British political system and its openness to ethnic minorities' participation were more supportive of the creation of alternative forms of political organization for ethnic minorities. In particular, councillors who believed that the political system treated whites and ethnic minorities differentially and that this system was subject to only limited influence from ethnic minorities were more likely to view distinct ethnic minority political organizations as important. There was not, however, majority support for such organizations among those having such negative feelings.
Regression equations involving six of the explanatory variables appearing influential in the bivariate analysis were constructed to further explore their effect on ethnic minority councillors' support for separate political organizations (see Table 17). These variables' explanatory power relative to support for a separate ethnic minority party was moderate, with an adjusted $R^2$ of .20. In accounting for the variation observed in support patterns for ethnic minority sections, these variables were slightly more useful, producing an adjusted $R^2$ of .27. Exclusion of those variables that were not statistically significant from the regression calculations did not appreciably affect the size of the adjusted $R^2$s.

Ethnic minority councillors' partisan activities were demonstrated to have the greatest effect on attitudes concerning a separate ethnic minority party. Length of party membership, having held party office, and Black Sections membership exhibited the strongest influence. These findings confirmed patterns observed in the bivariate analysis. That is, the regression equation indicated that long-time party members and councillors who had held party office were less supportive of a separate ethnic minority party. The observed influence of ethnicity on support for a separate party in the bivariate analysis was supported in the regression analysis, although it was much weaker in its relative effect than the other three variables. The effects of ethnic minority organization membership and councillors' attitudes about assimilation observed in the bivariate analysis were not apparent when these factors were considered relative to the other four variables.

The regression equation involving support for separate ethnic minority sections
Table 17. Regression Analysis of Forms of Political Organization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>All Ethnic Minority Party</th>
<th>Ethnic Minority Sections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$b$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic group</td>
<td>-.31*</td>
<td>-.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black section member</td>
<td>0.54***</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minority organizations member</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of party membership</td>
<td>-.18***</td>
<td>-.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Held party office</td>
<td>-.57***</td>
<td>-.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R^2$</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted $R^2$</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of cases</td>
<td>117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p \leq .10$, two-tailed test.
** $p \leq .05$, two-tailed test.
*** $p \leq .01$, two-tailed test.
**** $p \leq .001$, two-tailed test.

*Goal: Ethnic minorities should make every effort to become "just like" native Britons.

in the established political parties indicated that councillors' ties to ethnic minority organizations and political groupings were of the greatest relative importance in terms of their effect on these attitudes (Table 17). Current membership in ethnic minority sections obviously had the strongest effect on such support patterns, and ethnic minority organization members were also more likely to view such sections as important. Having held party office again had a negative effect on councillors' attitudes—councillors who had held party office were less supportive of separate
sections. However, the effects of this variable were weaker than that of the previous two. These observations confirm the bivariate analysis. The influences of assimilationist attitudes and ethnicity noted in the bivariate analysis were not supported when their effects were considered relative to the other variables included in the analysis.

Thus, the bivariate analyses indicated that ethnic minority councillors who were stronger advocates of ethnic minority autonomy were more likely to favor new forms of political organization. This was also the case for councillors with past associations with ethnic minority organizations and political groupings. Afro-Caribbean councillors were also more likely to see such organizations as important for achieving ethnic minority progress. The effects of past partisan activities on such views were mixed. Finally, councillors who held negative views of the existing political system and its institutions tended to see such alternative organizations as important.

Conclusions

In keeping with their status as active participants in Britain's formal political processes, ethnic minority councillors demonstrated considerable confidence in the effectiveness of conventional participatory activities when ethnic minorities used them in pressing for change. A variety of other nonviolent, nondisruptive participatory activities also received majority ratings as effective among these councillors, although they were viewed as being less effective than more traditional institutional forms of
participation. Only a minority of councillors endorsed as effective expressions of political voice that involved disruptive or violent tactics or dramatic "non-institutional" participation.

As was hypothesized at the outset of the chapter, unconventional political activities were most commonly viewed as productive by those councillors who had engaged in such activities in the past, as well as those who defined political objectives that involved the maintenance of ethnic minority group solidarity and autonomy. Afro-Caribbean councillors were more likely to consider nontraditional activities to be effective than were Asian councillors, although their support for such behaviors was only moderate. A regression calculation confirmed the influence of these factors on views of nontraditional activities. Surprisingly, those councillors who were pessimistic about the responsiveness of the political system to ethnic minorities did not see nontraditional political activities as being more effective vehicles for producing change than those councillors who held more positive views of the political system.

Ethnic minority councillors also exhibited a strong belief in the need to work through established political structures to achieve ethnic minority goals. Such support was demonstrated among both surveyed and interviewed councillors. Little support was demonstrated for the formation of independent ethnic minority parties, whether they were organized along individual group lines or embraced all ethnic minority groups. The only new form of organization that received majority endorsement from these councillors was the creation of ethnic minority sections within the established parties. Support for such sections may still be interpreted as an expression of an
interest in working through established political structures, given that such sections would operate within existing parties.

As was also hypothesized earlier, those councillors who supported the creation of distinctive ethnic minority political organizations were more likely to have indicated a desire to maintain separate ethnic minority enclaves in British society and to have endorsed ethnic minority group solidarity. In addition, councillors who had stronger histories of association with ethnic minority organizations or political groupings were more likely to view separate ethnic minority political organizations as important for achieving ethnic minority progress. Afro-Caribbean councillors were also more supportive of alternative organizational forms. The findings with respect to the effects of councillors' partisan backgrounds were mixed. Curiously, councillors who had been party members longest were more supportive of creating a new political party. However, those who had held party office were more likely to view the established party system as effective and to reject alternative groupings. Finally, councillors whose perceptions of the British political system and its openness to ethnic minorities were negative were generally more supportive of distinct ethnic minority political organizations.

When these factors were considered relative to each other in a regression analysis, Black Sections membership, length of party membership and having held party office were most important in their effects on support for a separate party. While Black Sections and ethnic minority organization membership and holding party
office were found to be statistically significant in their relationship to support for separate ethnic minority sections.

The findings considered in this chapter thus strongly suggest the political integration of ethnic minority councillors. There was widespread affirmation of the effectiveness of those political behaviors that are widely considered to be key indicators of political integration and support for democratic politics. In addition, ethnic minority councillors were very reluctant to rate as effective forms of participation that are not commonly acknowledged as being legitimate in a democracy. In particular, they did not rate such activities as the only effective forms of political action for ethnic minorities. The views of these councillors fully supported the argument that any wholesale withdrawal from conventional political activities on the part of ethnic minorities in Britain is unlikely.

Ethnic minority councillors' opinions with respect to separate forms of political organization also implied their integration into existing political institutions. The large majority of councillors did not express views that demonstrated a belief in the need to seek alternatives to the "established politics" of the Labour and Conservative parties. As Fitzgerald (1988) has argued, the evidence discussed here does not suggest a spurning of British politics, but "rather an aspiration to greater involvement" (p. 259). Support for existing forms of political organization was largely based on recognition that any alternative political groupings would be impotent in the British political system as currently configured.
The attitudes of ethnic minority councillors about political participation and organization thus suggest a pattern of political incorporation that involves full integration within British political institutions. The large majority of councillors rejected as ineffective alternative forms of political voice for ethnic minorities and demonstrated a strong preference for traditional forms of participation. The latter political activities were widely endorsed as effective when ethnic minorities use them in pressing for change. In addition, councillors failed to support forms of political organization that involved the separation of ethnic minorities from mainstream political institutions, choosing instead to become involved in institutions that could provide direct access to political power. In short, the evidence discussed in this chapter does not suggest an intention to reject mainstream politics by ethnic minorities, but rather an aspiration to increased participation and incorporation.
Notes

1. Traditional or conventional forms of participation include the following: running for elective office; joining political parties, community associations, single issue groups; contacting elected officials; attending city meetings; signing a petition; and initiating court actions or legislation.

2. Such alternative forms of participation include attending mass demonstrations, boycotts, sit-ins or wildcat strikes; using group or violent protest; or refusing to pay taxes or rent.

3. Such groupings include a separate all-ethnic minority party, distinct Asian or Afro-Caribbean parties, ethnic minority sections in the established parties, or a non-partisan ethnic minority pressure group.

4. See Benyon and Solomos 1988, 416-418.

5. For example, in Bolton, an area with a large Asian population, even in the ward where the Islamic Party performed best their candidate needed seven times as many votes to beat Labour's winning vote. In other wards, the Islamic Party candidates needed nine times, 13 times, and 18 times as many votes (LeLohe 1990, 109-10).
Chapter VII

Ethnic Minority Councillors and Local Councils

The previous three chapters have focused on a number of broad indicators that potentially had important implications for ethnic minority councillors' political integration. In this chapter, I focus on a more specific indicator of ethnic minority councillors' political integration by considering their incorporation "into the political system not as nominal but as effective members who participate actively in the decision-making process" (Anwar 1980, 56). The degree to which ethnic minority councillors believe they have been effective in office will be of significance for the future incorporation of ethnic minorities in policy formulation and decision-making and, more generally, mass level integration. I consider the extent to which these new participants in Britain's local political institutions perceive themselves to be active, effective participants in local decision-making processes.

In this chapter, I therefore determine how and to what extent ethnic minority councillors believe they have incorporated themselves as effective participants in the local political game. To do so, I analyze several potential indicators of ethnic minority councillors' political integration that might also affect their perceptions of effectiveness. I first consider their perceptions of their relations with other councillors, both ethnic minority and white; and their feelings about the attitudes of
their white peers toward them. I then examine the degree to which ethnic minority councillors act together to further an ethnic minority political agenda. Consideration is also given to ethnic minority councillors' success in gaining selection to positions of authority on local councils. I then discuss these councillors' impressions of the necessity of using special tactics to achieve some degree of effectiveness and their perceived ability to influence their councils' policy agendas. Finally, I analyze the extent to which ethnic minority councillors viewed their participation and representation as having been effective with reference to their pursuit of ethnic minority concerns and general local issues. Such considerations will allow for comment on ethnic minority councillors' political integration in that:

Ethnic minority councillors whose primary working relationships are with other ethnic minority councillors will be less integrated into local decision-making processes. Those councillors who profess to work equally well with white and ethnic minority councillors will be more integrated into local political structures.

If ethnic minority councillors indicate that they work only with other ethnic minority councillors and organize themselves on an ethnically-separate basis, this will indicate their segregation rather than integration on local councils.

If ethnic minority councillors believe that they are unable to affect their councils' policy agendas, or that they must use special tactics to do so, this will be a further indicator of their lack of integration into local political institutions.

To explain the perceptions of ethnic minority councillors in this regard, I consider a number of explanatory factors that might have influenced these attitudes. Among these are ethnic minority councillors' length of tenure in office, the partisan control of their councils, their status on their councils, their previous political
activities, their ethnic identity and their socioeconomic, particularly class, status. For example, the following relationships may be observed in this regard:

Ethnic minority councillors elected most recently will be more likely to seek alliances with, and to have better working relationships with, other ethnic minority councillors as a result of their (presumed) shared personal characteristics and experiences as ethnic minorities.

Insofar as Afro-Caribbean councillors were more likely to describe themselves as primarily ethnic minority representatives, and thus demonstrated stronger ties to the ethnic minority communities, they will be more likely to ally themselves most closely with their ethnic minority peers.

Ethnic minority councillors’ council relationships will be affected by their standing on their councils. That is, councillors elected earlier will have stronger relationships with their white colleagues and council leaderships than councillors who have just been elected.

Councillors who had served longer, who had more extensive partisan histories, or who were more active in community organizations will have risen to positions of authority on local councils.

It is important to note the distinction between officeholders’ actual and perceived effectiveness and incorporation. The nature of my data restricts my discussion to the realm of perception. All of the findings discussed here involve these councillors’ own perceptions of their effectiveness and integration, rather than more objective indicators (such as policy outputs) of such factors.

In the first portion of the chapter I consider ethnic minority councillors’ perceptions of their relationships with their council colleagues.
Ethnic Minority Councillors and Their Peers

The nature of the relationships ethnic minority councillors have with their council colleagues, both ethnic minority and white, will have important implications for their potential for integration into local political processes. If ethnic minority councillors primarily associate with other ethnic minorities on their councils, this would be an indication that their integration into local councils is not complete. If, on the other hand, ethnic minority councillors have similar relationships with both their white and ethnic minority colleagues, or perhaps even stronger relationships with white colleagues, then this would indicate that they have been incorporated into local political structures.

In this section I therefore consider councillors' perceptions of their general working relationships, their strongest council alliances and the specific nature of their relationships with both ethnic minority and white councillors.

General Council Relationships

As was discussed in an earlier chapter, ethnic minority councillors did not see themselves solely as representatives of the ethnic minority communities. There was a clear sense among these councillors that they were elected to serve at least all of the people in their wards, if not the entire borough. As was also discussed earlier, this concern with the needs of all those who elected them was further reflected in the issue orientations of ethnic minority councillors. The majority of these councillors focused
their attention on general council work and partisan issues, rather than areas of concern only to ethnic minorities.

One would expect the relationships ethnic minority councillors have with their fellow councillors to be a reflection of these representational role orientations. If ethnic minority councillors had viewed themselves as representing the interests of ethnic minorities alone, then one would expect them to pursue strategies on their councils that involved alliances only with other ethnic minority councillors and to be actively involved only with ethnic minority issues. However, since the majority of councillors viewed themselves as representing their entire geographic constituency, or their political party, one would expect them to distance themselves from the perception that they represent only ethnic minority groups' issues and to pursue alliances beyond their ethnic minority peers on the council to establish their legitimacy with their white constituents and peers.

In keeping with these expectations, the majority of ethnic minority councillors (71 percent, N=113) surveyed reported that their working relationships on their councils were the same with all of their colleagues, white or ethnic minority. One might expect newcomers to local councils to characterize themselves as having better relationships with other ethnic minority councillors, given that as members of ethnic minority groups they share similar personal characteristics and experiences. However, length of council service appeared to have no effect on the nature of ethnic minority councillors' relationships with their white or ethnic minority peers.
Some evidence does exist, however, to support the notion that those councillors who viewed themselves as ethnic minority representatives would be more likely to work most closely with other ethnic minority councillors. Overall, only 27 percent (43) of ethnic minority councillors stated that their relationships were better with other ethnic minority councillors than with their white peers. However, over half of those councillors (52.2 percent, N=12) who had identified themselves primarily as representatives of their ethnic minority constituents claimed to have better relationships with other ethnic minority councillors.

Afro-Caribbean councillors were more likely to say their working relationships were better with other ethnic minorities (38.6 percent, N=17 of Afro-Caribbean councillors as compared to 23 percent, N=26 of Asian councillors). These group differences are consistent with the previous findings that Afro-Caribbean councillors were three times as likely to see their main responsibility as representing the interests of ethnic minorities than were Asians. Thus, it is not surprising that they sought to ally themselves with their ethnic minority peers to a greater extent than their Asian counterparts.

Strongest Council Relationships

A further important aspect of ethnic minority councillors' council relationships is whom they work most closely with on their councils. Again, were councillors to indicate that their strongest working relationships were with other ethnic minority councillors, this could be interpreted as an indicator of their segregation rather than
integration on local councils. If, on the contrary, ethnic minority councillors professed to have their strongest working relationships with individuals other than ethnic minorities, this would imply their integration into these political institutions.

The survey data relating to the strength of councillors’ working relationships provided additional support for the influence of councillors’ perceived representational roles. Over 50 percent (82) of ethnic minority councillors identified their strongest working relationship as being with the members of their party group. The majority of these councillors had also identified as their primary constituency some form of party organization (their national or local party or their party group) or their borough as a whole. Hence, those councillors who saw themselves as more general representatives of their constituencies tended to form relationships on their councils that extended beyond their ethnic minority peers.

This strong association with the party group was especially true for Asian councillors, 57.5 percent (65) of whom said that they worked most closely with their party group (compared to 42.5 percent, N=17 of Afro-Caribbean councillors). These findings are consistent with Asian councillors’ stronger feelings of responsibility to their party than Afro-Caribbeans, the latter of whom tended to identify their borough as a whole as their primary constituency.

Length of service and holding council office also appeared to influence ethnic minority councillors’ working relationships. Those ethnic minorities elected before 1986 were more likely to identify their strongest council relationships as being with whites and senior party leaders compared to those who had been elected more
recently (1986-1990). Additionally, of those who had held some type of office (for example, committee chair) on their councils, twice as many identified their strongest relationships as being with senior party leaders. As was hypothesized, these findings suggest that ethnic minority councillors' working relationships with their peers were also to some degree affected by their standing on their councils, with those who had served longer and who had achieved office being more fully integrated with their white colleagues or their party leaders.

Relations Among Ethnic Minority Councillors

Another indicator of ethnic minority councillors' integration into their local councils is the degree to which they pursue their activities on an ethnically-separate basis. That is, if ethnic minority councillors associate only with their ethnic minority colleagues and pursue issues on an ethnically-separate basis, this would not bode well for their political integration.

The survey findings suggested that ethnic minority councillors do not for the most part seek to work together. Only a small minority of councillors indicated that their strongest working relationships were with other ethnic minority councillors or that their relationships with ethnic minorities were better than those with whites. In support of this data, and perhaps in explanation of it, nearly all those councillors interviewed asserted that the ethnic minority councillors on their council were divided and that it was very difficult for ethnic minorities to work together as a group. These comments referred to relations between Asians and Afro-Caribbeans as well as within
each grouping. Such divisions were attributed to a variety of causes: personal political ambitions, political differences (particularly between those committed to pursuing ethnic minority issues and those who were unwilling to make such commitments, or between ideological purists and compromisers), ethnic and cultural divisions, party loyalties, and individual animosities.

Individuals' personal ambitions were most frequently mentioned as an obstacle to ethnic minority councillors' political unity. The following comments are indicative of these general perceptions:

You have people who are ambitious and want to move on, so they will work on a more personal level. You have those who want to do what is best for the party and so they will compromise. And then you have those who feel that right or wrong, we have to push the black interests regardless of whether the other comrades agree (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

One of the main reasons is ambition. If you are a councillor who is in line for a chair, if you are an influential councillor, you are not going to take up these (ethnic minority) issues because you might lose that position (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Asian councillors do not work as a group...most of the troubles are from poverty of power.... If they throw one piece amongst the Asians, then they fight.... There are people who are hungry for power and they would do anything to succeed. They are practical men and they do not have fixed principles. They are personally ambitious and they would do anything to get power and that is where the Asians lose (Asian Labour councillor).

Ethnic minority councillors' inability to caucus or coalesce was noted by councillors serving both on councils where their party was in power and in opposition. Thus, being in power and, presumably, having greater potential to influence policy,
apparently did not increase ethnic minority councillors' likelihood of working together.

On those councils where attempts to organize some sort of informal ethnic minority caucus had been made, councillors noted that it was not possible to get all ethnic minority councillors to participate and that among those who did take part reaching a consensus was difficult. Such efforts to caucus occurred primarily on Labour controlled councils, particularly those with larger numbers of ethnic minority councillors. In addition, Afro-Caribbean councillors were more likely to have been involved in attempts to organize some form of working group of ethnic minorities on their councils.

Both Asian and Afro-Caribbean councillors went on to note that this inability to coalesce inhibited ethnic minorities' effectiveness on ethnic minority issues, stating that there would be "strength in unity." For example,

I find it so heartbreaking because we could be doing so much if we would just unite. At the moment we are dividing and ruling and we are spending a lot of time arguing amongst ourselves and not actually getting down to...how we can help our communities (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Generally speaking, there was agreement that if ethnic minority councillors were to work together it would be a positive development, but such caucusing appears to be unlikely in the future.

Such evidence obviously has important implications about the salience of ethnic minority issues for these councillors. The fact that these councillors did not feel compelled to work together to further an ethnic minority agenda, particularly when
they acknowledged that some form of caucusing was likely to be successful, implies that the pursuit of ethnic minority issues was not their first priority. These findings are consistent with earlier evidence that the pursuit of ethnic minority issues was not the primary concern of the majority of ethnic minority councillors. Additionally, the findings with respect to representational role orientations would lead one to suspect that partisan pressures might also override any impulse to caucus among ethnic minority councillors.

Relations with White Councillors

The nature of ethnic minority councillors' interactions with their white peers will provide some indication of the degree to which local councils have been open to the incorporation of ethnic minority councillors. If ethnic minority councillors are forced to associate only with other ethnic minority councillors because of hostility or discrimination on the part of their white peers, this could be seen as a significant obstacle to their incorporation into local political processes.

According to the survey data, relations between ethnic minority and white councillors were not an important source of conflict on local councils, suggesting that ethnic minority councillors believed that their interactions with white councillors were generally positive. Some councillors noted that difficulties with white councillors could occasionally arise as a result of differing perspectives and whites' inability to see the ethnic minorities' point of view. For example,

There are times when there are misunderstandings. Our perspectives are sometimes different than those of our colleagues...They can't see
through my eyes, they will see from their own eyes, so they are bound to be different from us. But broadly we get along (Asian Labour councillor).

Despite these differences, most councillors did not believe these differences were usually of such a degree as to impair harmonious working relations between white and ethnic minority councillors.

Among those councillors interviewed, Asian councillors were more likely to describe their relationships with their white colleagues in a positive way, particularly with respect to whites' openness to ethnic minority concerns. For example, as one Asian councillor put it,

We have a lot of white (Labour) members who normally support ethnic issues. There is an effort to accommodate our positions. The white members also take responsibility for ethnic issues. They need our support for other issues, they have to support us when we need them. So we really work together (Asian Labour councillor).

Such comments were especially common among Asian Labour councillors serving on Conservative-controlled councils. This situation might suggest that cooperation and conciliation on ethnic minority issues may perhaps be especially forthcoming from ethnic minority councillors' white colleagues while in opposition, but that this might not be the case were their party to be in power. Such cooperation and compromise may be offered while in opposition since it rarely comes to fruition, given that the opposition party can actually do very little about affecting policy. As one councillor put it,

If we were in power, perhaps that (white cooperation) would be tested. When you are in opposition you are likely to get support for anything and everything because you are in opposition. If we were in power, we would experience some difficulties I believe (Asian Labour councillor).
The likelihood that this was the case was further illustrated by the comments of councillors on Labour-controlled councils, particularly Afro-Caribbeans. For example,

If you have an issue that seems to be a reasonable issue, you have reasonable white supporters as well. But there is a limit to that, because if it seems that they (white councillors) have gone too far, then they are in jeopardy with their white comrades. So although they may support an issue morally, when it comes to backing you, you don’t get that (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

There are problems...they are insensitive...and nowadays when we are breaking new ground, asking for things to be done...we are finding it a bit difficult (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Thus, those councillors interviewed were more likely to describe their relations with their white colleagues in a positive way when their party was in opposition. Among those councillors serving on councils where their party was in power, there was a greater tendency to note a reluctance on the part of their colleagues to make a real effort to respond to the concerns of ethnic minority councillors.

Hence, the nature ethnic minority councillors’ council relationships were such that they generally professed to work equally well with all of their colleagues and relations between ethnic minority and white councillors were not described as important sources of conflict. In addition, most councillors described themselves as having their strongest working relationships with members of their party group, regardless of their ethnic status. Ethnic minority councillors’ relationships were also affected by their standing on their councils, with those who had served longer and who had achieved council office professing to have stronger relationships with their white colleagues. For the most part, these councillors did not seek alliances with their
ethnic minority peers to the exclusion of their white colleagues and in fact described a marked inability to do so effectively even where desired.

**Attitudes toward Ethnic Minority Councillors**

Equally significant for ethnic minority councillors' integration into local political institutions is the attitudes of those who already occupy positions in these institutions toward their new colleagues. The fact that ethnic minority councillors are willing to compromise and be accommodative would be of little import were their white colleagues to erect barriers to their incorporation into decision-making processes. Back and Solomos (1992), in a study of elected representatives in Birmingham, England, noted that,

> The response of the white Labour Group members to the presence of black members within the council are varied. While the majority of white councillors speak positively about the growth of black representation, there are signs of tension and ambivalence (p. 336).

This finding does not imply a completely open and inviting council environment for ethnic minority councillors. Thus, it is important to consider the degree to which ethnic minority councillors believe that their white colleagues are open to their integration into local decision-making. While such attitudes would be best explored through conversations with white councillors, the nature of my research restricts me to discussing these attitudes on the basis of ethnic minority councillors' perceptions of their white colleagues' attitudes towards them.
Racial Problems

When questioned as to whether their being an ethnic minority had posed any particular problems in their work with white councillors, a majority of those councillors interviewed cited an underlying racism that rarely manifested itself overtly in the council, but nonetheless occasionally made its presence known.

There's obviously a level of racism within the council structure. You can't get away from that.... There are difficulties, I think, but it is very difficult to pin down because people don't always come out and say so, they do it behind your back...little comments here and there (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Obviously, because of years and years of institutionalized racism, there will always be people who will feel whatever they feel, but that certainly doesn't surface among the comrades within the council...if they do have those feelings they are certainly kept well below and that does not come up in the council. And certainly if that was ever to come forward...they would be reprimanded (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

All of those councillors who felt that this was an issue said that they refused to tolerate such racism and made their dissatisfaction clear to their colleagues. No one found this situation to be an insurmountable obstacle in their work on their councils, however.

Those councillors serving on Labour-controlled councils were less likely to see racism as a very serious problem on their councils. Many Labour councillors interviewed who served on Conservative councils felt that they were frequently harassed on racial or ethnic grounds by members of the opposition. The following is illustrative of these feelings:

Yes, (racism is a problem) especially when there are issues on which I disagree with the opposition party. Then they (the Conservative
opposition) will start saying things like, "You don’t speak proper English." That’s racism coming out, of course (Asian Labour councillor).

Interestingly, those Conservative ethnic minority councillors interviewed did not feel that they were faced with any such racism within their party or from members of the opposition party.

Ethnic Minority Councillors’ Credibility

Another problem mentioned by those councillors interviewed was that of credibility. A number of ethnic minority councillors felt that their opinions often carried less weight than those of their white colleagues, and that they had to work much longer and harder to prove their competency.

One problem I face is credibility...If I put forward my view to the group, having put forward the view, they would not grant acceptance, but if somebody else who is white said the same thing, they would command more support...if I say the same thing, it does not go down as well as if a white councillor says it, although it is word for word what I say...black councillors are not taken as seriously as they should be (Asian Labour councillor).

Several councillors also felt that such credibility problems also carried over into their dealings with their constituents more generally, particularly their white constituents.

Those councillors who had served in office longer noted that they had such credibility problems early in their council careers, but that as they served on their councils and became less "unknown quantities" their colleagues came to accept them as "all right." This suggests that the credibility problems that many councillors tended to attribute to their ethnic minority status (and that may indeed have resulted from this
status) may also have been a function of their inexperience. These feelings may therefore be no different from those that might be encountered by any newcomer to a local council, regardless of their racial or ethnic status. Of course, those problems that were common to newcomers may also have been exacerbated by these councillors being ethnic minorities.

Election to Council Office

Another indicator of ethnic minority councillors’ incorporation into local political processes is their likelihood of having been selected for positions of authority on their councils. Back and Solomos note in this regard that,

With regard to black councillors the pattern that has emerged...is that particular councillors who are in favor are given up to six committees, while others, particularly if they are associated with the left, are given only one or two committees. In this sense the pattern of committee allocations reflects a process whereby particular black representatives are incorporated within the Labour Group while others are marginalized (1992, 341).

Supporting these observations, many councillors felt that when it came to election to council posts, many opportunities were not open to them, particularly if they were given to speaking their mind. Others felt that such positions would only be open to them if they allowed themselves to be "used" by white councillors (functioning as "tokens"). The following comments are indicative of such feelings:

Sometimes they try to undermine you because they want a black person in a position because it makes the authority look good, but they don’t want a black person making trouble, who will speak their own mind. They want a token there, somebody to be just a yes-person and when you get up and say you are not going to be a yes-person, then they say well, you’re the wrong kind of person and they try and move you out
somewhere else or get you deselected even (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Because you are black, many positions are not open for you...I think that people do not think you can do the job (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Such observations were only partially supported by the survey data regarding the council positions that councillors actually held: ethnic minority councillors were generally unlikely to have risen to the highest positions of authority on their councils. However, many had been selected to serve in lesser positions on their councils. Only one-third of councillors had never held any office on their councils (see Table 18). Of particular significance was the fact that 28 percent of ethnic minority councillors had been selected as committee chairs and 20 percent had served as party spokesman. One-third of ethnic minority councillors also had been chosen to serve in the position of committee vice-chair. The number of councillors elected to other positions (such as chief whip, group leader, or council leader) was far less substantial, but of significance nonetheless. Ethnic minority councillors only comprise 1.6 percent of local councillors overall, thus for one or two percent of them to have risen to positions of power on local councils is a positive development and an important indicator of their integration into local councils.

Longer tenure on a council improved ethnic minority councillors’ chances of having been selected for a council office. Those councillors who were elected earliest had a greater likelihood of having been selected for council positions. For example, 41.4 percent (12) of those elected in the period 1982-85 had served as a committee chair, as compared to only 27.4 percent (17) of those elected in 1986-89 and 19
Table 18. Council Offices Held By Ethnic Minority Councillors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Percentage Holding Office</th>
<th>Number of Councillors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leader of council</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy council leader</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority group leader</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy minority group leader</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief whip</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy whip</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other group officer</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party spokesman</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy party spokesman</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee chair</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee vice chair</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayor</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy mayor</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Held no offices</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The figures in column 2 add up to more than 164 (the total sample size) because many councillors have held more than one council position.

percent (9) of those elected in 1990. These findings also bode well for ethnic minority councillors' incorporation into local councils in the future, suggesting that their increased representation in positions of authority is only a matter of time, particularly given their increasing numbers at recent elections.

The nature of ethnic minority councillors' previous partisan activities also affected their chances of having been selected for council office. Ethnic minority
councillors who had held party office prior to their selection as councillors were also generally more likely to have held a council office. Similarly, councillors' length of party membership also affected their chances of being chosen as party spokesman or a committee chair. For example, 47 percent (8) of those who had been party members for 20 years or more had served as a party spokesman, compared to 15.8 percent (3) of those who had been party members for 5 years or less.

The more personal characteristics of ethnic minority councillors, such as their class standing or educational level, or other factors, such as membership in organized groups in the party or membership in Labour Party Black Sections did not appear to have affected their likelihood of having held council office. In addition, Asian councillors were no more likely than Afro-Caribbean councillors to have occupied these positions.

Overall, ethnic minority councillors' perceptions of their white colleagues' attitudes towards them were generally positive. However, most conceded that racism and discrimination did exist on local councils, but did not see these as insurmountable obstacles. Many councillors also felt their white colleagues tended to doubt their credibility and commitment, particularly early in their council careers. Finally, while ethnic minority councillors were not well-represented in the highest positions of authority on local councils, they had been elected to many lower council posts. The evidence suggested that their status in this regard was likely to improve over time.
The Policymaking Activities of Ethnic Minority Councillors

The integration of ethnic minority councillors into local political institutions would be further indicated by the degree to which they believed themselves able to affect their councils' policy agendas and the types of strategies they found it necessary to employ to do so. In this section of the chapter I consider the nature of the tactics employed by these councillors in pursuing ethnic minority concerns. I also discuss their perceived capabilities in terms of influencing the issues that their councils address.

The Use of Special Tactics

A majority of those councillors surveyed (53.2 percent, N=69) stated that they did not find it necessary to use any methods or tactics that differed from standard council procedures to get a measure specifically related to ethnic minority issues addressed by their party group and accepted by the council. This general feeling that special tactics were not required did not, however, necessarily imply that ethnic minority councillors felt that they were always effective in pursuing ethnic minority issues, as will be discussed later. The need to use special tactics was not influenced by which party was controlling a particular council, nor by ethnic minority councillors' position on their councils. Those who had held council office were only slightly more likely to say they used any special tactics or strategies.

Of those councillors surveyed who said special strategies and tactics were called for, the most frequently mentioned method was lobbying of other councillors.
A small minority of those councillors surveyed stated that they would mobilize the ethnic minority community around a particular issue, often bringing them into the council chamber or committee meetings to remind their colleagues of the demands of their constituents. Many of those councillors interviewed also mentioned lobbying of other council members as a common practice in their efforts to gain the support of their colleagues, both white and ethnic minority, on ethnic minority issues. These councillors did not see these lobbying efforts as unusual, however. Most believed that such tactics were appropriate and often necessary in their pursuit of more general issues as well.

**Agenda-Setting Ability**

As might be expected, given the restrictive nature of party systems and policymaking on local councils, the survey findings revealed that ethnic minority councillors generally had to have their party group's approval to introduce items onto their council's agenda. Over 50 percent (84) of surveyed councillors supported this view, with only 27.8 percent (44) claiming that they could independently introduce measures. In general, the descriptions of agenda-setting strategies offered by interviewed councillors further supported the declared importance of party group approval. Most councillors, in describing their strategies for pursuing a particular ethnic minority issue, first mentioned approaching their colleagues in their party groups and seeking their approval.
Asian councillors were especially likely to say they could introduce items only with their party group’s approval (60 percent of Asian councillors, N=69 as compared to 34.9 percent of Afro-Caribbean councillors, N=15). Notably, of those councillors who stated that they could independently introduce measures (27.8 percent, N=44) or could do so in alliance with other ethnic minority councillors (9.5 percent, N=15), Afro-Caribbean councillors were more likely to do so, with twice as many Afro-Caribbeans attesting to their agenda-setting abilities in alliance with other ethnic minority councillors. This latter finding is consistent with Afro-Caribbean councillors’ professed stronger working relationships with other ethnic minority councillors and their preference for working with other ethnic minorities rather than with their party group.

The party that was controlling a particular council had a fairly significant effect on ethnic minority councillors’ ability to affect their council agenda. Labour Party members who served on Labour-controlled councils more commonly believed themselves to be able to independently introduce items. For example, 32.6 percent (30) of Labour members on Labour-controlled councils stated that they could independently introduce measures, as compared to only 14.7 percent (5) of Labour members on Conservative-controlled councils. For Labour Party members serving on Conservative-controlled councils, the introduction of items onto a council’s agenda especially required the cooperation of their party. Party cooperation was identified as necessary by 73.5 percent (25) of Labour councillors who served on Conservative-
controlled councils, but only 48.9 percent (45) of those on Labour-controlled councils.

Having achieved positions of prominence on local councils also influenced ethnic minority councillors' agenda-setting abilities. Those councillors who had held council office were more likely to have stated that they could independently influence their council's agenda. Finally, the length of ethnic minority councillors' tenure in office also affected their ability to introduce measures. Those councillors elected in the period 1978-81 were much less likely to say they required party group approval to introduce measures (27.8 percent, N=5), compared to a majority of those elected from 1982-90. Additionally, a majority (50 percent, N=9) of those elected in the period 1978-81 believed that they could act independently in setting their council's agenda, compared to between 20 and 30 percent of those elected from 1982-90. However, this relationship was not statistically significant at a .10 level.

In general, then, ethnic minority councillors conducted themselves in council business in a fairly ordinary manner. They indicated that they did not feel compelled to use any special tactics in their pursuit of ethnic minority issues. As one might expect given the earlier discussed findings as to the effects of party discipline, the majority of councillors professed to be most successful in agenda-setting when they worked through their party group. Labour councillors serving on Labour-controlled councils, those who had achieved positions of authority on their councils, and those serving longer were more likely to believe they could independently affect their council's agenda.
The Effectiveness of Ethnic Minority Councillors

A final indicator of ethnic minority councillors' incorporation into local decision-making concerns the extent to which they viewed their representation and participation as effective. In their pursuit of ethnic minority concerns a large majority of ethnic minority councillors (83.2 percent, N=128) rated themselves effective. Over one-third (58) described themselves as usually very effective. An even larger percentage of ethnic minority councillors consider themselves as effective on more general local issues as well (91 percent, N=142). Little variation was observed among those councillors who reported themselves as being effective both in their pursuit of ethnic minority concerns and more general issues.

Explaining Feelings of Effectiveness

These response patterns lead to the question of why so many councillors rated themselves as being so effective and why there was so little variation observed among these respondents. One possible explanation relates to the nature of the mail survey questions asked. In closed-ended format questions such as the ones used to measure effectiveness, respondents were essentially given a dichotomous choice: are you effective or not? Under such conditions, one might ask whether it was reasonable to expect these councillors to actually describe themselves as being ineffective. To do so essentially would be to admit that they do not do their jobs well. One would hardly expect any politician to make such an admission, even if it were true. Hence, the explanation for the observed lack of variation in the responses to these effectiveness
questions may lie in the restrictive nature of these questions themselves. As will be seen in the latter part of this discussion, when councillors in the interviews were given the opportunity to elaborate on their effectiveness in an open-ended question format, the positive feelings reported by those councillors surveyed were somewhat qualified.

The other possible explanation for this response pattern is that the large majority of ethnic minority councillors actually did consider themselves to have been effective. The important point to be considered in this instance is, therefore, how these councillors defined such effectiveness. What does being effective mean to ethnic minority councillors? To determine this, it is first necessary to consider how these individuals spend most of their time as councillors. When asked about the nature of their council work, nearly all of those councillors interviewed emphasized constituent casework. As these councillors noted,

*The work of the councillor consists of three parts, firstly attending committee meetings, secondly meeting your constituents, and thirdly dealing with their cases...the casework load is heavy (Asian Labour councillor).*

*Casework is obviously a major part of the work because you are elected as a councillor to serve the community and therefore you hold surgeries and people come to you hoping their problems will be resolved. So, this is my first priority (Asian Labour councillor).*

All of those councillors interviewed noted that such casework primarily consisted of dealing with constituents' personal problems (a variety of housing issues, social service delivery, immigration issues and the like), rather than more general local issues (for example, council employment practices or budgetary issues).
In line with their descriptions of the demands placed upon them as councillors, none of those councillors interviewed stated that their first priority in their work as councillors was pursuing particular pieces of legislation or enacting broad policy changes. This is not to say that they did not spend any of their time with such matters (for example, pursuing the adoption or implementation of equal opportunities policies). However, most of their work involved tracking down the appropriate officers about their constituents' problems, writing to central government departments on their constituents' behalf and other activities involved with casework.

Thus, given a workload of this nature, it is reasonable to suppose that ethnic minority councillors felt effective to the degree that they actually responded to their constituents' concerns. Such effectiveness would not be determined on the basis of councillors' being able to convince their party groups to respond to broad issues, or to set or influence their councils' agendas, or to introduce legislation and have it passed. Rather, being effective would involve being able: to provide access to the council for constituents; to represent the interests of their constituents in party group, committee and full council meetings; to speak out on their constituents' behalf; and, finally, and perhaps most centrally, to see that the personal problems of constituents were addressed. In short, councillors would feel effective to the extent that they actually pursued a constituent's problem and resolved it.

The comments of those councillors interviewed indicated that nearly all ethnic minority councillors felt effective in these terms. As these councillors put it,

I prefer the casework to committees and council meetings and trying to win a point...at least with the casework you can solve people's
problems...these are things that give you personal satisfaction (Asian Labour councillor).

Whether it is a black constituent or a white constituent who comes to you with a problem, you can actually pick up the phone or write a letter and get something done...without me their problems would not be solved...you do have relative power to help people to use the system to their advantage (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Even the most inexperienced councillors believed that they were able to adequately respond to the concerns of their constituents and thus would have rated themselves as having been effective in office.

In addition, such a definition of effectiveness would help explain why such factors as council control, previous partisan activities or personal characteristics did not affect ethnic minority councillors' perceptions of effectiveness. These variables do not directly influence these councillors' ability to solve their constituents' personal problems. Rather, such problems could be addressed by councillors serving in any setting, from any political or personal background (as was supported by the comments of those councillors interviewed). Conversely, those factors that did differentiate these councillors in terms of their effectiveness (tenure in office and council positions held), involved factors that augmented these councillors' skills in addressing constituents' problems. In particular, these factors involved the further development of these individuals' personal networks on their councils, which in turn facilitated their ability to solve their constituents' problems.

Thus, the manner in which the term "effective" was interpreted may explain the very large percentage of ethnic minority councillors who described themselves as such. When "effectiveness" is considered in terms of solving individuals' problems
and addressing their grievances, then it is not surprising that so many councillors
demed themselves as effective, regardless of who they were or the political setting in
which they worked.

Effectiveness Re-Examined

It is important to note that these very positive views as to effectiveness were
often qualified among those councillors interviewed, particularly with respect to their
ability to achieve their broadest objectives. Many emphasized the slow pace of
change, the feeling that one was "banging one's head against a wall," and the
enormous frustrations involved with pursuing their broad goals. These councillors
expressed faith in their ability to ultimately succeed, but conceded that their
effectiveness was often gradual rather than immediate.

I know that sometimes it is like hitting a brick wall...time will tell, it
might not happen now, but the world does change slowly. It's a slow
battle, but it's still possible to achieve something (Asian Labour
councillor).

Many of those who said they were frustrated with their degree of effectiveness
attributed these failings to financial, bureaucratic or political obstacles rather than
factors inherent to the political system itself or to such things as racism or
discrimination.

When you get in and you are confronted with the bureaucracy, an iron
curtain comes down on you, you are banging your head against a brick
wall and you don't know what to do because it can be very frustrating
indeed...after a while you know how to work the system and once you
know the ropes, then you can get things changed, albeit gradually
(Afro-Caribbean Liberal Democratic councillor).
The system is such that the financial resources always become a blockage for any progress in the society.... That failure is only due to a lack of resources rather than a lack of commitment on my part or my colleagues' part or something inherent to the system itself (Asian Labour councillor).

As with those councillors surveyed, only a very small minority of interviewed councillors believed that they could achieve nothing in local government. As one councillor stated,

I have always felt that the black community has more to gain from local government than it can ever gain from central government because central government is not about people...in local government...you can actually give something to the lives of people (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Overall, then, ethnic minority councillors believed that their representation on local councils was effective. They felt that their presence was not merely tokenism. Rather there was a general belief that their presence on local councils forced the council to respond to ethnic minorities in ways that would not be possible without their representation. In addition, they believed that their participation as councillors enabled them to help their constituents to use the political system in the manner it was intended and to solve their problems.

Conclusions

The evidence with respect to ethnic minority councillors' council relationships suggested the integration of these councillors with all of their council colleagues. Had ethnic minority councillors stated that they worked only with other ethnic minorities and organized themselves on an ethnically-separate basis, this could be interpreted as
an indicator of their segregation rather than integration on local councils. Instead, it is possible to argue that they have been successful in incorporating themselves into local political institutions to the extent that such incorporation is evidenced by their perceptions of their council relationships.

The research findings also implied that ethnic minority councillors perceived themselves to have been incorporated as effective participants in the local decision-making process, although the pace of their accommodation might be slower than they had hoped for. They sought to cooperate with their white colleagues and for the most part did not pursue their activities on an ethnically-separate basis. They generally agreed that their white colleagues, in turn, were willing to accept them into local political processes. Their comments further suggested that although their white colleagues might have attempted to co-opt and control them, in the long run they were able to be effective without abandoning their principles, although they had to be willing to be satisfied with change in small increments.

In addition, ethnic minority councillors noted that such incorporation was often not immediate, but involved a period in which they had to "prove" themselves capable and trustworthy. Most councillors also expressed confidence in their ability to affect policymaking and agenda-setting on their councils. Their described behavior further suggested that they were aware of what it took to be included in decision-making on their councils and that they were generally willing to incorporate themselves into those processes through accommodation and cooperation with their white peers.
Thus, the experiences of ethnic minorities on local councils generally spoke well for the issue of political integration. Ethnic minorities perceived themselves to be integrated into local decision-making processes. In addition, they defined their participation in local councils as effective and did not regard themselves as merely "tokens." They ultimately believed in their ability to achieve something, both for ethnic minorities and whites, and professed to "have all to work for."
Chapter VIII
Ethnic Minorities and Political Institutions

The research findings discussed in the previous four chapters have generally had positive implications for the political integration of ethnic minority councillors. The survey and interview data have characterized a group of elected officials whose representational styles, political objectives and strategies, and experiences on local councils for the most part suggest their integration into local political processes. Thus far, attention has been focused on evidence relating to these individuals' personal intentions and their specific experiences on local councils. A logical follow-up to these analyses is a consideration of these councillors' perceptions of some broader issues that may further affect their political integration. Such issues include ethnic minority councillors' attitudes about the responsiveness of key institutions in the British political system to ethnic minorities, their perceptions of ethnic minorities' political efficacy or competence vis-a-vis the political system, and their feelings of pride and trust in political institutions.

Presumably, ethnic minority councillors who are politically integrated will describe political institutions as being responsive to ethnic minorities' problems and demands. Responsiveness would involve political institutions successfully addressing ethnic minorities' concerns. Feelings of responsiveness are integral to individuals'
political integration insofar as such integration is evidenced by a belief in the
effectiveness of a political system's outputs for a particular community (Benyon and
Solomos 1988, 416). In this light, if ethnic minority councillors demonstrate negative
feelings about the responsiveness of political institutions, this would have equally
negative implications for their political integration.

Political integration will additionally be evidenced by a belief in the possibility
of effective political participation by ethnic minorities. Political efficacy implies a
belief in individuals' ability to present demands and achieve results vis-a-vis the
political system. Such a capacity to participate effectively is fundamental for political
integration. Individuals who demonstrate strong subjective feelings of political
efficacy are more likely to vote, to take an interest in political campaigns and to
participate in party activities. As such, feelings of political efficacy will enhance
identification with the polity and facilitate integration. Similarly, a "lack of
opportunities (or perceived opportunities) for (effective) participation may...adversely
affect citizens' views of the political system's legitimacy" (Benyon and Solomos 1988,
417). In turn, individuals who lack such feelings of efficacy will presumably be less
inclined to participate in all forms of conventional politics and are said to be
particularly susceptible to radical or revolutionary appeals (Paige 1971, 810). Hence,
ethnic minority councillors' impressions of their own political efficacy, as well as the
competence of ethnic minority citizens, will provide further insights about their
political integration.
The perceptions and evaluations of ethnic minority councillors about responsiveness and participation will reveal the extent to which they subscribe to the democratic myth: "that ordinary citizens ought to participate in politics and that they are in fact influential" (Almond and Verba 1965, 352). Were ethnic minority councillors to offer opinions that suggested a failure to believe that this "myth" held true for ethnic minorities in Britain, this would have negative implications for their political integration. That is, this would imply that ethnic minority councillors doubt the efficacy of political participation for ethnic minorities and, following on this, are unlikely to see potential for their political integration.

A final attitudinal indicator of political integration will be positive identification with the political system, indicated by feelings of trust and pride. Absence of such positive identification with political institutions may result in diminished consent and, ultimately, "such a repudiation of political authority may affect the effectiveness of government policies" and the nature of political participation (Benyon and Solomos 1988, 416). Expressions of political trust typically involve beliefs about the fairness of decisions made and actions taken by government and its administrative agencies (Paige 1971, 810). Evidence of such trust in the political system is usually taken to be a good indicator of diffuse support for government. Further, feelings of pride in societal institutions are also seen as indicators of positive affect for the political system. Individuals who fail to demonstrate such positive affect are not likely to be integrated into the prevailing norms and values of the political system. The extent and quality of these elites’
political integration will thus be related to the degree to which they demonstrate such feelings of political trust and pride.

To determine the implications of these factors for ethnic minority councillors' political integration, I first consider ethnic minority councillors' opinions as to the responsiveness of the political system to ethnic minorities, focusing on Parliament and local councils. Consideration is also given to councillors' perceptions of the responsiveness of one other major political institution, the party system. I then examine their evaluations of ethnic minority citizens' and their own capacity to influence the political system. I finally discuss the degree to which ethnic minority councillors manifest feelings of national pride and political trust, or positive affect toward the British political system.

I hypothesize that ethnic minority councillors' perceptions and evaluations of the British political system may be influenced by their experiences within formal political institutions, career histories and ethnicity. Among others, the following relationships may be observed in this regard:

Ethnic minority councillors who believe themselves to have little power or influence on local councils will view the political system as being illegitimate or dysfunctional for ethnic minorities and will hold negative views of ethnic minority citizens' political efficacy.

Ethnic minority councillors with stronger institutional ties (e.g., those who held council or party office, or who have served in office longer) will demonstrate higher levels of system support, particularly for local government, than councillors who have yet to hold positions of authority or are newly elected.

Ethnic minority councillors serving on councils where their party is in power will see themselves as more politically competent and will rate local political institutions as being more responsive.
I first evaluate councillors' perceptions of the responsiveness of Parliament and local councils to ethnic minority concerns.

**Government Responsiveness**

A fundamental component of political integration involves a belief in the quality of a political system's outputs vis-a-vis a particular group of citizens. Individuals who are politically integrated will affirm the responsiveness of institutions to citizens' demands and demonstrate feelings of attachment, or positive affect, towards these bodies. Conversely, those who are not politically integrated will believe that political institutions do little to improve their lives and will express little confidence in these institutions' ability or willingness to answer their demands.

It is important to distinguish between attitudes of specific and diffuse support. Diffuse support for the political system is indicated by a general attachment to the political system, its procedures and institutions and generally does not depend upon the performance of particular authorities. Specific support, on the other hand, refers to performance satisfaction and is thus commonly manifested in favorable attitudes toward the political authorities in response to outputs that satisfy individuals' performance demands or wants (Easton 1965; Muller 1970; Weatherford 1992). Attitudes of specific support would involve ethnic minority councillors believing that specific institutions or people in positions of power were responsive to ethnic minority concerns.
Central Level Government

To establish the degree to which ethnic minority councillors believed that national government institutions were responsive to ethnic minority concerns, survey respondents were asked about the effect the activities of these institutions had on ethnic minorities' day-to-day lives. Generally speaking, councillors were pessimistic in this regard. Only a slight majority of councillors (50.7 percent) believed that the activities of national government improved ethnic minorities' lives, with 47.4 percent (72) of councillors stating that it only sometimes improved their lives. More notably, 27.6 percent (42) of councillors believed that national government activities had a detrimental effect on ethnic minorities, and a further 21.7 percent (33) believed that national government activities made no difference in ethnic minorities' lives. Further supporting this data, when asked how much confidence they had in Parliament, in terms of its responsiveness to ethnic minority concerns, over 43.9 percent (69) of councillors expressed no confidence in Parliament and 49.7 percent (78) expressed only some confidence.

Asian and Afro-Caribbean councillors differed in their assessments of the effects of national government activities on ethnic minorities' lives, though the relationship was not statistically significant at a .10 level. Asian councillors demonstrated generally more positive views than Afro-Caribbean councillors. A majority of Asian councillors (55 percent, N=60) believed the national government generally improved ethnic minorities' lives, compared to 39.5 percent (17) of Afro-Caribbean councillors. In addition, twice as many Afro-Caribbean councillors than
Asian councillors stated that the national government made no difference in ethnic minorities' lives. Nearly 60 percent (26) of Afro-Caribbean councillors expressed no confidence in Parliament, as compared to 38 percent (43) of Asians.

Data collected through the interviews shed further light on ethnic minority councillors' beliefs about the national government. Among interviewees, the central government's perceived lack of responsiveness to ethnic minority problems was frequently attributed to failings of the long-standing Conservative government, rather than features inherent to the political system itself. For instance, as one councillor noted,

The thing that keeps me going is the thought that this government is going to be out quite soon and a Labour government will be in. I'm not saying that a Labour government will make my job any easier, but I think it will be nice to have a government that was more sympathetic to working class people and to poor people (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Such feelings were not surprising given that those individuals interviewed were primarily Labour Party members. This tendency to attribute responsiveness problems to the Thatcher government directly was strongly linked to a belief that such neglect was due to an increasing lack of financial resources with which to address problems. The ruling Conservative government was widely described as being more interested in making budget cuts than solving problems. The following comments were illustrative of such feelings:

The system is such that the financial resources always become a blockage for any progress in the society. That failure is only due to a lack of resources rather than a lack of commitment on my part or my colleagues' part or something inherent to the system itself (Asian Labour councillor).
I have been very, very disappointed... all decisions are made on a monetary basis... they are not aware of the reality of the problems, they just cut (Asian Labour councillor).

Thus, the interviews revealed that ethnic minority councillors' lack of support for central-level political institutions could best be described as an absence of specific support. Councillors' negative evaluations of parliamentary responsiveness were directed toward the Thatcher government and its perceived lack of attention to ethnic minority demands and wants. Nonetheless, those interviewed evidenced a widespread belief in the legitimacy of Parliament and its agents as democratic institutions, thus indicating the presence of diffuse support for national government.

A Labour government in power. Given their feelings about the ruling Conservative government, interviewed councillors were asked if they believed that a Labour government would improve ethnic minorities' condition. Despite their overwhelming membership in the Labour Party, the majority of interviewees did not believe a Labour government would be more responsive. In fact, the most frequently observed response to this question was "I doubt it." Many councillors acknowledged that there might be some change in the general policy environment (e.g. more concern for social issues), but nonetheless believed that no major policy changes positively affecting ethnic minorities would be pursued or adopted by a Labour government. In the words of one councillor,

I think that a Labour government will have the right attitude, will have sympathetic consideration. Whether they will be able to make major changes in the status of ethnic minorities and changing the attitudes of the white population, I do have my reservations (Asian Labour councillor).
Such doubts were frequently based on a belief that a Labour government would be preoccupied with economic issues given present economic conditions in the country. Others based such opinions on Labour's poor record in government in the past vis-à-vis ethnic minorities.  

Additionally, this anticipated lack of responsiveness by a Labour government was generally born of a feeling that there was no political will to address ethnic minority problems among the Labour Party leadership. This lack of interest or commitment was largely attributed to a fear of white backlash. Such a view was characterized by the following statements:

I don't think the present Labour leadership sees it as a priority. I think they will probably get rid of some of the worst aspects of the Tory legislation, but then that just really takes us back to a point which was inadequate to start off with.... I don't think there will be a big enough change in emphasis (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

The leadership of the party is more concerned with projecting a certain image in order to gain votes than actually addressing issues that affect the black community, because at the end of the day that is going to lose the party votes. So, if anything, of they can get away without mentioning race issues they will (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

The fate of Labour politics at this moment in time is very tenuous, and the Labour Party is desperately attempting to have a particular public face. Given that it wants power so desperately, issues like race relations...are going to take a back seat. They will pay lip service to them, you know, make a few token attempts. But put it like this, it's not going to be top of the agenda (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Councillors' opinions as to the effects of having a Labour-controlled government therefore revealed little confidence in the likelihood of increased responsiveness to ethnic minorities' demands or wants. Labour councillors were generally reluctant to express optimism for increased responsiveness, even from their own party. Such
feelings again were indicative of a marked lack of specific support for central-level
government among ethnic minority councillors.

Local Government Responsiveness

The literature on the impact of local government on ethnic minority citizens
suggests that ethnic minority councillors will evaluate local government more
favorably than central-level government. For example, Studlar maintains that,

Local electoral and party politics may offer more opportunities for
blacks to have an impact than central-level politics do. The disabilities
of blacks at the central level—small numbers, political divisions, large
support for a non-governing party—can be reversed in local areas. The
units are smaller and concentration of black groups in particular areas
can be electorally advantageous. Furthermore, the black-supported
party may be in control locally (1985, p. 7).

LeLohe (1989) further argues that, "in many respects it is the actions and policies of
local authorities which have a greater impact upon race relations and minority
communities than the actions of local government" (p. 473).

Survey and interview data generally supported these observations. Ethnic
minority councillors demonstrated more confidence in local government than in
Parliament regarding these institutions' effect on the day-to-day lives of ethnic
minorities. A large majority of ethnic minority councillors described local government
as generally having a positive effect on ethnic minorities' lives (87.8 percent,
N=137), although the strength of this support was moderated, with 67.3 percent
(105) of those falling in this category stating that it "sometimes improves it,
sometimes does not." Further, only 4.3 percent (11) of councillors believed that the
effects of local government activities were always detrimental to ethnic minorities (compared to the 27.6 percent who evaluated national government as such). Such feelings may be interpreted as a reflection of a general perception that local government was more responsive to ethnic minorities' problems than central-level government. Similarly, while nearly 80 percent (126) of councillors stated that they had at least some confidence in local government, only 8 percent (13) expressed no confidence in local government's responsiveness to ethnic minority concerns.

The comments of interviewed councillors further supported such a perspective:

Collectively local government has tremendous influence. I've always said that if black councillors got together, they'd be far more influential than the four MPs getting together. And that's not talk of anything against the ability of the MPs. It's simply, especially those black councillors that are on councils that are in power, if we get together and pull our resources together, we could be a very influential group (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

I have always felt that the black community has more to gain from local government than it can ever gain from the central government because central government is not about people...in local government you have control of finances, etc....so that you can actually give something to the lives of people. Blacks can get something done in local government, if we got black elected representatives, if black people become "political" (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Hence, ethnic minority councillors generally demonstrated greater confidence in the responsiveness of local political institutions to ethnic minority concerns and problems.

Explaining views of responsiveness. Bivariate analyses were conducted to examine the effects of a number of variables on councillors' views about local government. Consideration was given to the influence of ethnicity, partisan council
control, councillors' status on councils, and their ability to influence councils' agendas. Several conclusions can be drawn from these analyses.

Ethnicity played a lesser role in influencing councillors' opinions of local government's effect on ethnic minorities than was the case vis-a-vis national government. Asian and Afro-Caribbean councillors generally believed that local government improved or sometimes improved ethnic minorities' day-to-day lives. However, Asians were again more positive. Over twice as many Asian councillors believed that local government improved ethnic minorities' lives (25 percent, N=28 of Asian councillors compared to 9.1 percent, N=4 of Afro-Caribbean councillors). Afro-Caribbean councillors were more likely to describe local government as only sometimes improving ethnic minority citizens' lives.

As was hypothesized earlier, the partisan character of the councils influenced ethnic minority councillors' opinions as to the effects of local government's activities on ethnic minorities' lives. Councillors serving on Labour councils were slightly more likely to positively assess the impact of local government: 90.4 percent (85) of those serving on Labour councils saw local government as generally improving ethnic minorities' lives, compared to 79.5 percent (31) of those serving on Conservative councils. Additionally, 25.5 percent (24) of Labour council officeholders saw local government as always improving ethnic minorities' lives, as opposed to only 7.7 percent (3) of those serving on Conservative-controlled councils. Councillors who served on councils where their own party was in power were also more likely to see local government activities as having a positive impact on ethnic minorities. Finally,
councillors who had held party offices were more likely to describe local government as frequently improving ethnic minorities' lives. The bivariate analyses further indicated that councillors' class identifications, their length of council service, agenda-setting abilities or their having held positions of authority on councils did not appear to influence their opinions about local government's impact.

A regression analysis involving the effects of the variables just discussed on views about the impact of local government activities revealed little explanatory power (see Table 19). Taken together, the variables discussed in the bivariate analysis accounted for only seven percent of the observed variance. Clearly, other variables would have to be brought into the analysis to more fully understand the determinants of ethnic minority councillors' views in this regard.

Several of the variables that appeared meaningful in the bivariate analysis were not statistically significant when considered relative to the other variables included in the regression calculation. In particular, the observed effects of ethnicity, partisan council control and membership in the controlling party were not statistically significant in the regression. Only election year and having held party office were statistically significant in their effects. The regression equation indicated that councillors elected more recently were inclined to rate local government more favorably. This relationship was not observed in the bivariate data. Consistent with the bivariate findings, councillors who had held party office were more likely to view local government as a positive influence on ethnic minorities' lives. Although not statistically significant, having held council office and partisan council control were
Table 19. Regression Analysis of Local Government Impact

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>$b$</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic group</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Held council office</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>-.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure in office</td>
<td>-.03**</td>
<td>-.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Held party office</td>
<td>.27*</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party controlling council</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership in controlling party</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agenda-setting ability</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R^2$</td>
<td></td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted $R^2$</td>
<td></td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of cases</td>
<td></td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p $\leq$ .10, two-tailed test.

**p $\leq$ .05, two-tailed test.

nearly as influential as election year and having held party office on councillors' views of local government's effects, as indicated by the standardized regression coefficient.

Overall, then, support patterns among ethnic minority councillors concerning central-level government in Britain indicated a general lack of confidence in the responsiveness of these institutions to ethnic minorities. Councillors widely believed that central government only sometimes had a positive effect on ethnic minorities' lives and expressed only a moderate level of confidence in Parliament's responsiveness to ethnic minorities' concerns. Interviews indicated that these
perceptions were primarily a reflection of dissatisfaction with the long-standing Conservative government rather than an indicator of an absence of support for Parliament and its agents as democratic institutions. Hence, in the interviews, councillors demonstrated attachment to central-level political institutions (diffuse support), but failed to manifest performance satisfaction vis-a-vis the ruling Conservative Party (specific support). Such specific support was also lacking regarding a hypothetical Labour government in power at the central level.

Ethnic minority councillors evaluated local government far more positively, both with respect to the effects local government had on ethnic minorities’ day-to-day lives and their overall confidence in its responsiveness to ethnic minorities. Large majorities of ethnic minority councillors rated local government positively regarding these issues.

According to the bivariate analysis, Asian councillors tended to demonstrate more positive feelings about both central and local government than did Afro-Caribbean councillors. Councillors serving on Labour-controlled councils and ones in which their own party was in control also viewed the effects of local government activities more positively. In the regression analysis, however, these factors appeared to be of less relative importance than tenure in office and having held positions of authority in their party in their effect on these attitudes.
The Responsiveness of Political Parties

Governmental institutions are not the only bodies that are the recipients of political demands in a democracy. Political parties also play a fundamental role in this regard. In particular, the policies and initiatives of political parties are very important in encouraging citizens, and particularly ethnic minorities, to participate in the political process. As Layton-Henry and Studlar argue,

> The integration of black and Asian voters into mainstream politics not only requires increasing participation on their part but also a willingness by the parties...to accept, even encourage, such involvement. Party members will have to welcome black and Asian people as full members, adopt them as candidates and persuade their supporters to vote for them in local and national elections. The parties will also need to respond to the particular interests of the ethnic minorities and allow them to influence party policy (198S, 308).

Rather than meeting such requirements, the parties in Britain are generally argued to do just the opposite. It is a commonly held belief that the major British political parties are centrally concerned with ensuring that ethnic minority issues remain off the political agenda. Further, many claim that "the black communities believe increasingly that Labour sees them largely in terms of electoral gain" (New Statesman and Society, July 15, 1988, 13).

The perceived responsiveness of political parties will be an indicator of political integration to the extent that parties are important for demand articulation and for generating positive identification with the political system. As Anwar notes, "because political decisions lead to political loyalties, the policies and attitudes of a particular party...towards ethnic minorities in particular, are important" (1986, 150). If councillors perceive that political parties are not responsive to ethnic minorities in
terms of the issues they address or the opportunities for participation they offer to ethnic minorities, then they are not likely to be institutions that are facilitating political integration. If, conversely, councillors believe that political parties are responsive to ethnic minority demands and open to ethnic minorities' full and effective participation, then these institutions may function as important channels for political integration.

Issue Responsiveness

Previous research at the mass level has indicated that ethnic minority voters were generally satisfied with the Labour Party’s policies on race and immigration and that they were dissatisfied with the Conservative government’s record on these issues. As Layton-Henry (1990) notes,

On racial discrimination, Labour’s policies are endorsed much more strongly than those of the Conservatives. Satisfaction with Labour’s policies on race and immigration is particularly high among Asians, (60 percent satisfied to 13 percent dissatisfied) and dissatisfaction with the government’s record is very high among Afro-Caribbeans (76 percent dissatisfied to 8 percent satisfied) (p. 59).

Thus, according to this research, ethnic minorities at the mass level appear to be generally satisfied with the performance of Labour with respect to ethnic minority issues.

Such feelings of satisfaction were not echoed by ethnic minority councillors. Interviewed Labour Party councillors in particular believed that their party had very limited objectives with respect to ethnic minority issues. This feeling was most widely expressed by Afro-Caribbean councillors, although echoed by many Asian councillors
as well. There was a general consensus among interviewed councillors that the Labour Party was reluctant to put ethnic minority issues prominently on the party’s agenda out of a fear of alienating white voters. Shukra (1990) has argued that

The Labour leadership has shown that it controls the Labour Party’s direction. For black people that means they may participate and pursue anti-racist policies only on the terms acceptable to the Labour leadership. These terms are highly influenced by the potential vote-losing effects of many (of their) demands (p. 189).

Ethnic minority councillors interviewed generally supported this argument:

It’s gone some way, but I think the party has a long way to go still in meeting the satisfaction of the black and ethnic minority electorate.... Some have a fear of alienating the white voters if they come out (on ethnic minority issues) and I suppose that is where the major frustration with the party is (Asian Labour councillor).

The Labour Party in my view feels that if they were to focus on black issues, that they might lose white vote (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

There was a general belief among these councillors that while the Labour Party has made some progress in addressing ethnic minority issues, the pace of such progress is much too slow.

I think the party has a long way to go still in meeting the satisfaction of the black and ethnic minority electorate.... There are a number of issues, starting with immigration policy—the party hasn’t yet got a policy on it or it doesn’t spell out what the alternative to (the Conservative’s) laws would be.... There is some fear of alienating the white voters if they come out and that I suppose is where the major frustration is with the party (Asian Labour councillor).

The responses of Conservative Party councillors interviewed were generally more positive than those offered by Labour Party councillors. In general,
Conservative councillors did not even recognize a need to address "ethnic minority" issues by their party:

They are as responsive to the needs of blacks as much as they are responsive to the needs of everyone. Because having said that, if their policies cater for the needs of everybody in this country, we must never forget that being black is only one part of this (Afro-Caribbean Conservative councillor).

There are very few issues of national politics which primarily concern only the ethnic minorities and as long as we are responsive to an issue and in that response we also take into account the extent of benefit or disbenefit for ethnic minorities or a particular community group (Asian Conservative councillor).

In short, ethnic minority councillors, notably Labour councillors, generally did not feel that their party performed adequately with respect to addressing ethnic minority issues. Conservative Party councillors were more optimistic in this regard.

Ethnic Minorities' Role in Political Parties

A further indicator of ethnic minority councillors' satisfaction with their parties' responsiveness involves their perceptions as to ethnic minorities' ability to influence their parties' policies and actions. Survey data and interviews revealed that ethnic minority councillors generally held negative impressions in this regard. A large majority of those councillors surveyed (80.9 percent, N=123) agreed with the statement that "the political parties were more interested in ethnic minorities' votes than their opinions." Half of this majority strongly agreed with this characterization of the intentions of the major political parties.
Interviewed councillors commonly believed that the Labour Party paid attention to ethnic minority demands only insofar as they needed the votes of the ethnic minority community in a particular area. Nearly all Labour councillors interviewed believed that their party primarily used ethnic minorities as "voting fodder" and was unwilling to allow them to have a greater say in party decision-making. Such views were characterized by the following statements:

There is a tendency for Labour to use blacks as voting fodder. And, too bad that is something we have to fight against. And the ethnic minorities are now actually getting wiser to that and they are actually saying to the Labour Party we are not going to be your voting fodder. You've got to give us power as well (Asian Labour councillor).

Unfortunately, ethnic minorities do not get much from the Labour Party. One always hears that the Labour Party is the natural party for ethnic minorities, but it isn't and it is very sad really. Because the Labour Party is looking more towards the middle class and attracting that particular section of the community. It feels that the ethnic minority will have no choice but to support them, whether they like it or not. Because if they don't support the party, then they are the ones who are losers. We are left out to fend for ourselves within the political arena if we don't cooperate with the Labour Party (Asian Labour councillor).

Further supporting these perceptions vis-a-vis the political parties, two-thirds of surveyed councillors stated that they had no influence over their party's selection of ethnic minority candidates.

Thus, ethnic minority councillors were quite cynical in their assessments of their influence, and that of ethnic minorities in general, on the policies or actions of their parties. The tendency was for councillors to view ethnic minorities as being used by the parties, primarily for electoral advantage. Clearly, ethnic minority councillors did not perceive the parties' intentions toward ethnic minorities as being positive.
Willingness to Increase Ethnic Minority Representation

One issue that has focused particular attention on the Labour Party’s responsiveness to its ethnic minority constituents is the creation of a Black Section representing ethnic minorities within the party. As was indicated in Chapter VI, over 60 percent (82) of surveyed councillors believed that the creation of such sections was important, and support for such sections was echoed by those interviewed. However, a majority of interviewees viewed this issue as a prime example of the Labour Party’s lack of responsiveness to ethnic minority demands. Many councillors demonstrated feelings of resentment towards the party’s leadership because of its reluctance to provide ethnic minorities with representation within party structures. For example,

A large part of it has to do with their reluctance to allow black people voice, an independent voice...at the end of the day it is about votes and elections, a fear of white backlash if the party seems to be giving power to blacks (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

They (the Labour Party) are moving towards the center, and because they are moving towards the center, they have to appease the electorate at the center. And the electorate at the center couldn’t give a damn about black people. So, you don’t want to start setting up organizations that are going to put off your white liberal voters, it will frighten them off (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

Related to the issue of recognition for a Labour Party Black Section is the willingness of the political parties to nominate additional ethnic minority candidates for political office. Survey data indicated that 97.2 percent (136) of councillors considered more ethnic minority elected officials to be very or fairly important for ethnic minority progress. Evidence from the interviews further supported this perspective, with nearly all councillors aspiring to increased levels of representation
for ethnic minority citizens, at the local and, in particular, at the national level. For example,

I think ethnic minorities need far more councillors and MPs, to get their voice heard in the system. If you do not have faces in the system, you cannot survive. The representation of blacks is now at a minimum level and it must improve (Asian Labour councillor).

I think that we are miles behind real representation. But the local representation will not make much difference unless you have the national level representation as well. Because actual decisions are made at the national level rather than the local (Asian Labour councillor).

Most ethnic minority councillors, however, were pessimistic about the likelihood of increasing representation, at least within the Labour Party:

I feel that there will no doubt be an increase in black representation in Parliament. I feel that if you as a local candidate worked with your community, with your local government, party, wards, whatever, and let them see what you are made of, then no head office can stop that at all, in actual fact if they did it would cause a great outcry.... They (the party) have to be very careful, because if a chap’s work is known locally and he’s worked very hard, then he’s going to fight all the way (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

The Labour Party has got to put black and ethnic minorities into winnable seats...in many areas we (blacks and ethnic minorities) have a majority—or we have a decisive say in who wins. I guess we are seen as a liability in such a situation...Black and ethnic minorities have been for years...voting for white candidates in the Labour Party...and now the question of our voting for a black candidate seems to be a great problem (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).

You’re talking about power. If you have more black MPs, there are fewer white MPs. And for all the talk about equality of opportunity, nobody is prepared to give up their seat for a woman or black. They are threatened by the increasing number of blacks. Insignificant, maybe, but if you have 30 black MPs, you’re talking about ten percent of the parliamentary Labour Party (Afro-Caribbean Labour councillor).
Such pessimism was born out at the 1992 General Election, where fewer ethnic minority candidates ran for Parliament than in 1987 (24, compared to 29 in 1987. In 1992, only the Conservatives increased their number of ethnic minority candidates (although only two were selected in potentially winnable seats) and the number of candidates selected by the Labour Party decreased.

Thus, the comments of ethnic minority councillors regarding political party responsiveness to ethnic minorities were largely negative. As is commonly argued to be the case, the parties, particularly the Labour Party, are regarded by ethnic minority councillors as avoiding ethnic minority issues, utilizing ethnic minorities as "voting fodder," and denying them full participation in partisan political life.

Ethnic Minorities' Political Efficacy

As was noted earlier, individuals who are politically efficacious or competent believe they can influence government decision-making. For example, citizens who see themselves as politically competent believe that there is something they can do about local or national laws they consider unjust. Assessments of political efficacy typically consider individuals' "beliefs about the ability of interest groups and individuals to present demands to government and achieve results" (Paige 1971, 810). Such feelings serve as indicators of political integration to the extent that such integration is evidenced by a belief in the possibility of participating meaningfully in decision-making and policy formulation. In this portion of the chapter, I consider
ethnic minority councillors' evaluations of their own political efficacy and the political competence of ethnic minority citizens more generally.

Councillors' Political Competence

In terms of their perceptions of their personal political efficacy as elected representatives, a majority of councillors believed that they did not have much success in changing things for ethnic minorities (54.2 percent, N=84). Such views must be contrasted with the earlier discussed findings concerning councillors' feelings of policy-making effectiveness, which indicated that overwhelming majorities of councillors rated themselves as effective in their pursuit of both ethnic minority and general local issues on their councils. As was noted, these high effectiveness ratings may reflect how councillors interpreted the term "effective." The argument was made that effectiveness in this context may have involved councillors being able to specifically address the personal problems of constituents, rather than pursuing broad issues or affecting councils' agendas. Councillors would therefore feel effective to the extent that they actually pursued a constituent's specific problem and resolved it. In the current context, however, councillors may be interpreting the notion of "changing things for ethnic minorities" more broadly. That is, as being able to affect widespread changes for ethnic minorities. In this case, being effective may entail pursuing particular pieces of legislation or sweeping policy changes such as influencing the adoption or implementation of equal opportunities programs or creating other
programs designed to reduce racial discrimination. In this regard, councillors viewed themselves as being less efficacious.

Bivariate analyses were conducted to determine potential influences on councillors' views in this regard. These analyses took into account the effects of ethnicity, councillors' status on their councils and in their parties, and the partisan character of their councils. The analyses revealed several patterns of influence.

Somewhat surprisingly, given their generally more positive attitudes toward the political system and ethnic minorities in relation to it, Asian councillors were less likely to describe themselves as efficacious in this sense: a majority of Asian councillors (60.7 percent, N=65) agreed that elected ethnic minorities cannot do much, while only 45.2 percent (19) of Afro-Caribbean councillors held this view.

As hypothesized, councillors serving on Conservative councils, as well as on councils where their parties were in opposition, were more likely to believe that elected ethnic minorities were unsuccessful in changing things for ethnic minorities. The bivariate analyses did not reveal any discernible patterns relative to agenda-setting ability and tenure in office, while having held party or council office did not appear to have any influence on these views.

A number of the variables which appeared to have no influence in the bivariate calculations were revealed to be of relative importance in their effects on councillors' views in a regression calculation. Five variables were found to be statistically significant in the regression equation: partisan council control, membership in controlling party, having held party office, tenure in office and ethnicity, with the
having the weakest relative effects (see Table 20). Of these five variables, partisan council control had the strongest relative influence on councillors' views. The regression calculation confirmed the bivariate analysis regarding the effects of ethnicity, partisan council control and membership in the controlling party. The observed effects of having held party office and length of council service were not apparent in the bivariate analysis. Councillors who had held party office and who had served in office longer were revealed to be more likely to describe themselves as politically efficacious.
The five statistically significant variables, when considered along with agenda-setting ability and having held council office, were of little value in terms of accounting for the variance observed in councillors' views, with an adjusted $R^2$ of only .05. As such, other variables would have to be introduced into the analysis to explain variations in councillors' feelings of competence.

Who holds power? Related to these councillors' opinions as to their own ability to affect change for ethnic minorities was their view of who ultimately held power in local political institutions. Nearly 70 percent (105) of ethnic minority councillors agreed with the statement that "white local government officials and politicians will always get things their own way." Additionally, over one-quarter of councillors strongly agreed with this view. Such opinions further indicated the general absence of feelings of political competence among these councillors. Councillors were presumably again viewing this statement in the context of their ability to influence broad changes, not address constituent's individual problems.

Bivariate analyses were again constructed to determine sources of variation in councillors' views. The analysis revealed that Asian councillors were especially likely to agree with this view: 74.1 percent (83) of Asian councillors compared to 56.4 percent (22) of Afro-Caribbean councillors. Asian councillors were also more inclined to strongly agree with this notion.

Additionally, councillors who had longer experience within the political system were more likely to appear frustrated with their ability to affect change in the face of white dominance. For example, councillors who had been party members longest
supported this idea more strongly: 89 percent (16) of those who had belonged to their party 21 years or more, compared to 58 percent (11) of those belonging to their party only one to five years, and 67 percent (26) of six to ten year party members. Length of tenure in office also affected councillors' views, with those who had served longer being more likely to agree. For example, 81.3 percent (13) of those elected in the period 1978-81 agreed with this view, while only 56.5 percent (26) of those elected in 1990 concurred.

Councillors' feelings about ethnic minority citizens' abilities to affect local decision-making were further related to their views about white power: those who believed ordinary ethnic minority citizens could do nothing to influence decision-making were much more likely to see whites as holding all power (92.3 percent, N=12), compared to 60.3 percent (35) of those who believed ethnic minorities could do something. As hypothesized, ethnic minority councillors who believed themselves to be powerless in changing things for ethnic minorities were especially likely to support this view: 85.9 percent (67) of those feeling powerless to change things agreed, compared to 55.7 percent (34) of those who felt they could affect change. Other variables, such as agenda-setting ability, class background or having held party office had no effect on this attitude.

A regression analysis of these variables provided limited explanatory power, with an adjusted $R^2$ of .14 (see Table 21). Of the 7 variables included in the regression calculation, only councillors' positions regarding the statement that elected ethnic minorities cannot change things for ethnic minorities was statistically significant
Table 21. Regression Analysis of Councillors’ Views of White Power

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>$b$</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class background</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of party membership</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure in office</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agenda-setting ability</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Held council office</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minorities’ ability to affect local councils.</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected ethnic minorities can’t do much to change</td>
<td>0.31*</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>things for ethnic minorities.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$R^2$                                               | 0.20 |

Adjusted $R^2$                                       | 0.14 |

Number of cases                                      | 131  |

* $p \leq 0.001$ two-tailed test.

In its effect on this attitude. This variable had a rather strong effect on the white power variable, with a standardized regression coefficient of 0.35, making it over three times more powerful in its effects on councillors’ views than the second strongest variable, ethnicity. The effects of the other variables observed in the bivariate analysis were not meaningful when considered relative to councillors’ feelings about their ability to affect change.
Ethnic Minority Citizens' Political Influence

Ethnic minority councillors' opinions as to ethnic minority citizens' ability to influence government decision-making were consistent with their evaluations of the responsiveness of central and local government. Surveyed councillors were more likely to see ethnic minorities as being able to affect local government decision-making than the policy-making process at the national level. For example, only 8.9 percent (14) of councillors believed that there was nothing ethnic minorities could do to influence local government policy-making, and 43 percent (68) evaluated ethnic minorities as effective in influencing local government (see Table 22). With respect to parliamentary decision-making, however, 40.5 percent (64) of councillors stated that ethnic minorities had no influence, while only 12.7 percent (20) believed ethnic minorities generally had some competence regarding national government decision-making. In short, ethnic minority councillors believed in ethnic minority citizens' political competency vis-a-vis local government, but demonstrated significantly lower levels of confidence with respect to national government.

Table 22. Perceptions of Ethnic Minorities' Political Competence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of government</th>
<th>Can do Something</th>
<th>Some Influence</th>
<th>Can do Nothing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local government</td>
<td>43.0 (68)</td>
<td>48.1 (76)</td>
<td>8.9 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>12.7 (20)</td>
<td>46.8 (74)</td>
<td>40.5 (64)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In response to the question, "Suppose a regulation were being considered that ethnic minorities considered to be unjust or harmful. If they made an effort to change this law, how likely is it that they would actually succeed?" Number of cases in parentheses.
Further analysis of the survey data indicated that Asian and Afro-Caribbean councillors generally agreed as to ethnic minority citizens’ political efficacy vis-a-vis local and national government. However, a number of other factors distinguished those who evaluated ethnic minority citizens as politically competent from those who did not. Consistent with earlier hypotheses, councillors serving on Labour councils were more likely to see ethnic minority citizens as being able to influence local council decision-making. For example, 20.5 percent (8) of councillors serving on Conservative-controlled councils said ethnic minorities could do nothing to influence a local council, while only 5.3 percent (5) of those serving on Labour councils shared this view. In addition, councillors whose party was in control of their council were more likely to see ethnic minority citizens as having influence over local councils. Thus, 47.4 percent (55) of those whose party was in power believed that ethnic minorities "can do something," compared to 25 percent (9) of those whose party was in opposition. Additionally, councillors who believed that white officials "always get their own way" and that elected ethnic minorities had little power in affecting change were more likely to see ethnic minorities as impotent relative to local government decision-making.

A regression analysis was conducted to further explore the effect of these variables on councillors' perceptions of ethnic minority citizens' political influence. These six variables, taken together, had limited explanatory power—as indicated by an adjusted $R^2$ of .11 (see Table 23). Supporting the bivariate analysis, councillors' perceptions of their own ability to affect change were of the greatest relative
Table 23. Regression Analysis of Ethnic Minorities' Political Competence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>$b$</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>-.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership in controlling party</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party controlling council</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agenda-setting ability</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected ethnic minorities can't do much to change things.</td>
<td>-.09*</td>
<td>-.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White politicians and officials will always get things their own way.</td>
<td>-.08*</td>
<td>-.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$R^2$                                                      |

Adjusted $R^2$                                             |

Number of cases                                            | 124  |

*p $ \leq .10$, two-tailed test.  
**p $ \leq .05$, two-tailed test.

importance in explaining these feelings, with a standardized regression coefficient of -.20. Also confirming the bivariate findings, belief that white officials always prevail in decision-making was also of relative importance in its effect on these views, with councillors who agreed with this idea being more likely to see ethnic minority citizens as politically ineffectual. The effects of the partisan character of councils on these views observed in the bivariate analysis were not apparent when these variables were considered relative to the other variables included in the regression. However, although the party control variable was not found to be statistically significant, its
effect on these attitudes, as measured by the standardized regression coefficient, was equivalent to that of views on white power.

Thus, ethnic minority councillors offered mixed evaluations of their own political efficacy and that of ethnic minority citizens more generally. Councillors were largely pessimistic about their own political efficacy with respect to changing things for ethnic minorities. Additionally, they were skeptical about their ability to overcome what they identified as a formidable white power structure. However, councillors were more likely to see ordinary ethnic minority citizens as politically efficacious, especially regarding local government decision-making.

National Pride and Trust

Feelings of national pride are often used as indicators of positive affect toward the political system among its citizens. Further, evidence of trust in the political system is usually taken to be a good indicator of diffuse support for government. Such feelings of trust commonly involve beliefs about the decisions made and actions taken by the government and its agents (Paige 1971, 810). Individuals who demonstrate trust and pride in political institutions may be considered politically integrated to the extent that such feelings imply acceptance of the prevailing norms and values of the political system. I therefore consider the degree to which ethnic minority councillors demonstrated feelings of both pride and trust in societal institutions.
Feelings of Pride

The data regarding ethnic minority councillors' feelings of national pride did not have positive implications for their level of affect toward the political system. Those councillors surveyed were asked to choose from a list of things in Britain of which they were most proud. Large majorities of ethnic minority councillors failed to express pride in any of the items included in this listing (see Table 24). The figures included in Table 24 portray a group of individuals disinclined to evaluate the political, economic and social systems in their country in a positive manner. Such figures thus indicated a conspicuous absence of national pride among a large proportion of these councillors.

Perhaps reflecting their status as active participants in the political system, ethnic minority councillors were most likely to express pride in political institutions and one of their outputs (social legislation). However, even these items failed to receive majority support. The other figure of note included in Table 24 is these councillors' negative evaluation of race relations in Britain, with 87 percent of councillors failing to express pride in this situation.

A majority of Afro-Caribbean councillors failed to make a selection in any of the seven possible categories. This is consistent with their generally more negative political attitudes. Twice as many Afro-Caribbean councillors as Asian councillors professed to take pride in "none of the above." In addition, twice as many Asian councillors expressed pride in governmental and political institutions and Britain's social legislation.
Table 24. Feelings of Pride

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage Responding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social legislation</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governmental, political institutions</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics of people</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic system</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position in international affairs</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race relations</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Responses to the question, "Speaking generally, what are the things in Britain that you are most proud of?"

Political Trust

Feelings of trust in political institutions typically are demonstrated in attitudes concerning government outputs. Consistent with the evidence as to ethnic minority councillors' lack of feelings of national pride was their reaction to the statement "Britain is run for the benefit of all its people." Only 28.8 percent of councillors agreed with this statement, with only 5.4 percent strongly agreeing. Such low levels of positive responses are indicative of a marked absence of political trust among ethnic minority councillors and reflect feelings of cynicism and pessimism.

Afro-Caribbean councillors were particularly likely to disagree with the notion that Britain is run for the benefit of all: 79.5 percent (31) of Afro-Caribbean...
councillors disagreed, with 46.2 percent (18) strongly disagreeing. A majority of Asian councillors also disagreed, however only 27 percent (27) did so strongly.

Hence, there was a marked absence of positive identification with the political system, evidenced by feelings of trust and pride, among ethnic minority councillors. A majority of councillors failed to demonstrate positive affect for any of Britain's societal institutions. Additionally, they did not believe that political bodies operated fairly vis-a-vis ethnic minorities, noting that such institutions did not function for the "benefit of all."

Conclusions

It was argued at the outset of this chapter that the political integration of ethnic minority councillors would be further indicated by perceptions that: the British political system was responsive to ethnic minorities; ethnic minorities were politically efficacious vis-a-vis this system; and societal institutions were worthy of citizens' trust and pride. The findings discussed here have more negative implications for ethnic minority councillors' political integration than any of those examined in previous chapters. Taken together, councillors' attitudes about political system responsiveness, political efficacy, and societal and political institutions more generally did not indicate widespread positive affect among these councillors, especially beyond local political institutions.

Councillors' views about the responsiveness of British political institutions to ethnic minorities were mixed. Their attitudes revealed a general lack of confidence in Parliament's responsiveness to ethnic minorities. It was also widely believed that
central government only sometimes had a positive effect on ethnic minorities' lives. Interviews indicated that these perceptions were primarily a reflection of dissatisfaction with the long-standing Conservative government rather than an indicator of an absence of support for Parliament and its agents as democratic institutions. As such, councillors demonstrated attachment to central-level political institutions (diffuse support), but failed to manifest performance satisfaction vis-a-vis the ruling Conservative Party (specific support). Such specific support was also lacking regarding a hypothetical Labour government in power at the central level.

The tendency was for ethnic minority councillors to evaluate local government far more positively, both with respect to the effects local government had on ethnic minorities' day-to-day lives and their overall confidence in its responsiveness to ethnic minorities. Large majorities of ethnic minority councillors rated local government positively regarding these issues. Asian councillors tended to demonstrate more positive feelings about both central and local government than did Afro-Caribbean councillors. As was hypothesized at the outset, a bivariate analysis indicated that councillors serving on Labour-controlled councils and ones in which their own party was in control also viewed the effects of local government activities more positively. A regression analysis, however, revealed a less straightforward pattern of explanation. The above factors appeared to be of less relative importance in their effects on attitudes about local government than tenure in office and having held party office. This analysis indicated that long-serving councillors and those who had held party
office were more likely to rate local government favorably, findings which were not indicated in the bivariate data.

Political integration was also argued to be influenced by the degree to which political parties were viewed as open to ethnic minorities' full participation and receptive to ethnic minorities' demands. The parties were widely described by councillors as avoiding ethnic minority issues, "using" ethnic minorities for electoral gain, and denying them full and equal participation in partisan activities. The perceptions of ethnic minority councillors in this regard thus had very negative implications for councillors' political integration.

It was hypothesized that political integration further would be influenced by councillors' attitudes about individuals' ability to present demands and achieve results vis-a-vis the political system. Ethnic minority councillors' views of their own political competence and the political efficacy of ethnic minority citizens more generally had ambiguous implications for their political integration. Councillors were largely pessimistic with respect to their ability to change things for ethnic minorities, and doubted the likelihood of their overcoming what they identified as a formidable white power structure. Councillors were more likely, however, to see ordinary ethnic minority citizens as politically efficacious, especially with respect to influencing local government decision-making.

Bivariate analyses indicated that Asian councillors were more likely to hold negative views of their own political competence. Additionally, councillors serving on Labour-controlled councils and councils where their own party was in control were
more likely to describe themselves as efficacious. A regression calculation further indicated that councillors who had held party office and who had served in office longer were more likely to see themselves as being able to change things for ethnic minorities.

Councillors who doubted their own political competence were found to have the greatest likelihood to view whites as always getting their own way. The bivariate analysis also indicated that ethnicity and councillors' experience in the political system affected this view, however, their influence was reduced when considered relative councillors' feelings as to their own political efficacy.

Additionally, councillors' perceptions of their own ability to "present demands and achieve results" on their councils had an impact on their evaluations of the potential for ordinary ethnic minority citizens to participate effectively in government decision-making. Those councillors who believed in their own political competence were much more likely to evaluate individual citizens' abilities positively, particularly with reference to influencing local government.

It was finally argued that political integration would require individuals to positively identify with the political system and other societal institutions, as demonstrated by feelings of trust and pride. The findings in this regard were negative in their implications for political integration. A majority of councillors failed to demonstrate positive affect for any of Britain's societal institutions. Additionally, there was a marked absence of trust in political institutions among ethnic minority councillors. As evidence of this, councillors believed that political bodies did not
operate fairly vis-a-vis ethnic minorities, noting that such institutions did not function for the "benefit of all."

In short, ethnic minority councillors' perceptions about a number of broader issues generally had less positive implications for their political integration than did the evidence relating more to their personal intentions and specific experiences on local councils. While the evidence discussed in this chapter does not deny that ethnic minority councillors are politically integrated, it does qualify the generally positive picture conveyed in previous chapters. When asked to reflect on more general issues of institutional responsiveness and ethnic minorities' political efficacy, councillors' perceptions were less suggestive of political integration, particularly outside the confines of local political processes.
Notes

1. This was generally a reference to the Labour Party's role in enacting restrictive immigration measures in the past.
Chapter IX

Conclusion

The evidence presented in the previous chapters allows for evaluation of the overall nature of ethnic minority elite political integration in Britain. Such an appraisal will involve: 1) a consideration of the general pattern of political integration observed among ethnic minority councillors; 2) discussion of some of the apparent influences on political integration; and 3) speculation as to the implications of these observations for the future of ethnic minority political integration and ethnic minority politics in Britain and for British politics more generally.

Representation and Political Integration

It has been argued that the political integration of ethnic minority elites in Britain would be evidenced by a broad consensus among them as to the perceived legitimacy of the regime and its agents, to the need for and the value of institutional participation, and to the effectiveness of the system's outputs for their communities (Benyon and Solomos 1988, 416). Such political integration might also be defined by elites' incorporation "into the political system not as nominal but as effective members who participate actively in the decision-making process" (Anwar 1980, 56).
Ethnic minority elite political integration might thus be evidenced more specifically by these individuals':

Intention to balance the representation of ethnic minority interests with the broader interests of their constituents.

Articulation of a desire for incorporation and acceptance into the political process.

Assertion of the value of ethnic minority participation in political parties, elections and pressure groups.

Belief in the possibility of effective ethnic minority participation in and influence over policy formulation and decision-making.

Perceptions that the regime's outputs are beneficial to ethnic minorities, responsive to their demands and wants, and effective in their implementation.

Affirmation of the value of increased ethnic minority representation on local councils and central government.

Positive identification with the polity, the political system, and prevailing values.

As has been discussed, ethnic minority councillors' attitudes in this regard generally implied their political integration.

Indicators of Political Integration

To assess the degree to which political integration was evidenced among ethnic minority elites in Britain, five sets of indicators were analyzed. These indicators involved several dimensions that were related to the quality and extent of councillors' political integration. Analysis of councillors' role orientations, political goals or objectives, attitudes and behaviors regarding political strategies and forms of
participation, perceptions of their experiences on local councils, and impressions of the British political system overall revealed a general pattern of political integration, rather than segregation or alienation. The following patterns were observed in this regard.

**Representational roles.** The role types adopted by ethnic minority councillors generally had positive implications not only for the representation of ethnic minority interests, but for these elites' political integration as well. The data generally implied the integration of these elites into local political processes. That is, ethnic minority councillors did not approach their representational responsibilities on a racially or ethnically separate basis. For the most part, they balanced the representation of the broader interests of their constituencies with the more specific interests of their ethnic minority constituents. They chose to orient themselves vis-a-vis their constituencies in a manner that was inclusive, adaptive and broad-minded. Further, these councillors did not single-mindedly pursue a delegate or tribune's role vis-a-vis one particular constituency, involving the narrow representation of the interests of the few. Rather, they balanced the demands of their constituents with larger considerations such as the needs of their borough overall or of their parties.

Such decision-making behaviors indicated a desire for incorporation into local political processes through cooperation, compromise and a concern for matters beyond the specific needs of one particular constituency. These orientations implied an interest in integration and acceptance on the part of these councillors. This balancing process will presumably further serve to promote their political integration by
facilitating their acceptance into the political process among their white constituents and peers.

**Political objectives.** Ethnic minority councillors' goals, when taken together, indicated a desire for the integration of ethnic minority communities into British society. The general pattern was one of majority agreement on the goal of full participation in mainstream political and economic institutions, rather than separation along racial or ethnic lines. There was at the same time widespread support among ethnic minority councillors for broad societal acceptance of their communities' cultural distinctiveness. This reflected an interest in maintaining ethnic and cultural identities, as opposed to purely assimilating into British society.

Ethnic minority councillors thus expressed little interest in maintaining strict boundaries between the ethnic minority communities and mainstream British society. Rather, the majority of councillors' views supported the argument that "a process of integration into mainstream society is in the best interests of the ethnic minority communities in Britain" (Layton-Henry and Studlar 1985, 307-8). There was overall support for objectives and strategies that involved inclusion into local political processes, as well as into mainstream social and economic institutions.

The policy and program preferences of ethnic minority councillors were consistent with their goal definitions. Generally speaking, there was broad support for policies that further implied the integration of ethnic minorities into social and economic institutions. Ethnic minority councillors also strongly endorsed a variety of government programs specifically aimed at addressing ethnic minority problems.
Widespread support for policies stressing equal treatment and opportunity was a final indicator of ethnic minority councillors' commitment to the goal of integration for their communities. There was no support for notions of differential or special treatment for ethnic minorities. Rather, ethnic minority councillors emphasized policies that would treat ethnic minorities in the same fashion as white citizens and facilitate their entrance into mainstream institutions.

Political participation. The findings regarding ethnic minority councillors' views on political participation and organization further suggested a pattern of political incorporation that involves full integration within British political institutions. There was widespread affirmation of the effectiveness of those political behaviors that are widely considered to be key indicators of political integration and support for democratic politics. In addition, ethnic minority councillors were very reluctant to rate as effective forms of participation that are not commonly acknowledged as being legitimate in a democracy. In particular, they did not rate such activities as the only effective forms of political action for ethnic minorities.

Councillors failed to support forms of political organization that involved the separation of ethnic minorities from mainstream political institutions, choosing instead to become involved in institutions that could provide direct access to political power. A large majority of councillors did not express views that demonstrated a belief in the need to seek alternatives to the "established politics" of the Labour and Conservative parties. The views of these councillors fully supported the argument that any
wholesale withdrawal from conventional political activities on the part of ethnic minorities in Britain is unlikely.

Local council experience. The experiences of ethnic minorities on local councils also spoke well for the issue of political integration. Ethnic minority councillors perceived themselves to be incorporated into local decision-making processes. Councillors' perceptions of their council relationships were indicative of their integration with all of their council colleagues. These working relationships involved all councillors and councillors did not organize themselves on an ethnically-separate basis. Councillors further defined their participation in local councils as effective and did not regard themselves as merely "tokens." They ultimately believed in their ability to achieve something, both for ethnic minorities and whites, and professed to "have all to work for."

Political institutions. Councillors' attitudes about political system responsiveness, political efficacy, and societal and political institutions more generally did not indicate widespread positive affect among these councillors, especially beyond local political institutions. Ethnic minority councillors' perceptions in this regard generally had less positive implications for their political integration than did the evidence relating more to their personal intentions and specific experiences on local councils. Councillors were reluctant to describe political institutions, particularly beyond local government, as responsive to ethnic minorities. They generally did not view ethnic minorities as politically efficacious with respect to influencing decision-making on ethnic minority issues, this was especially the case regarding elected ethnic
minorities. Finally, councillors failed to demonstrate feelings of trust or pride in an array of societal institutions. While such evidence did not entirely deny that ethnic minority councillors are politically integrated, it did qualify the generally positive picture conveyed by the other findings.

The Pattern of Political Integration

Overall, then, the perceptions of ethnic minority councillors indicated a general desire for political integration, as well as apparent progress toward this goal. Their views were indicative of their political integration in that they:

- Described democratic political institutions and procedures as legitimate.
- Affirmed the need for and value of institutional participation for ethnic minorities and for increasing levels of participation.
- Articulated a desire to be incorporated and accepted into mainstream political life.
- Intended to balance the representation of ethnic minorities with the representation of broader constituencies as well.
- Asserted the effectiveness of local governments' outputs for ethnic minorities.
- Believed themselves to be incorporated as effective participants in local policy formulation and decision-making processes.

Political integration was thus evidenced by councillors' testimony as to the legitimacy of the democratic political system and its institutions and the need for and value of increased participation in this system. Their perceptions were indicative of a desire to participate in mainstream institutions on equal footing with the majority population, while maintaining individuals' cultural identity and beliefs. Councillors further
believed that effective ethnic minority participation in democratic politics and
decision-making generally was possible, particularly at the local level of government.

There was, however, evidence that implied that ethnic minority councillors' political integration was incomplete. This evidence was generally related to councillors' broader perceptions of British political institutions and their responsiveness to ethnic minorities. A more limited form of political integration was, in particular, implied by councillors:

Denial that central-level political institutions (namely Parliament and the political parties) were responsive to ethnic minorities or that their outputs were beneficial for them.

Assertion of ethnic minorities' limited ability to present demands and achieve results vis-a-vis central-level government and its agents.

Failure to demonstrate widespread positive affect for a broad array of social and political institutions.

With respect to the wider political system, therefore, councillors expressed reservations about the notion that ethnic minorities are in fact influential in British politics. Further, councillors were dissatisfied with the quality of the central political system's outputs vis-a-vis ethnic minorities and did not express feelings of attachment, or positive affect, towards central-level bodies. They generally conveyed the impression that central political institutions did little to improve ethnic minorities' lives, and they demonstrated no confidence in these institutions' ability or willingness to answer their demands. It must be noted that these negative feelings vis-a-vis central-level institutions involved an absence of specific, rather than diffuse, support. That is, councillors' negative evaluations of central government did not imply a lack
of support for Parliament and its agents as democratic institutions. Rather, councillors' negative feelings specifically were directed toward the ruling Conservative government. Such feelings nonetheless implied a lack of political integration relative to central government. Ultimately, then, councillors' views about the responsiveness of central-level political institutions, as well as ethnic minorities' political efficacy relative to these institutions, suggested that their political integration was incomplete.

The evidence therefore implied that the greatest degree of ethnic minority political integration has occurred relative to local political institutions, and that ethnic minority elites remained more alienated from larger political institutions and processes. Such observations are not surprising given that my study has focused on political actors whose primary political experiences have been with local political institutions and processes. Councillors' experiences at the local level have suggested that increasing involvement and interaction with political institutions facilitates political integration. Thus, for ethnic minorities' political integration to be complete, similar involvement at the central-level would appear to be necessary. The observed patterns suggest that the broader political integration of ethnic minorities would thus require at the very least increased levels of participation and representation at the Parliamentary level.

This apparent contradiction in the pattern of ethnic minority elites' political integration may be reconciled in the following ways. First, the evidence that had positive implications for councillors' integration involved factors that were, for the
most part, directly related to councillors' personal political orientations and intentions and their direct experiences with local political institutions. Councillors' more negative perceptions involved factors that were generally beyond their personal sphere of influence. That is, these views involved factors that councillors could not personally control and were not necessarily a function of either their own behavior in office or their interactions with local political institutions. Such perceptions may instead have reflected previously-held opinions that were unaffected, or perhaps reinforced, by councillors' tenure as elected officials.

Second, the observed pattern may simply be a reflection of the natural tendency to observe a greater level of cynicism and dissatisfaction among citizens regarding larger, more distant and impersonal levels of government. As people become farther removed from government, their views are more likely to involve feelings of distrust, cynicism or disenchantment. Thus, it is not surprising that political integration among ethnic minority councillors was more apparent relative to local government.

Third, and following on this, these patterns may be a function of the fact that it is at the local level that individuals have the greatest interaction with government. Citizens feel the impact of and see the actions of local government more directly than those of central-level government. This is particularly the case with respect to the ethnic minority population. The majority of the initiatives that have been aimed specifically at ethnic minorities in Britain have either been adopted or implemented at the local government level. It is the local governmental system that has been the locus
of the most important debates over the construction of race-related political agendas and the introduction of initiatives promoting racial equality.

Conversely, many of the actions that ethnic minorities are likely to perceive negatively vis-a-vis their communities have been central-level initiatives (for example, immigration policies or very limited race relations initiatives). Councillors' more negative perceptions may be a function of the fact that the larger political system has made no systematic or sustained effort to promote ethnic minorities' political integration or to address their concerns. Councillors therefore had virtually no central-level initiatives to refer to that might have positively influenced their views. In short, the perception that nothing has been done to address ethnic minorities' concerns is frequently directed at central government, while it is local government that is commonly credited with making the most serious efforts on ethnic minorities' behalf. In this context, the observed pattern of attitudes is not surprising.

Overall, then, three general tendencies were observed regarding ethnic minority elites' political integration. The first of these was a pattern of integration involving councillors' perceptions of the legitimacy of democratic institutions, procedures and values. A broad consensus was observed among councillors as to the legitimacy and viability of democratic institutions, the value of participation in these institutions, and the primacy of democratic values. Secondly, ethnic minority elite political integration was indicated by councillors' perceptions of their own incorporation into local government decision-making processes, as well as their belief in the ability of ethnic minorities more generally to participate effectively at the local
level. Thirdly, ethnic minority councillors' political integration was revealed to be incomplete relative to central-level political institutions and processes. In this regard, the perceptions of councillors were more likely to imply feelings of alienation and frustration, rather than integration.

**Understanding Political Integration**

While a general pattern of political integration was observed among ethnic minority councillors, there also was some differentiation in their views. Clearly, there were a number of factors that accounted for variations in councillors' views. Ethnicity appeared to emerge as the strongest source of variation in ethnic minority councillors' perceptions. Beyond ethnicity, councillors' associational histories, their relationship to the ethnic minority community, the partisan character of their councils, and the nature of their institutional ties were also significant in their effects. While the effects of a number of attitudinal variables were also considered in my research, no overall patterns of association were discerned.

Examination of these relationships allows for discussion of 1) the qualities that differentiated councillors who appeared politically integrated from those who seemed less so, and 2) the factors that appeared to promote or facilitate the political integration of ethnic minority elites.
Ethnicity

The ethnic differences discussed in Chapter II proved to be particularly salient in explaining variations in ethnic minority councillors' perceptions. The demographic, socioeconomic and attitudinal distinctions that characterize these ethnic groups at the mass level were reflected in the attitudes and behaviors of Asian and Afro-Caribbean councillors and had important implications for their political integration. With respect to each of the five sets of indicators considered in the research, Asian councillors appeared to be more politically integrated than their Afro-Caribbean counterparts.

This pattern of political integration was suggested by two general tendencies: 1) for Afro-Caribbean councillors to express views implying: deeper commitment to ethnic minority communities, greater support for ethnic minority autonomy and solidarity, stronger belief in the effectiveness of alternative political activities and organizations, a tendency toward less inclusive council relationships, and more negative impressions of the British political system and ethnic minorities in relation to it; and 2) for Asian councillors to demonstrate stronger allegiance to established British political institutions, to be more positive about their role in these institutions, and to have their strongest political ties and associations beyond the ethnic minority communities.

As discussed in Chapter II, previous research has indicated that Afro-Caribbean citizens demonstrate views that suggest that their political integration is incomplete, particularly when considered relative to Asian citizens. Despite their greater religious and cultural distance, on a variety of indicators Asians appear to be
less in conflict with or alienated from British society than Afro-Caribbeans. Afro-Caribbean citizens are described as being frustrated with the responsiveness of the British political system to their demands and as displaying feelings of alienation from political institutions. For example, Afro-Caribbeans have been found to be markedly less likely than Asians or whites to believe that "ordinary people" can influence government. Additionally, they have been shown to have a much stronger sense of racial injustice than Asians; that is, to claim experience of hostility and discrimination from white people and white-dominated institutions (Fitzgerald 1988, 263). As such, at the mass level, Afro-Caribbean citizens are generally regarded as being less integrated into mainstream British politics than Asian citizens. The differences that were observed in the perceptions of Asian and Afro-Caribbean councillors were thus consistent with attitudinal and behavioral patterns documented among ethnic minorities at the mass level.

This is not to argue that Afro-Caribbean councillors were not at all politically integrated. Afro-Caribbean councillors generally did not express views that denied that any process of political integration was occurring among them. Rather, relative to Asian councillors, Afro-Caribbean councillors were less politically integrated. The degree of political integration observed among ethnic minority councillors, then, proved to be strongly related to their ethnicity.
Institutional Ties

The nature of councillors' ties to political institutions was a further source of variation in ethnic minority councillors' attitudes and behaviors. In particular, councillors' length of tenure in office, position on their councils, and partisan backgrounds were important influences on councillors' views. The evidence indicated that as ethnic minority councillors developed stronger ties to political institutions (for example, through longer service) their level of political integration generally increased.

As was noted, the evidence suggested that length of experience in the political system significantly affected councillors' degree of political integration. On several indicators, ethnic minority councillors who had served in office longer were generally more likely to appear politically integrated. For example, these councillors were more likely to profess to having good working relationships on their councils with both their white colleagues and council leaders, to believe in their own ability to influence council agenda-setting, and to have risen to positions of authority on their councils.

Despite the apparently positive effect of length of service on political integration, councillors who had served longer were also more likely to articulate feelings of frustration with the political system. Their perceptions of central government responsiveness to ethnic minorities, elected officials' political competence in changing things for ethnic minorities, and ethnic minorities' ability to overcome white political dominance were more negative than those of councillors elected more recently. Such feelings of frustration do not necessarily negate the previously
discussed evidence of political integration, however. Rather, they may be interpreted as consistent with an overall pattern of political integration that involved councillors' expressing more positive views relative to factors that fell within their personal sphere of influence.

The ascension to positions of authority on local councils was considered to be a sign of councillors' incorporation into local political processes. Councillors who had achieved such positions of authority, in turn, appeared to be better politically integrated with respect to several of the indicators examined. For example, they reported having better relationships on their councils with senior members, being able to independently affect their councils' agendas, and generally demonstrated feelings of political competence. As such, recruitment to positions of authority on councils was related to councillors' integration into local political processes and decision-making. This again suggests that ethnic minority councillors' political integration is related to the nature of their relationship to local political institutions. The more elaborate councillors' relationships with these institutions and processes were, the more likely they were to articulate views that were indicative of political integration.

A final aspect of councillors' ties to political institutions that influenced their political integration involved partisan considerations. Councillors with more activist and extensive partisan histories (as indicated by length of party membership, having been a party officer, and extent of membership in organized groups in their party) generally appeared to be more politically integrated. This was the case with respect to indicators involving role orientations and their having risen to positions of authority.
on local councils. One exception to this pattern was the tendency for long-time party members to be more likely to support alternative forms of political organization for ethnic minorities, perhaps reflecting their having had longer opportunity to become disenchanted with the performance of their party vis-a-vis ethnic minorities. Such an exception was not sufficient, however, to contradict the general finding that councillors with backgrounds involving stronger attachment to the political parties were more likely to appear politically integrated.

In short, all of these findings generally suggested that increasing involvement with established political institutions was positively related to individuals' political integration. The evidence indicated that increasing involvement with political institutions for the most part produces feelings of integration, rather than alienation or frustration, among ethnic minority elites. Such patterns implied that the degree of political integration observed among ethnic minority elites will likely increase in the future as their institutional ties continue to develop.

Objective Political Factors

The degree of political integration observed among ethnic minority councillors was also influenced by the partisan character of the councils on which they served. Specifically, councillors' political integration was stronger and more direct where ethnic minority councillors were represented among the controlling parties and not the opposition. Further, serving on a Labour council was an important influence on councillors' integration into local political life. For example, these councillors
demonstrated stronger feelings of political competence and were more likely to describe ethnic minority citizens as politically efficacious. Additionally, they had a greater tendency to positively assess local government's responsiveness to ethnic minorities. Councillors serving on Labour-controlled councils also professed to having a greater ability to influence their councils' agendas.

Effects of Ties to the Ethnic Minority Community

The degree to which councillors had established or extensive ties to the ethnic minority community (as indicated by associations with ethnic minority organizations, Labour Party Black Sections membership, or self-identification as an "ethnic minority representative") had a negative influence on patterns of political integration. That is, councillors who identified themselves as having stronger associations with the ethnic minority community appeared to be less politically integrated. In particular, these councillors defined objectives and supported policies involving greater autonomy for, and solidarity among, ethnic minorities and were more likely to endorse alternative forms of political organization for ethnic minorities. Further, councillors who were stronger advocates of ethnic minority solidarity and political autonomy were more likely to believe nontraditional political activities could be effective and to support alternative forms of political organization.

A strong commitment to the ethnic minority community did not transfer into the complete rejection of integration into the prevailing structures of society in favor of alternative forms of political, social and economic organization. The observed
pattern was one in which councillors who identified more strongly with the ethnic minority community generally demonstrated a more restricted form of political integration, particularly concerning their political objectives and participatory views.

In short, the most obvious distinction noted among ethnic minority councillors relative to their political integration was that Asian councillors appeared to be more politically integrated than Afro-Caribbean councillors with respect to all of the indicators examined. In addition, a greater degree of political integration was observed among ethnic minority councillors with strong institutional ties. The partisan character of councils also conditioned the extent of councillors' political integration. Finally, the nature of councillors' relationships to the ethnic minority communities proved to be a negative influence on the degree of political integration observed.

Implications of Findings

The attitudes and behaviors observed among Britain's newly emergent ethnic minority political elites have particularly important implications for the future political integration of ethnic minorities, for ethnic minority politics, and for the British political system more generally. The evidence concerning the political integration of ethnic minority elites allows for comment on the relationship between election to political office and the political integration of Britain's ethnic minority communities. The formative experiences in local politics of ethnic minority elites also teach important lessons about the effectiveness and legitimacy of mainstream politics for
ethnic minorities. Further, the ascension to political office of ethnic minorities has important implications for the style and character of British politics in the future.

Prospects for Increased Political Integration

The earlier discussion of the qualities that differentiated councillors in terms of their degree of political integration, as well as the factors that appeared to promote their political integration, permits speculation as to their implications for the future political integration of ethnic minorities in Britain. The observed patterns relative to ethnicity allow one to predict that, despite their linguistic, religious and social distance from the native white population, the process of political integration will be less difficult for British Asian citizens than for Afro-Caribbean citizens. Asian citizens' cultural backgrounds, socioeconomic status and general orientations toward British society are indicative of a mindset that is more conducive to political integration than that observed among Afro-Caribbeans. One would therefore predict that Asians are more likely to emerge as the more integrated, participatory and politically successful of the ethnic minority communities. The future for Afro-Caribbean citizens seems more likely to be characterized by a more limited form of political integration. This will particularly be the case to the degree that Afro-Caribbeans continue to place greater emphasis on the maintenance of racial or ethnic solidarity and some separation in political and economic terms. Further, to the degree that their expectations of the political system remain unmet, levels of political alienation among Afro-Caribbeans may increase.
As was noted, there were several factors that appeared to promote political integration among ethnic minority councillors. Longer and more extensive involvement in political institutions was observed to increase councillors' political integration, as opposed to producing frustration or alienation. This observation bodes well for the future political integration of ethnic minority elites, particularly to the degree that their involvement in the political system continues to increase.

Given this relationship, a key factor then becomes ethnic minorities' actual ability to increase their levels of political involvement. In particular, this involves the prospects for increasing the number of ethnic minority elected representatives (at both the local and parliamentary level). Also important is the likelihood of augmenting their number of appointed officials and assuming control of positions of power and authority within elected bodies. Such factors are closely related to the willingness of the political parties, particularly the Labour Party, to relinquish positions of authority to ethnic minorities and to allow for increased levels of participation. As was discussed in Chapter VIII, the prospects for such a devolution of power may not be particularly good, especially within the Labour Party. For example, councillors were not optimistic about the likelihood of the Labour Party augmenting their number of candidates for elected office, especially at the parliamentary level. As such, an ever-increasing rate of political integration for Britain's ethnic minorities may not be a given, to the extent that this will be achieved through higher levels of institutional participation.
The potential influence of partisan factors on ethnic minorities' future political integration was further suggested by the observed relationship between political integration and councillors' opportunity to serve as a representative of a controlling rather than opposition party. It was noted that councillors serving on councils where their own party was in control were more politically integrated. Specifically, ethnic minority councillors were best incorporated into mainstream political life in areas of Labour dominance. This finding, when considered along with ethnic minorities' overwhelming membership in the Labour Party, suggests that the future political integration of ethnic minorities is strongly related to the fate of the Labour Party at election time. The more electorally successful the Labour Party is, particularly with respect to gaining control of political bodies, the greater the degree of political integration that is likely to be observed among ethnic minorities in the future.

Such findings are illustrative of the degree to which the political fortunes of ethnic minorities are related to Labour Party politics in Britain. In many respects, what happens in a political sense to ethnic minorities is strongly dependent upon Labour partisan factors. In Chapter III, we saw that the partisan character of a local authority conditioned ethnic minority candidates' chances of electoral success. We now see that partisan characteristics continue to be important once ethnic minorities achieve elected office.

This dependence on the Labour Party may ultimately serve as a limit on ethnic minorities' political integration. As was just mentioned, this will clearly be the case to the degree that such integration is contingent upon the parties' willingness to increase
ethnic minorities' opportunities for representation. Additionally, the Labour Party has been described as being prepared to tolerate the participation of ethnic minorities in its ranks only within the parameters defined by the party leadership. For example, councillors commonly characterized ethnic minorities' role in the Labour Party as "voting fodder" and viewed the party as unwilling to allow ethnic minorities to play any significant part in party decision-making. Additionally, in the current political context, the Labour Party appears reluctant to directly address ethnic minority concerns, and in fact has been argued to have made a point of removing such issues from its agenda. To the extent that the quantity and quality of their participation is in fact conditioned by terms set by the party, the political integration of ethnic minorities thus may be circumscribed. Hence, ethnic minorities' dependence on the Labour Party does not necessarily bode well for their political integration in the future.

A final influence on ethnic minority elites' political integration was the extent of their commitment to the ethnic minority communities and to the maintenance of ethnic minority solidarity. In particular, councillors' with stronger affiliations with and commitments to the ethnic minority community tended to exhibit a lesser degree of political integration. Among councillors with stronger ties to the ethnic minority community, there was a definite tendency to express an interest in only partial incorporation into mainstream political, social and economic institutions. To the extent that such intentions and affiliations persist, it is reasonable to expect that these elites' political integration will be circumscribed. This is particularly the case to the extent that these individuals continue to express a desire for a more restricted form of
political integration. Thus, to the degree that such ties persist, the political integration of elites holding such views is likely to be incomplete.

Influence on Ethnic Minority Politics

Perhaps the most important implications of my research concern the relationship between the electoral representation of ethnic minorities and ethnic minority politics at the mass level. As was argued at the outset, insofar as their own experiences and perceptions shape attitudes and behaviors at the mass level, the election to office of ethnic minorities may have a significant impact on the future political activities of ethnic minorities in Britain. If ethnic minority representatives' experiences in office developed their confidence in formal, institutionalized channels of participation, this faith in the system may be communicated to ethnic minorities at the mass level and promote the widespread use of such institutional channels. Political participation and, as such, political integration are more likely to be forthcoming if government or political processes are perceived to be performing effectively. The election to office of ethnic minorities thus might stimulate integrationist impulses to the extent that ethnic minorities believe that this representation has produced benefits for their communities. Further, ethnic minorities' election to office might affect their communities' political attitudes and behaviors insofar as elected representatives function as role models in government, articulating ethnic minorities' interests and illustrating that positions of authority are not reserved for one race or group.
Presumably, the existence of such positive role models will further serve to promote ethnic minority citizens' political integration.

Conversely, to the degree that the perceptions and experiences of ethnic minority councillors have been negative, and these are communicated downward to the mass level, ethnic minority citizens may lose faith in the political system and become more frustrated and alienated. Increased minority representation may then turn out to be a mixed blessing, particularly to the extent that the growth in representation is not matched by a perceived increase in government responsiveness to minority communities. In this case, unmet expectations may lead to feelings of disenchantment and the perception that the system does not work for ethnic minorities. In turn, these feelings would likely be transferred into low levels of political participation, citizen apathy and even alienation. Such outcomes are undesirable in a democratic society, in which full citizen participation presumably is a fundamental goal. Beyond this, such feelings may be manifested in the form political violence, such as that witnessed in the 1970s in Britain in the perceived absence of viable participatory channels for ethnic minorities. Such violence may then reemerge as an alternative form of political participation for ethnic minorities.

As was discussed earlier, the events that took place in Los Angeles in 1992 serve as a powerful illustration of this process at work. Widespread unrest and violence occurred in this city despite the existence of political representation for the minority communities, most notably an African American mayor serving his fifth term. Such problems in part may have reflected rising feelings of frustration within
the minority communities that were the result of unmet expectations vis-a-vis city
government and minority elected officials. Reports following this unrest consistently
touched upon the fact that members of the minority communities felt excluded from
the political system and believed that societal institutions did not function effectively
vis-a-vis minorities. There was additional evidence of a widespread belief that
minority officials had failed to adequately represent the interests of minorities and
solve their problems. In short, the violence appeared to be directly related to a broad
consensus among minorities about the nonresponsiveness of government, as well as to
widespread feelings of alienation.

The 1992 riots in Los Angeles therefore suggest that political institutions and
officials are permitted a "window of opportunity," or a period of time in which to
demonstrate that political officials and institutions are open and responsive to minority
demands. The election to office of minorities is accompanied by rising expectations in
their communities, and if, over time, these communities continue to feel excluded
from political decision-making, ignored by the political system and, perhaps, even
their own elected representatives, they are likely to become more frustrated and
alienated than they were prior to achieving representation. If the Los Angeles case is
to serve as model, then, it would suggest that such frustrations do not emerge
immediately, but build up over time as citizens fail to have their expectations
fulfilled. Thus, it would seem that newly elected minority officials need not effect
widespread change immediately, but nonetheless cannot afford to ignore their
constituents' demands indefinitely. Ultimately, the perception that societal institutions
are not responsive to minorities, and that participation in these institutions is not productive, may lead to an eruption of political frustration and alienation and even violence.

At this relatively early stage in the representation of Britain’s ethnic minorities, the implications of my research for the nature of ethnic minority political behavior at the mass level are generally positive, particularly regarding local level participation. To the extent that the attitudes and behaviors of elites actually do convey messages to citizens at the mass level, the observed perceptions of ethnic minority councillors should serve as a positive influence on ethnic minorities’ political participation and views of local political institutions. To the degree that ethnic minority citizens observe their local representatives responding to their problems, influencing local policies, or assuming local positions of authority, this should serve to promote their identification with the polity, their acceptance of its legitimacy, and their participation in its institutions and processes. As such, the overall pattern of political integration observed among ethnic minority councillors may stimulate integrationist impulses among their communities, especially relative to the local political system. Councillors’ attitudes regarding central political institutions will more likely convey a more negative impression to ethnic minority citizens and may produce similar feelings of frustration among their communities.

Thus, ethnic minority elites in Britain appear to be at a critical juncture. Their generally positive impressions of the political system bode well in terms of their potential for stimulating participation and integration among ethnic minority citizens.
However, it is important that ethnic minority elites do not remain satisfied with current levels of political system performance relative to their communities. Rather, they must continue to press to become incorporated and to compel governmental responsiveness to ethnic minorities. The evidence from the United States indicates that citizens must believe that their elected officials are making serious efforts in this regard and that they cannot wait too long to produce some form of change.

Hence, ethnic minority elites' success in the future in facilitating the incorporation of ethnic minority citizens as full political participants may in fact depend upon their ability to learn from the experiences of minority officials in the United States.

Implications for the British Political System

Ethnic minorities' election to office clearly has important ramifications for the British political system more generally. Specifically, the evidence allows for comment as to whether: 1) the election to office of ethnic minorities is likely to promote the use of traditional forms of participation by ethnic minorities at the mass level; 2) ethnic minorities' nomination and election office represents a devolution of power by the major political parties, denoting evidence of change in the nature of British politics; and 3) the presence of ethnic minorities in formal political institutions has altered the way in which the "race question" is addressed by political institutions. Additionally, it is possible to speculate as to the manner in which political institutions must respond to further promote the process of political integration observed.
Insofar as the experiences of elites have significant effects for the political attitudes and behaviors of citizens at the mass level, the evidence suggests that the election of ethnic minorities to political office is likely to promote the use of traditional forms of participation by ethnic minorities at the mass level. For a democratic political system, this is clearly a positive development. This is true not only in virtue of an increase in citizen participation, but also in terms of the channeling of such participation into formal political institutions, rather than alternative, particularly violent, expressions of political voice. Such phenomena further imply the continued stability of democratic politics.

The perceptions of ethnic minority councillors regarding the responsiveness of political parties to the concerns of their communities, especially regarding ethnic minorities' representation, were suggestive of traditional patterns of partisan politics in Britain. The nomination and election to office of ethnic minorities, especially within the Labour Party, were not revealed to be indicative of a devolution of power to ethnic minorities by the existing parties. Rather, councillors' impressions suggested that their selection was a manifestation of partisan competition. The widespread perception was that candidate selection was primarily a function of electoral considerations. As such, candidates were chosen primarily on the basis of whether a particular individual was likely to win (or not lose) a seat, rather than as a concession to ethnic minority pressure, in response to feelings of responsibility to ethnic minority constituents, or as a reflection of a commitment to increasing the political representation and participation of ethnic minorities. The nomination and election of
ethnic minority candidates therefore was not indicative of any significant change in the nature of party politics, especially Labour Party politics, in Britain. In fact, such selections may be interpreted as partisan politics "as usual."

The perceptions and experiences of ethnic minority councillors indicated that their presence in formal political institutions has altered the manner in which ethnic minority issues are addressed by governmental bodies and political parties. Although ethnic minority councillors may not as yet have been tremendously successful in forcing governmental responsiveness to their demands, they have clearly raised the level of consciousness concerning ethnic minority issues on councils and have begun the process of influencing political agendas. Beyond council chambers, the political parties also have increasingly been compelled to acknowledge the concerns of their ethnic minority members. Hence, ethnic minorities' entrance into formal political institutions at the very least appears to have forced some recognition of the existence of such things as "ethnic minority issues." Their continued presence in political institutions will presumably result in this being even more the case in the future.

On the basis of the evidence considered here, the continued effective functioning of the democratic political system in Britain, particularly as defined by the full participation of all of its citizens, would appear to require several things. The first of these is the continued political integration of ethnic minority elites, especially in terms of their incorporation not as nominal but effective participants in political decision-making processes. Such a process must occur not only at the local level, but, perhaps even more importantly, in the parliamentary setting. This would specifically
require political institutions to be open to such participation and perhaps even promote it. As already discussed, in this regard the efforts of the major political parties will be of great significance.

Following on this, the full participation of ethnic minority citizens in British politics will secondly be dependent on the efforts of the political parties. The parties must be willing to cede some of their power (particularly in terms of whites' control of electoral seats) to their ethnic minority members who desire participation on equal footing with whites. Ethnic minorities' full participation in the political system requires that the parties afford them the opportunity to achieve their desired level of representation. As such, ethnic minorities must be granted equal say in the selection of their party's candidates, as well as full representation within party structures. Further, the political parties need to be responsive to the concerns of their ethnic minority members and to allow their participation in party agenda-setting and decision-making.

Third, those who determine the nature of political agendas, at both the local and parliamentary level, must cooperate with ethnic minority representatives in their efforts to ensure that the concerns of ethnic minority citizens are addressed. As long as ethnic minority issues are denied agenda-status, ethnic minority citizens will likely perceive political institutions as ineffective and nonresponsive. Thus, it is incumbent upon these institutions and those who control them to acknowledge the existence of ethnic minority issues and to make a serious attempt to begin to address them.
My research thus indicated that the political representation of ethnic minorities has indeed been an important new development in British politics. Ethnic minorities’ participation in mainstream political institutions generally has been demonstrated to have produced an increase in their level of political integration, rather than feelings of frustration or alienation. This process of elite level integration seems likely to serve as a spur to higher levels of participation among ethnic minorities at the mass level. Thus, among ethnic minorities, a continuing transition from a protest mode of participation to one of engagement with mainstream institutions is to be expected. The findings further had generally positive implications for the continued effective and stable operation of the British political system, particularly to the degree that political institutions enhance their openness and responsiveness to ethnic minority citizens.
Appendix A

Data
Data

The fieldwork for my research was conducted in London, England over the period September 8, 1990 to December 22, 1990. The following are the major sources of data utilized in the analysis.

Semi-structured Elite Interviews

The data used in the study are based on a survey conducted in 1990 consisting of 46 in-depth, semi-structured elite interviews. Questions from the interview schedule may be found in Appendix B.

The interviews, lasting approximately 90 minutes each, were designed to allow for open-ended discussion with respondents, thus affording me the opportunity to acquire detailed information, particularly with reference to the perceptions of these elites. The sample for these interviews was drawn with several objectives in mind:

The first of these was to interview councillors in boroughs in which ethnic minorities had achieved the greatest levels of representation (for example, the London boroughs of Ealing and Brent).

Another of my intentions was to talk to ethnic minority councillors who had held office for longer than average periods of time. A large number of ethnic minority councillors had been elected in 1990. It was my intent to interview some councillors who held office prior to this date, under the assumption that a longer time in office would have had some influence on their attitudes. I also included in my sample councillors who had just been elected.

I also interviewed councillors from a primarily Asian borough (Ealing) and a primarily Afro-Caribbean borough (Lambeth) to facilitate a direct comparison of these two ethnic groups.
My interview sample was also drawn to include councillors serving on councils controlled by all three major political parties, Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat.

An effort was finally made to include female councillors in my sample. These interviews thus allowed me to focus on a number of specific features of the ethnic minority councillor population, as well as permitting some more exact comparisons.

Ultimately, I conducted 46 interviews with ethnic minority councillors. The following details the characteristics of the interviewees:

- 44 London councillors, sitting on 16 of the 32 London borough councils
- 2 Non-London councillors, sitting on Leicester council
- 9 females (19.6 percent)
- 10 elected in 1990, 36 re-elected to council seats in 1990
- 41 Labour party members (89.1 percent), 4 Conservative (8.7 percent), and 1 Liberal Democrat (2.2 percent)
- 21 Afro-Caribbean councillors (45.7 percent), 25 Asian (54.3 percent)

Mail Survey

The data used in the study are also based on a mail survey conducted in 1990. Although mail surveys have a number of drawbacks, particularly with respect to the types of questions compatible with its closed-ended format, the use of this instrument allowed me to significantly increase the breadth of my study. Given the number and geographic distribution of my respondents, as well as time and cost constraints, a mail
survey afforded me the opportunity to gather information on a large number of ethnic minority councillors. The survey instrument can be found in Appendix C.

The survey instrument was distributed to the entire population of ethnic minority councillors (as identified in September 1990), incumbent and retired. A total of 347 ethnic minority councillors were sent survey questionnaires on October 22, 1990. Reminder postcards were mailed on November 13, and non-respondents were sent second questionnaires on November 26, 1990. The following details survey distribution and response rates:

### Sitting Councillors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surveyed</th>
<th>Response Rate</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>95</td>
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<tr>
<td>Metropolitan Authorities</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-metropolitan authorities</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Non-London authorities)</td>
<td>(102)</td>
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</table>

#### Total in office surveyed 295 146 49.5%

Retired Councillors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surveyed</th>
<th>Response Rate</th>
</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-London</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Total retired surveyed 52 19 36.5%

Other sources

*Councillor listings.* I identified sitting ethnic minority local councillors in the London boroughs through visits to the 32 council offices. At each office I either
talked to a council official who could identify ethnic minority members for me, or ascertained the ethnic identity of councillors through photographs associated with councillor listings. As such, I believe that my listing of ethnic minority councillors in the London boroughs was accurate as of September 1990. A listing of ethnic minority councillors in the London boroughs can be found in Appendix D.

Ethnic minority councillor listings for the non-London boroughs were more difficult to compile. I used as my starting point a listing of councillors compiled by the Commission for Racial Equality in 1986. I supplemented this listing by utilizing The Municipal Handbook (1990), which contained listings of local councillors throughout the country. From these listings, I obtained the names of all councillors who appeared to be of ethnic minority origin. Because Afro-Caribbean names tend to be very similar to ordinary British names, this method made it very likely that the Afro-Caribbean councillors beyond the London boroughs were undercounted. I finally obtained listings of ethnic minority councillors in those non-London boroughs with large ethnic minority populations by contacting council offices in these boroughs and inquiring as to the number of ethnic minority councillors. Listings of non-London 87-ethnic minority councillors can be found in Appendix D.
Appendix B

Interview Schedule
Interview Schedule

I. I would first like to talk with you about your work as a councillor.

Can you describe your work as a councillor? How do you spend most of your time? Doing constituency work, pursuing party priorities, dealing with ethnic minority grievances...?

A. What are the main ways you get to know about the needs and attitudes of people in your ward? Do you attend community association meetings, schedule regular gatherings, read the neighborhood papers...?

B. Are people generally more interested in your taking care of their own personal problems or in your stand on more general issues before the council?

II. Now I would like to ask you some questions about your role as an elected representative.

When you are deciding how to vote an issue before the council, what kinds of things influence your decision most? The opinions of your party, views of your own ethnic group, your own judgement...?

A. What happens when there is some difference between the views of your party and your own personal views or those of your constituents?
   1. Does this often occur?
   2. How do you resolve this conflict? Do you break ranks with the party?

B. Do you ever feel any conflict between your responsibility to the people who voted for you and your responsibility to the borough as a whole?

III. What do you think are the main problems facing you as an ethnic minority councillor today? Lack of political resources, your relations with other councillors, your status as an ethnic minority...?

IV. What are the most important problems facing ethnic minorities today?

A. Do ethnic minorities in your area share the same concerns as whites?

B. Do ethnic minorities have a better or worse status position than whites?
C. Has there been any progress in race relations in the past 20 years?

D. Do you think that there should be a policy of positive discrimination towards ethnic minorities?

E. Are you satisfied with the way equal opportunity policies are implemented by your council?

V. Now I would like to ask you some questions about your political activities before you became a councillor and your election to office.

If you think back as far as you can, when did you first become interested in public matters?

A. Does your family have a record of political or public service?

B. Any particular persons, situation or event?

C. Steps between early political activity and initial candidacy:
   1. Any local government position
   2. Local community organizations
   3. Party activities
   4. Different party

VI. What motivated you to run for office?

A. As a result of your service, do you now have any different ideas about what can be accomplished in local government?

VII. How do you explain your success in being elected to office?

A. What kinds of groups were most helpful?

B. How big a role did your party organization play?

C. Is there much interest in local elections among ethnic minorities?

VIII. Now I would like to ask you about the day-to-day operation of your council and your role on it.

If a group of your constituents came to you with a proposal you thought was worthy, how would you go about getting this introduced and passed? (a specifically ethnic minority issue)
A. Is it difficult for you as an ethnic minority councillor to get the cooperation of your fellow members?

B. Are your relationships with other ethnic minority councillors different than your relationships with your white peers?

C. Are personal relationships on the council harmonious?

IX. How does your party group arrive at a decision about a major policy matter?

A. Have you ever openly disagreed with a policy decision of your party group?

B. Have you ever abstained or voted against your party group in council or committee?

C. Do you find that you are expected by your party to take responsibility for only ethnic minority issues? That is, is it more difficult for you to pursue more general issues?

X. Finally, I would like to ask you about your feelings about the British political system and ethnic minorities in relation to it.

In light of your own experiences as a councillor, how responsive do you think the political system and parties are to ethnic minority concerns?

A. Are the interests of ethnic minorities adequately represented in local government? in national government? in local authority officer positions?

B. Do you think ethnic minorities should have their own separate political voice, such as Black Sections in the Labour party?

C. What are the prospects for ethnic minority political unity and action?

D. Has the election of four ethnic minority MPs made a difference?

E. What are the prospects for increased ethnic minority representation at the local level? the parliamentary level?
Appendix C

Questionnaire
THE QUEST FOR REPRESENTATION: Ethnic Minority Councillors

A note about the questionnaire:

I realize you are very busy, and in order to save time and effort I have limited the number of questions and kept them as brief and straightforward as possible. Except where requested otherwise, I ask that you answer each question by circling the (one) number that most clearly represents your experience, situation or view. With some questions you are invited to circle more than one answer and with others you need write only a word or two. The questionnaire should take no longer than 30 minutes to complete.

I have chosen to use the term "ethnic minority" to refer to the Asian and Afro-Caribbean population in Britain. Where reference is made in the questionnaire to "ethnic minorities," I am including in this group Africans, East African Asians, Bangladeshis, Indians, Pakistanis, and West Indians.

After completing the questionnaire, you have any comments on any aspect of it, or any other points you wish to make. I would welcome them in the space provided.

Finally, please remember that your answers will remain absolutely confidential.

Thank you again for your cooperation; I hope you enjoy the questionnaire.

First, I would like to ask you some questions about your political activities before you became a councillor:

1. What age were you when you first became interested in politics?

2. Was there any particular situation or event that first stimulated this interest in politics? (Circle one number)
   1 Yes (Please specify)
   2 No

3. How long have you been a paid-up member of your present party?

4. Do you belong to any organized groups in your party? (Circle one number)
   1 Yes (Go to 4a)
   2 No (Go to 5)

4a. Please list the name of the organized group, how long you have been a member and whether you are a member of any committees within that group:

   Name of group       Length of Membership   Committee Member Yes No Committee Name
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________

5. Before you became a councillor, were you ever elected a party officer? (Circle one number)

6. Which of the following party activities did you engage in before you became a councillor? (Circle all that apply)

   1 Spoke publicly for the party
   2 Worked in the party office
   3 Worked at campaign events
   4 Organized money-raising activities
   5 Campaign manager
   6 Never involved in party political activity
   7 Other, Please specify
7. Before you became a councillor, did you belong to any of the following? (Circle all that apply)

1. Community associations
2. Religious organizations
3. Trade union
4. Ethnic minority organizations
5. Sporting clubs
6. Women's group
7. Service organization
8. No previous organizational involvement (Go to 7b)
9. Other, please specify

7a. Did you hold any leadership positions in any of these organizations? (Circle one number)

1. Yes (Please specify organization and position)
2. No

7b. Please list the community organizations to which you currently belong and the position, if any, you hold.

Organization

Position


Now I would like to ask you some questions about your decision to run for public office and your last campaign.

8. Does your family have a record of public service? (Circle one number)

1. Yes, please specify
2. No

9. Was there any particular situation or event that stimulated your decision to run for office? (Circle one number)

1. Yes, please specify
2. No

10. How important to you were each of the following possible reasons for seeking public office? (Circle one number for each response)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Very important</th>
<th>Fairly important</th>
<th>Not too important</th>
<th>Not at all important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A desire to correct social injustices</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A desire for public prestige</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A desire to be &quot;on the inside&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A stepping stone to higher political office</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To increase business contacts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong concern about some specific issue</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To help individuals with these problems</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To promote party policies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To promote ethnic minority political integration</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10a. Was there anything else you thought election to office might help you to accomplish?

(Please specify)

11. In your party's selection of ethnic minority candidates, how much influence do ethnic minorities have? (Circle one number)

1. A major influence
2. Ethnic minority and white leaders have equal influence
3. Ethnic minorities have little influence

12. Roughly what percentage of the people in your electoral district that is, those who can vote for you, are from ethnic minority groups?
13. How would you describe your margin of victory in your last campaign? (Circle one number)

1 Unopposed  
2 Close contest  
3 Moderate margin  
4 Wide margin

16. Here are some individuals and groups who may have been helpful or detrimental to your most recent election. Would you say that they? (Circle one number for each response)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Helped Very Much</th>
<th>Helped Somewhat</th>
<th>Neither helped nor hindered</th>
<th>Mainly hindered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family and close personal friends</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Party leaders</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local party leaders</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Party organization</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local party organization</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minority organizations &amp; leaders</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business groups and leaders</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass media</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade unions</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
<td>4 3 2 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Next I would like to ask you some questions about your activities on the council and your role as an elected representative:

15. When did you first become a councillor?

Month _______ Year _______

16. Which full committees are you on at present (not subcommittees, working groups, etc.)?

17. At present, do you hold any of the following offices? (Circle all that apply)

1 Party spokesman, Please specify committee
2 Deputy party spokesman, Please specify committee
3 Committee chair, Please specify committee
4 Committee vice-chair, Please specify committee
5 Leader of the council
6 Deputy leader of the council
7 Minority group leader
8 Deputy minority group leader
9 Other group officer, Please specify
10 Hold no offices

18. As a councillor, do you represent the local authority on any outside bodies? (For example, a Community Relations Council) (Circle one number)

1 Yes (Go to 18a)  
2 No (Go to 19)

18a. Please list the bodies on which you represent the council:

19. As a councillor, do you represent your party on any outside bodies (including party bodies)? (Circle one number)

1 Yes (Go to 19a)  
2 No (Go to 20)

19a. Please list the bodies on which you represent the party:
20. Some people say that ethnic minority elected officials see their responsibility mainly as representing the interests of the Asian
and West Indian communities. Do you agree with this position? (Circle one number)

1 Strongly agree (Go to 21)
2 Agree (Go to 21)
3 Disagree (Go to 20a)
4 Strongly disagree (Go to 20a)

20a. Which of the following is the constituency you feel most responsible to? (Circle one number only)

1 The borough or city as a whole
2 A single issue group
3 A business constituency
4 A trade union
5 A community organization or association
6 Your national party
7 Your local party
8 Your party group
9 Party supporters in your city/borough
10 Religious group. Please specify,______________________________
11 A particular class. Please specify,________________________________
12 Other. Please specify,__________________________________________

21. There are two theories of political representation. The first says that the representative should be the delegate of the people and
should act as they want him to. The second says that the representative should exercise his own judgment and act according to his
own assessment of the situation. Which of these two views comes closest to your own? (Circle one number)

1 Representative should be the delegate of the people
2 Representative should act on his own judgement

22. What percentage of your time as councillor do you spend on the following (Please specify percentage in blank)

Race Relations
Asian issues
West Indian issues
Religious issues
General local issues
Party issues
Economic issues
Women's issues
Other, Please specify,__________________________________________

23. Are your relationships with other ethnic minority councillors different than your relations with your white peers? (Circle one
number)

1 Relationship better with ethnic minority councillors
2 Relationship better with white councillors
3 Relationship the same with all councillors

23a. With whom do you have the strangest working relationship on your council? (Circle one number)

1 Members of party group
2 Other ethnic minority councillors
3 Asian councillors
4 West Indian councillors
5 White councillors
6 Senior party councillors
7 Other, Please specify,__________________________________________

24. Please rank in order the three most important sources of conflict within your council: (Please number 1, 2, 3)

Tax cutters vs. opponents
Business vs. neighborhoods
Conservatives vs. Labour
One area of the city vs. another
Whites vs. ethnic minorities
Development interests vs. others
Business vs. labour
Other, Please specify,__________________________________________
25. Is it possible for you to introduce items onto the council's agenda independently? Or must you operate according to the dictates of other councillors or your party? (Circle one number)

1. Can independently introduce measures
2. Can introduce measures in alliance with other ethnic minority councillors
3. Can introduce measures in alliance with white members only
4. Can only introduce measures with the party's approval
5. Cannot introduce measures

26. Are there any specific strategies or tactics that you use to get a measure specifically related to ethnic minority issues accepted by the council? That is, do you find it necessary to use any methods or tactics that differ from standard procedures on the council? (Circle one number)

1. Yes, Please specify

2. No

27. How would you assess your overall effectiveness in pursuing ethnic minority issues on the council? (Circle one number)

1. Usually very effective
2. Somewhat effective
3. Not very effective
4. Not at all effective

28. How would you assess your overall effectiveness in pursuing more general issues on the council? (Circle one number)

1. Usually very effective
2. Somewhat effective
3. Not very effective
4. Not at all effective

29. In your city/borough is your own party: (Circle one number)

1. In control of the council
2. In opposition

30. For ethnic minorities in your city/borough, how much difference would it make if the main opposition party was in control of the council? (Circle one number)

1. A great deal of difference
2. Some difference
3. Not much difference
4. No difference

30a. Why is this the case?

31. Have you ever abstained or voted against your party group in council or committees? (Circle one number)

1. Yes, many times (Go to 31a)
2. Yes, a few times (Go to 31a)
3. No (Go to 33)

31a. On what sorts of decisions did you do this?
Now I would like to ask you some questions about your feelings about the British political system and ethnic minorities in relation to it.

32. What is your position on the following statements? (Circle one number for each response)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic minorities can make a difference in who gets elected in local elections</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White local government officials and politicians will always get things their own way</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minorities elected to office don't have much success in changing things for ethnic minorities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain is run for the benefit of all its people</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The only way ethnic minorities can get the government's attention is to go outside normal political channels</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parties are more interested in ethnic minorities' votes than their opinions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voting is the only way ethnic minorities can have any say about how the local government runs things</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The local government bureaucracy treats white and ethnic minorities equally</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33. How much confidence do you have in the following institutions in terms of their responsiveness to ethnic minority concerns and problems? (Circle one number for each response)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>A great deal of confidence</th>
<th>Some confidence</th>
<th>No confidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal system</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil service</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large companies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local government</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade unions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34. Generally speaking, what kind of effect do the activities of the national government have on the day-to-day life of ethnic minorities? (Circle one number)

1. National government improves day-to-day life
2. National government sometimes improves it, sometimes does not
3. National government has a detrimental effect
4. National government makes no difference
5. Other, please specify

35. Generally speaking, what kind of effect do the activities of the local government (for example, laws passed) have on the day-to-day life of ethnic minorities? (Circle one number)

1. Local government improves day-to-day life
2. Local government sometimes improves it, sometimes does not
3. Local government has a detrimental effect
4. Local government makes no difference
5. Other, please specify
36. Suppose a regulation were being considered by the local council that ethnic minorities considered to be usual or harmful. If they made an effort to change this law, how likely is it that they would actually succeed? (Circle one number)

1 Ethnic minorities can do something about local regulation
2 Ethnic minorities have some, but not much, influence
3 There is nothing ethnic minorities can do to exert influence

37. Suppose a regulation were being considered by Parliament that ethnic minorities considered to be usual or harmful. If they made an effort to change this law, how likely is it that they would actually succeed? (Circle one number)

1 Ethnic minorities can do something about national regulation
2 Ethnic minorities have some, but not much, influence
3 There is nothing ethnic minorities can do to exert influence

38. Speaking generally, what are the things about Britain that you are most proud of? (Circle all that apply)

1 Governmental, political institutions
2 Social legislation
3 Economic system
4 Characteristics of people
5 Position in international affairs
6 Culture
7 Race relations
8 None of the above
9 Other, please specify

Another important purpose of my study is to learn more about your personal political goals and the goals of ethnic minorities in Britain more generally.

39. These three things are often mentioned as problems affecting ethnic minorities in Britain: unemployment, discrimination, and crime. Of these three, which do you think is the most important problem facing ethnic minorities? Which is the second most important? And the third? (Please number 1, 2, 3)

1 Crime
2 Unemployment
3 Discrimination

39a. Are there any other problems that you think are more important than the three just mentioned? (Please specify)

40. What is your position on the following statements? (Circle one number for each response)

The national government should not make any special efforts to improve the social and economic position of ethnic minority groups because they should help themselves
Ethnic minorities should be given special consideration when decisions are made about hiring applicants for jobs, admitting applicants to universities, and allocating public housing
Ethnic minorities who have "made it" should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of poor ethnic minorities
Ethnic minorities should always vote for ethnic minority candidates when they run
British laws should be changed to accommodate ethnic minorities' religious and cultural distinctiveness
Ethnic minorities should shop in ethnic minority owned stores whenever possible
Ethnic minorities should not have anything to do with whites if they can help it
Ethnic minorities should make every effort to become "just like" major Britons
41. In your opinion, how important are each of the following in achieving real progress for ethnic minorities in Britain? (Circle one number for each response)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Very important</th>
<th>Fairly important</th>
<th>Not too important</th>
<th>Not at all important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More ethnic minority political control of their communities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formation of an independent all-West Indian party</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formation of an independent all-Asian party</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formation of an independent all-ethnic minority party</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formation of independent ethnic minority sectors in established parties</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More ethnic minority elected officials</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working through the established political party structure</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More ethnic minority-owned businesses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More ethnic minority partners, directors, and managers in white-owned businesses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job training programs for ethnic minorities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment rights for ethnic minorities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separate ethnic minority schools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Asian and West Indian studies programs in schools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multicultural, multilingual education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete racial integration in schools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More equitable allocation of council housing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low cost financing for housing purchases</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free day care centres</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better health care facilities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater control of illegal drugs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More emphasis on law and order</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restriction on further immigration to Britain</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now I would like to ask you about the strategies which you feel are appropriate for achieving these goals:

42. The following are descriptions of the kinds of actions that people sometimes take to protest about something or simply to make their views known to other people. Please indicate if you feel that the following are usually effective when ethnic minorities use them in pressing for change? (Circle one number for each response)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Very effective</th>
<th>Somewhat effective</th>
<th>Not very effective</th>
<th>Not at all effective</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Signing a petition</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joining in boycotts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Attending mass demonstrations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Refusing to pay taxes or rent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joining in wildcat strikes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupying buildings or factories (sit-ins)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using group or violent protest</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiating Court actions and legislation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending city meetings</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voting</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Running for elective office</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joining single issue groups</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joining political parties</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joining/working in community associations</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Writing letters/calling elected representatives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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43. Please indicate your personal behavior with respect to these kinds of actions: (Circle one number for each response)

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<th>I have never done this</th>
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<td>Attended mass demonstrations</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Refused to pay taxes or rent</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined in wildcat sit-ins</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied buildings or factories (sit-ins)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined protests that turned to violence</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiated Court actions and legislation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now I would like to ask you about your plans for the future:

44. Do you expect to run for city/borough council again? (Circle one number)

1 Yes
2 No

44a. Why or why not? (Please specify)

45. Are there any other political or governmental positions—central or local—which you would like to seek? (Circle one number)

1 Yes (Go to 45a)
2 No (Go to 46)

45a. What are they?

45b. Why?

Finally, I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself:

46. How long have you lived in the city/borough where you are councillor? (Circle one number)

__________ Years

47. If you have lived outside the city/borough, where did you live immediately before moving in?

Town/district ____________________________

(U.S. or U.K) Country ______________________

48. Where were you born?

Town/district ____________________________

(U.S. or U.K) Country ______________________

In what year did you come to the U.K.? ______________________

49. Where were your parents born?

Father ____________________________

Mother ____________________________

50. What is your educational background? (Circle one number)

1 None
2 CSEs
3 GCSE 'O' levels or equivalent
4 GCSE 'A' levels or equivalent
5 Secretarial
6 Apprenticeships
7 HNC/HND
8 BEC/TEC
9 City and guilds
10 Other professional qualifications, Specify__________________________
11 Membership of a chartered institution, Specify________________________
12 Degrees and higher, Specify________________________
13 Other, Specify________________________
51. Are you: (Circle one number)
1. An employee
2. An employer
3. Self-employed
4. Unemployed
5. A housework / full-time parent
6. Retired
7. A full-time councillor
8. Other, specify

52. What is your present occupation?

53. What is your age?

54. To which ethnic group do you belong? (Circle one number)
1. Black-Caribbean
2. Black-African
3. Black-Other, Specify
4. Pakistani
5. Bangladeshi
6. Indian
7. Chinese
8. European, Specify
9. Other, Specify

55. What is your religious denomination? (Circle one number)
1. Catholic
2. Protestant
3. Jewish
4. Hindu
5. Muslim
6. Sikh
7. Other, Specify

56. How frequently did you attend religious services in a place of worship during the past year? (Circle one number)
1. Regularly (once a week or more)
2. Occasionally
3. Only on holidays
4. Not at all

57. Do you own your own home? (Circle one number)
1. Yes
2. No

58. With which social class do you identify? (Circle one number)
1. Upper class
2. Middle class
3. Working class

This is the end of the questionnaire. If there is anything else you would like to tell me about yourself or ethnic minority politics in Britain, please use the following space for that purpose. Also, any comments you wish to make that you think may help in future efforts to understand ethnic minority politics will be appreciated, either here or in a separate letter. Thank you very much for your time and effort. Would you please put the questionnaire in the prepaid reply envelope and post it back to me?

Jessica Addino
Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations
University of Warwick
Coventry CV4 7AL
Appendix D

Councillor Listings
## Ethnic Minority Councillors: London Boroughs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borough</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>New/Return</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
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</thead>
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F = Female,  
N = Newly elected, R = Returning  
L = Labour, C = Conservative, LD = Liberal Democrat  
A = Asian, AC = Afro-Caribbean
## Ethnic Minority Councillors: Metropolitan Authorities

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R.K. Malhotra ? L A

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J. Akhtar R L A
H.T. Gowda R L A
Qurban Hussain ? L A

Leeds (2)
V.S. Ryatt N L A
Cedric Clarke ? L AC

Liverpool (2)
E. Drysdale F R L AC
J. Nelson F R L AC

Manchester (4)
N.K. Moghal R L A
N. Siddiqui F R L A
Yomi Mambu F R L AC
Cllr. Gooljary ? L A

Oldham (1)
Jawaid Iqbal R L A

Preston (1)
J. Saksena R L A

Rochdale (1)
A.H. Chowdry R L A

Salford (1)
Joseph Faffe ? L A

Sandwell (6)
B.S. Bawa ? L A
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F = Female
N = New, R = Returning
L = Labour, C = Conservative, LD = Liberal Democrat, I = Independent
A = Asian, AC = Afro-Caribbean
? = not confirmed in office
## Ethnic Minority Councillors: Non-Metropolitan Authorities

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M. Ibrahim
S. Khan
T. Robinson
A. Satti
North Hertfordshire (1)
Ram Summan
Oxford (1)
V. Ricketts
Peterborough (1)
Harmesh Laklanpaul
Reading (2)
M.S. Singh
R. Sohpal
Rugby (1)
J.M. Shera
Scunthorpe (1)
J.M. Ishaq
Sheffield (3)
C.M. Walayat
Q. Hussain
M. Savani
Slough (8)
Cllr. Minhas
Cllr. Rajendra
Mewa Mann
Kartar Parhar
Lydia Simmons
Victor Hills
Ravinder Chauhan
Mahmood Khalid
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52 councillors

F = Female
L = Labour, C = Conservative, LD = Liberal Democrat,
I = Independent
A = Asian, AC = Afro-Caribbean
List of References


