

Interim Report

Clark, Phipps, Clark & Harris, Inc.

A Proposal for

A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM  
TOWARD RACIAL INTEGRATION  
AND  
ECONOMIC EQUITY

Requested by

THE GOVERNMENT OF BERMUDA

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i. INTRODUCTION

In October 1977 the Bermuda Government commissioned Clark, Phipps, Clark & Harris, Inc. (CPC&H) to work with the appropriate government officials and civic leaders to assist Bermuda "to achieve a more meaningful integration of the races and more equitable distribution of the wealth of the community." In this Letter of Agreement stating the specifics of this project, it was agreed that CPC&H staff would present a preliminary report on or about January 15, 1978 which would focus on "emerging issues, findings, problem areas and recommendations for amelioration and further activities."

The decision of the Bermuda Government to authorize and embark on this project at that time must be considered an example of wise and farsighted government planning. The events of early December made this decision seem almost weirdly prophetic. The outbreaks and social turbulence and sustained tensions which were triggered by the hangings of Burrows and Tacklyn removed the appearance of total tranquility and revealed an underlying reality of racial resentments and latent seething unrest which are as much a part of the reality of Bermuda as are its idyllic climate and its dependence upon tourism. The recent disturbances demonstrate the fact that Bermuda, in spite of its many historical, social and economic assets, was not able to remain aloof or isolated from the dynamic currents of racial, political and economic changes and turmoil which have afflicted the rest of the world during the past two or three decades. A decisive percentage of black Bermudians have torn away the mask of passivity and acceptance of the past, and are now expressing an assertive demand for change. As a distinguished white member of the present Bermuda Cabinet said in an interview two weeks after the disturbances: *"Probably the key problem which you and your staff will face in fulfilling your commitment to the people and the Bermuda Government is that of helping us to educate the white people in Bermuda to understand that the days of unquestioned white supremacy have passed — not only in Africa, but also in Bermuda."*



## ii. STAFF AND METHODS

In pursuit of the objectives of this initial stage of its relationship with the Bermuda Government, CPC&H assigned the following staff to this project:

|                         |                     |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| Kenneth B. Clark.....   | Project Director    |
| Franklin Williams ..... | Senior Consultant   |
| Hilton B. Clark .....   | Project Manager     |
| Jarbe Durant .....      | Economic Consultant |
| Diane Dorsey.....       | Research Associate  |
| Russia Hughes .....     | Research Associate  |
| Kate C. Harris.....     | Research Associate  |

During the past three months, the CPC&H staff visited Bermuda as follows:

|                                             |                           |
|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Kenneth B. Clark and Hilton B. Clark .....  | Septémber 25 to 27        |
| Hilton B. Clark and Diane Dorsey .....      | November 10 to 14         |
| Kenneth B. Clark and Franklin Williams..... | November 13 to 15         |
| Hilton B. Clark .....                       | November 25 to 26         |
| Kenneth B. Clark and Franklin Williams..... | November 30 to December 2 |
| Hilton B. Clark and Jarbe Durant.....       | December 13 to 16         |
| Diane Dorsey.....                           | December 14 to 16         |
| Kenneth B. Clark and Franklin Williams..... | December 21 to 23         |

The other members of the CPC&H staff (Russia Hughes and Kate C. Harris) assigned to this project were charged with the primary responsibility of reading, analyzing and summarizing relevant reports, documents, statistical data, selected books and contemporary social, political, economic and racial issues and dynamics within Bermuda.\*

In addition to the Bermuda newspapers (Royal Gazette, Bermuda Sun, Mid-Ocean News, The Workers Voice), CPC&H examined the *London Times*, from 1972 up to the present, and the *New York Times* from 1954 up to the present, for articles dealing with Bermuda.

Kenneth B. Clark and Franklin Williams were charged with the primary responsibility of interviewing and working with the members of the Cabinet, senior government officials, clergy and black businessmen and women. Most of these interviews were conducted in Bermuda, although some were conducted in New York City.

Hilton B. Clark and Diane Dorsey were given the primary responsibility of establishing communication with and interviewing the leaders and members of the PLP and the leaders of the Bermuda Industrial Union.

*\*See Appendix "A" for bibliography.*

Jarbe Durant was assigned to interview some government financial officials, bank executives and managers, officers of the Bermuda Monetary Authority (BMA), the Executive Vice President of the Bermuda Chamber of Commerce, the President of the B.I.U. and other prominent businessmen.

More than 150 interviews were conducted during this three month period. Some of the interviews were conducted in group or social sessions or meetings, although most were one-to-one individual interviews.\*

In addition to the analysis and summary of reports, documents, books and newspaper articles and the interviews and discussions in Bermuda and New York City, CPC&H staff observed Parliament sessions, attended church meetings, visited key neighborhoods (areas) of Bermuda before and after the early December disturbances, and systematically observed the staffing and day-to-day operations of hotels, retail stores, and banks.

In conducting this study, CPC&H expended a minimum total of twenty staff days per month.

*\*See Appendix "B" for a partial list of individuals interviewed.*

### iii. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Even before the December disturbances, it was clear to a perceptive observer that the apparent tranquility of Bermuda and its idyllic climate did not successfully mask the fact of deep-seated resentments within a substantial number of the 60% of the Bermudians who are black. In spite of its history of comparative racial calm, wherein black Bermudians seemed, on the surface, to accept the fact that the economic and political power of Bermuda was controlled by whites, Bermuda was not isolated from the currents of racial changes and turmoil that have afflicted the rest of the world during the past three decades. Outbreaks of racial tensions commencing in 1959, the murder of the Police Commissioner, and the assassination of the Governor in 1973 and other sporadic violent acts were merely symptoms that the demands for changes in the socially-defined status of the races in Africa, the Caribbean and the United States had infected Bermuda. An increasing number of younger black Bermudians have become more active politically. They have become more assertive in challenging the traditional educational, political and, especially, economic patterns and practices in Bermuda. And they appear to be increasing their success in appealing to and attracting the previously more conservative middle-class black Bermudians, as well as some white Bermudians.

In spite of these dimensions of similarity between the determinants and manifestations of racial tensions in Bermuda and other parts of the world, there are some significant differences which should be noted — differences that can determine the degree to which suggested programs for social, racial and economic changes can be effective and successful in Bermuda. Unlike the United States, whites in Bermuda are not a dominant statistical majority; and unlike Rhodesia and South Africa, blacks do not overwhelmingly outnumber the whites. The ratio in Bermuda of almost 2 blacks to 1 white is comparative parity. This racial demographic fact, together with the history and subtle life styles which characterize the Bermudian culture, would seem to determine the parameters and the nature of the methods which could be realistically and reasonably applied in seeking racial progress and equitable practices in Bermuda. For example, in spite of the fact that an unquestioned and accepted white dominance of the economy and the politics of Bermuda is no longer tenable, it is equally true that a program and rhetoric which demands total black control of Bermudian society is unrealistic. With these given imperatives, therefore, Bermuda is required to seek acceptable economic changes and progress toward unqualified racial justice through the realistic and pragmatic cooperation of both races at all levels of the social and economic system. If this cannot be accomplished in Bermuda, rational and humane racial justice and equity is not likely to be obtained anywhere else in the world.

Another important factor which demands that Bermuda seek to obtain observable, substantive and concrete changes toward racial inclusion and equity is the fact that the cornerstone, indeed the very foundation, of the economy of Bermuda is tourism. During the past few years, sporadic, publicized violent incidents in the United States Virgin Islands revealed the fragility of the tourist trade. This type of economic structure is most vulnerable to outbreaks of racial and class violence and even to seemingly controlled individual crimes of violence. Thoughtful Bermudians, without regard to political identification or race, are aware of the fact that Bermuda as a whole will suffer if the goals of racial and economic justice are pursued by the methods of sporadic and sustained violence. Working-class Bermudians, who are for the most part black, are likely to suffer the most economically. They have less to lose but will lose more, proportionately, than will middle and upper-class Bermudians if anything seriously threatens the stability and controlled growth of the industry that provides income for a sizeable portion of this group. This fact places more than the usual restrictions upon political parties and public figures in their public postures and utterances.

It is also a fact that one cannot expect that any program designed to redress the racial and economic inequities of the past and to move toward observable and substantive indications of racial justice can be discussed, agreed upon and implemented without involving varying degrees of political competition and controversy. Given the reality of politics in Bermuda and elsewhere, a most positive program commissioned and designed by the majority party — the party in power — to obtain racial cooperation and economic equity would be viewed with suspicion, if not cynicism, by the opposition party.

It is the nature of politics that those who are not in control of the policies and apparatus of government seek to obtain that power and control. It is also the nature of politics in a democratic society that the party in control of the government seeks to maintain that control through developing and implementing programs which will be perceived and accepted by the majority of the electorate as beneficial to their self interest.

The essential dilemma which now seems to face all of the people of Bermuda, the Bermuda Government, the political leaders of the ruling and the opposition parties, community leaders, clergy, small business entrepreneurs, and business and financial leaders, is how to obtain concrete forms of racial justice and economic equity by rational and humane methods which will not threaten the social stability essential for the maintenance of a strong tourist-based economy. This problem is further complicated by the fact of past and residual racial inequities and the inescapable reality of political competition.

One of the key objectives of any proposed program must be to demonstrate to all of the people of Bermuda that the program is designed to benefit all Bermudians. The program proposed is a comprehensive program based upon the assumption that continued tensions and conflicts — and certainly, violence — threaten the basic foundations of Bermuda and, therefore, are detrimental to all Bermudians without regard to party affiliation, economic status, or race and color.

It is not a utopian program. It is pragmatic in that it accepts the fundamental moral and ethical reality that Bermuda can survive only as a model of racial justice and cooperation — and in doing so, suggests the path for other nations throughout the world.

#### iv. SPECIFIC FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

##### ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The most frequently discussed problem by all Bermudians, and particularly black Bermudians of all economic levels, is the problem of the need for a "more equitable distribution of the wealth" of Bermuda. While all respondents agreed that Bermuda enjoyed a comparatively high standard of living, and that unemployment was by no means a major problem, black Bermudians described a number of specific forms of economic and employment disparities which are perceived, and resented, as forms of pervasive racial discrimination. The following are the most frequently expressed complaints in this area:

##### 1. Employment of Black Bermudians in Managerial and Supervisory Positions

- ✱ Young black Bermudians insist that they are discriminated against when they apply for white-collar managerial and supervisory jobs in banks, insurance companies and hotels. Some of these young people state that in spite of their seeking higher education and training abroad, when they return to Bermuda and apply for positions consistent with their training, they are rejected, and these positions are given to white non-Bermudians. It is important to note that the intensity of these complaints increased around the days immediately following the early December disturbances, and were being expressed by middle-class or upwardly mobile black Bermudian youth who did not participate in the actual violence or arson, were not arrested for curfew violations, but seemed sympathetic to those who actually participated in the disturbances.

##### SOME FACTS

CPC&H's preliminary findings in this area revealed that black Bermudians are disproportionately represented in some occupational categories and underrepresented in others. Black Bermudians comprised approximately 56% of the total working population in 1970. When this population is categorized according to occupation, a slight majority (56%) are found to be blue-collar workers. Of the workers in this category 71% are black. Conversely, 29% of the black working population is engaged in white-collar occupations. Of this comparatively small group only 9% are employed in professional, technical and administrative jobs while 27% of white workers are engaged in these positions. It should be noted, however, that this latter category excludes managers in the sales and service areas. If these managers were to be included in this category it is safe to assume that this 9% would decrease proportionately since managers in these two areas tend to be white.

These data exist side-by-side with two related social and economic phenomena — economic expansion and an influx of foreign-born workers. In the last ten years the expanding Bermudian economy absorbed a total of 8,000 new workers. About one-half of these new workers are foreign born. In 1975, for example, 522 aliens were approved for professional and technical employment. At this point in time, alien workers comprise the majority (55%) of those engaged in white-collar jobs and 59% of all female employees are foreign-born.

Since expansion mainly increased the need for professional, managerial, technical and clerical workers, these data indicate that a large segment of Bermuda's population and

a disproportionate number of black Bermudians have been excluded from this pattern of economic expansionism. The tourist industry, part of the impetus for this growth, provides a specific example since the data reveal that 62% of Bermuda's hotel staffs are native Bermudians while only 40% of the hotels' managers are native to Bermuda.

It should be noted that these statistics are based upon the 1970 Census and therefore do not include more promotions and appointments. There are indications that there have been positive changes in these important economic areas. Because these are key areas of concern, a more systematic current assessment of the overall employment picture in Bermuda is suggested.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

It is essential to determine the extent or degree to which complaints concerning economic discrimination are valid. They are stated with sufficient consistency and intensity by enough black Bermudian youth — independently and in discussion groups — to warrant further serious inquiry and remedy.

Furthermore, this problem, to the extent that the perception and the fact of racial discrimination in employment at this level of the Bermuda economy contributes to the resentments and alienation of young blacks, demands a systematic governmental equal employment opportunity policy and action program.

### 2. Problem of Financing Small Business Enterprises

Almost all black small business entrepreneurs, contractors and vendors in Bermuda — with the exception of those few who were conspicuously successful — stated that their problem in establishing and maintaining a solid foundation for their business was their inability to obtain reasonable and adequate financing from the banks in Bermuda. Individually and collectively, they describe negative experiences in seeking loans, loan extensions and lines of credit. They state that they are frequently discouraged by lending officers at these banks, and are sometimes humiliated and insulted. The common denominator of their specific complaints is their perception that they are being treated in a racially discriminatory manner, and that the policy of the banks, as expressed in the arbitrary and high-handed manner of white lending officers with whom they must deal, is to discourage the establishment and growth of black business enterprises. Some of these respondents suggest that this policy reflects the fact that the banks, through their directors and officers who are identified with the more successful white business operations and owners, are deliberately restricting any potential competition from black business.

These are the perceptions and the persistent assertions.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

There must be a systematic study to determine the degree to which these complaints are valid. Specific questions which must be answered are:

To what extent are the banks in Bermuda discriminatory in their dealings with middle and small businesses owned by black Bermudians?



Do these banks have one set of practices and demands when dealing with black Bermudians compared with their practices and demands when dealing with white small and middle businessmen?

Do the banks discourage small businesses without regard to color?

Do they see and react to black Bermudians primarily as depositors rather than as borrowers?

Do these discriminatory practices, if they exist, extend to the area of mortgages?

Are the discriminatory practices a reflection of the personal attitudes of lending officers? Or are they the reflection of tradition? Or unwritten bank policy?

The Government of Bermuda should explore the feasibility of designing and implementing a comprehensive Economic Development Program which would include, at least, the following components:

- \* A government controlled Economic Development Bank designed to select and encourage the growth and strengthening of small business enterprises in Bermuda.
- A systematic technical assistance program designed to prepare small business entrepreneurs to increase their chances of success through training support in financing, record keeping, accounting, inventory and effective management.
- A systematic government program wherein a certain percentage, e.g. 25%, of government purchases and contracts are assigned to small vendors and contractors.
- \* A program to encourage, where appropriate, joint ventures between large, established businesses and small business firms in Bermuda.

(3) Increasing the Number and Percentage of Black Bermudians in Policy Making Positions

It was frequently stated, and the available facts seem to support the contention, that at present there is a pitiable small percentage of blacks in policy making and executive positions in Bermuda-based corporations. Banks, insurance companies and large retail stores have few black Bermudians on their boards of directors. Some of these companies have no blacks in these positions. Service on corporate boards in Bermuda seem to be restricted to a very few, selected blacks who are invited to serve on two or more boards.

## RECOMMENDATIONS



The Government of Bermuda — specifically, the Premier and the appropriate members of his Cabinet — should arrange meetings with the chairmen of the boards and chief executive officers of corporations doing business in Bermuda (probably including exempt corporations) and request that they develop and implement a plan to increase the number of black Bermudians on their boards of directors, and increase the number of black managers, officers and executives in their corporations.

If such a voluntary plan is not developed and implemented within a reasonable period of time (within a year or two), then it will be necessary for the government to enact the necessary legislation to obtain these objectives.

#### 4. Criminal Justice System

For those who have studied the nature, dynamics and determinants of urban racial riots in the United States during the past four decades, it is no surprise that the early December racial disturbances in Bermuda were triggered by an intense negative reaction to an important aspect of the criminal justice system — pursuant to the statutes and procedures of the island, two convicted murderers were executed.

In the United States, almost all urban riots — with the exception of the riots following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. — were triggered by conflict between some blacks and white police. Historically, blacks tend to see the police and the courts and the prisons as symbols and instruments of white domination.

This perception seems so deep as to persist even when the facts are to the contrary. These important components of the criminal justice system are rarely seen as a source of protection and defenders of justice for blacks.

In spite of the fact that recently a black Bermudian became the Chief Justice of Bermuda, and for years the majority of magistrates have been black, most Bermudians who discussed this issue continued to express resentment against what they perceived as a white-dominated criminal justice system in Bermuda. They were particularly resentful of what they perceived as a white-dominated police force with a significant number of white non-Bermudians. This rather generalized perception coupled with data derived from police reports revealing a 31% failure rate in educational subjects for the 1975 pool of applicants, lends credence to the black Bermudian's contention that, for him, the criminal justice system is discriminatory.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

Given the critical, factual and symbolic importance of all aspects of the criminal justice system — the police, the courts, and the correctional institutions — as a key factor in the quality of race relations in Bermuda and in other multiracial societies, it is imperative that the government devote special attention to removing this as an area of resentment and tension. Measures must be taken to demonstrate that the police and the courts are staffed and are required to function in a way to protect the rights and the interests of all Bermudians without regard to class or color. It is obviously not enough that this is stated. Black Bermudians and blacks in general do not take this essential aspect of justice for granted. Although there is no hard data to the effect that the courts have been racially discriminatory, non-racial justice must be perceived as a fact in the day-to-day experience of all Bermudians.

It is therefore recommended that the Government of Bermuda further strengthen the systematic program designed to recruit, train and upgrade black Bermudians for its police force. The fact of a bi-racial police force at all levels must be made visible as quickly as possible. Thus there is a need to attract high quality officer potential applicants. The specifics of this program should include a positive public relations program designed to present the police force in a positive light — based on facts; and the development of general and specific police-community relations programs wherein the police can demonstrate their positive concern, not only with crime prevention, but also with the safety, protection and welfare of all Bermudians.



In addition the program and activities of the present police cadets should be expanded to encourage more black and white teenage Bermudian youth to participate and thereby increase the number of native Bermudians in the entering level of the police force.

## 5. Elementary, Secondary and Higher Education

To an outside observer, these levels of education in Bermuda appear to be comparatively strong, if not exemplary. It is of interest, however, and indicative of the high and positive aspirations of Bermudians that almost all respondents in this preliminary survey expressed the strong desire for the improvement of the quality of the education available in the Bermuda schools. The elementary and secondary schools are perceived at best as adequate. A few are seen as excellent, and should be used as models for all other schools; and some are seen as inferior.

The specific complaints about the educational system in Bermuda seem to be residual of the recently improved racial segregation pattern of organization of the Bermuda school system and the fact that the educational system and practices in Bermuda seem to be a replica of the British system where socio-economic class distinctions permeate, if not dominate, the educational system. Working class black Bermudians believe, with justification it appears, that middle and upper class white and black Bermudians have more educational options for their children than are available to them.

This generalized contention is, at least partly, borne out by the 1970 census which revealed that a high percentage of those over 15 years of age had not passed any secondary school examinations by 1970 and only a few had attained a post-secondary degree or diploma. The raising of the school leaving age to 16, between 1965 and 1969, necessitates further review. Although there was no ethnic breakdown of these data, the disproportionate representation of blacks in service occupations (70%) coupled with the fact that 56% of those in the professional/technical categories do possess degrees, strongly implies that those who are less well educated are overwhelmingly black.

The children from more privileged families can and do attend the better public and private schools in Bermuda. The more affluent Bermuda families — black and white — can and do send their children abroad to Britain, Canada or the United States for secondary, collegiate, graduate and professional education.

Given these persistent complaints on the part of respondents, one can conclude that the underlying problem concerning the educational system in Bermuda is the fact that the educational system is not now perceived by the majority of black Bermudians as an instrument of upward mobility for them and their children.

In point of fact, the educational preparation of lower income Bermudians is in direct contrast to Bermuda's economic needs since the expanding labor market demands more professional/technical, managerial and clerical workers (see Section 1). This is a key fact which must be addressed and remedied to give substance to a dynamic educational system in Bermuda.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The present Department of Education and its new leadership must be given the realistic resources to raise the quality of education in all public schools. The poorest schools must be given the necessary supports in teacher training, supervision, curriculum standards and realistic academic performance in order to approach and eventually equal the academic performance of the presently best public and private schools.

An important first step toward this objective would be for the Government and the Ministry of Education to consider expansion of an objective external evaluation study of the present level of educational quality in all Bermudian schools. The purpose of this study would be to define areas of strengths and weaknesses and to determine what must be done to remedy existing weaknesses and increase the average academic achievement of the pupils in each school in Bermuda.

The Bermuda Government has committed itself to a program and budget designed to strengthen the academic components, standards, personnel and performance requirements of Bermuda College. As demonstrated by the recent purchase of Stonington. Increased efforts should be made to raise the prestige of this college through such substantive changes as improvement in physical plant and facilities; expansion of offerings and direct arrangements with overseas colleges and universities to accept top graduates; provision for expanded financial aid — scholarships, fellowships and student loans; and the upgrading of faculty through aggressive recruitment with attractive and competitive compensation.

### 6. Housing

At first observation, tourists and visitors to Bermuda are positively impressed with the fact that Bermuda is a remarkably clean, slum-free society. The tastefully painted pastel colored homes and buildings with the shining white terraced roofs which reflect the sunlight and trap the rainwater support this observation and the belief that there is no substandard or deteriorated housing problem in Bermuda. It was not surprising, therefore, that it was not until the last of the series of visits to Bermuda — subsequent to the recent racial disturbances — that the problem of inadequate housing for low income Bermudians was raised by any of the respondents.

Prior to that time, there were some discussions concerning the high cost of land and homes in Bermuda and some problems related to the ability of middle-class Bermudians to obtain mortgages at reasonable rates. But the question of existing slum or near slum areas in Bermuda was raised by black Bermudians only in the wake of the recent racial disturbances.

These expressions of concern must be considered within the context ethnic housing pattern revealed in this preliminary study. Although approximately 59% of Bermuda's population is black, the city of Hamilton's black community comprises 82% of the city's populace. In addition, Hamilton, like many urban centers in the United States, in particular, seems to be experiencing "white flight". In the 10 years between 1960 and 1970 Hamilton experienced a 25% decrease in total population. In this period of time the loss of white Bermudian residents was about three times that of black Bermudians.

When analyzing the distribution of Bermuda's ethnic groups across the island it was found that black Bermudians are overrepresented in some areas and underrepresented in others. Of the 9 parishes, two — Paget and Sandy's - best reflect this disparity with black populations of 22% and 73%, respectively.

The past Minister of Public Works discussed at length his desire to construct public housing for low income Bermudians on land which was previously owned by the Church of England denomination in an area of Bermuda called Glebe Lands. This project, so far, is only partially successful. A special tour of this area and surroundings revealed that in spite of first impressions, there are slums in Bermuda. These slums are not widespread, and do not reveal the degree and extent of social insensitivity and dehumanization found in other societies; but they do exist, and could increase in deterioration unless systematic programs designed to reverse the process are developed and implemented by the government.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The Government of Bermuda can at this time design, develop and realistically finance a public housing program which can make Bermuda in truth, a slum free society.

### 7. Specific Professional and Vocational Training Programs

As stated in the Economic Development section of this report (page 7), the most persistent and pervasive complaints of black Bermudians are those which deal with their perception that those who control the major business and economic enterprises of Bermuda either exclude blacks from managerial and supervisory positions or, at best, make no systematic attempts to train and employ them in these positions. Some of the white businessmen who were interviewed seek to explain the policy of importing whites from overseas for these positions on the grounds that there is an inadequate supply of trained and efficient black Bermudians.

The hotel business is a key component of the Bermuda tourist economy. Bermudianization in the hotel industry may well have been delayed by the construction boom wherein young blacks found it more profitable to enter the construction industry. However, without regard to the reason, hotel managers, assistant managers, supervisors, and desk clerks are visible employees, and thereby communicate directly a policy of racial inclusion and integration, or a policy of racial exclusion. In addition, Bermudians and tourists can observe whether black Bermudians are employed as managers, supervisors, and white-collar workers, or as menials in retail stores, in banks, in insurance companies. From general observation some hotels seem largely white and non-Bermudian staffed. The visible managerial and supervisory positions in most banks seem to be white — Bermudian or non-Bermudian. These observations give substance to the black Bermudian's increased demands for some systematic government program for Bermudianization. The government can no longer ignore these demands or accept a "*laissez-faire*" approach to them and their related persistent resentments and tensions.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The training programs of Bermuda College are critical and should be strengthened in order to train high quality accountants, bookkeepers, secretaries and business managers. An even higher level of training is required for entry in the international field. The recent securing of Stonington has laid the groundwork for this development.

Trained personnel is not only essential to any realistic Bermudianization program, but will also provide the necessary staff for developing small business enterprises and provide the staff whereby the government can offer and monitor technical assistance programs designed to increase the chances of financial success of small and medium sized businesses run by Bermudians.

Given the key role of hotels in the Bermuda economy, efforts must be made to develop and increase the effectiveness of the Hotel Training School in order to produce the necessary number of Bermudian hotel managers and supervisory personnel. It is suggested that this program is made most effective and realistic if it is developed by the government in cooperation with the Bermuda hotel owners.

### 8. Health and Social Services

This important area of governmental service is unique in the findings of this preliminary survey. No one of the hundred or more Bermudians interviewed complained about the adequacy, quality or availability of health or social services in Bermuda. Reinforcing this uniqueness was the fact that the Permanent Secretary of Social Services expressed the most urgent desire for upgrading the quality of social services in order to meet more adequately the needs of poor Bermudians. This government official saw the specifics of a social services in Bermuda as part of the total pattern of social, political, economic and racial justice in the Bermudian society as a whole. He expressed concern with the need to develop and implement government policies and practices which demonstrate a more creative and modern approach to the involvement of low income Bermudians in programs designed to reduce their sense of inferiority and dependency — and in training and utilizing resources so that they could contribute to the attainment of a more equitable, just and humane society in Bermuda.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Notwithstanding the fact that there were no complaints in this area the Ministry of Health and Social Services in Bermuda should continue to evaluate present social services programs and to make recommendations for more dynamic and creative programs in the context of the specific needs, realities and aspirations of Bermuda.

### 9. Social, Cultural, Recreational and Youth Programs

In order to understand the contemporary role of the social, religious, fraternal and recreational institutions and organizations of Bermuda, one must understand that these institutions had their origins in the history of racial segregation and social class distinctions which dominated the organization and function of

Bermudian society. Up through the first half of the twentieth century, the churches in Bermuda were segregated. Upon the basis of this fact, it was possible for exclusively black denominations such as the AME Church to grow in numbers and influence so that by 1960, less than half of the black population in Bermuda remained members of the Anglican Church.

Similarly, the formation of black clubs in Bermuda was an outgrowth of segregated sports. Blacks formed their own cricket teams in the late 1800's — mostly on a neighborhood, lodge or class basis. With the development of highly organized sports interests and activities came the development of black clubs which grew in influence and became an integral part of the social, cultural and recreational life of middle-and working-class black Bermudians.

In the meantime, upper-class white Bermudians retained their exclusively white social, elitist clubs, and only recently admitted a few upper middle class, professionally and economically successful and distinguished blacks.

In seeking to understand the present role and potential role of the churches and the social clubs of Bermuda, one must understand that these cornerstones of the social and cultural life of black Bermudians are based and operate not only on racial and ethnic differences, but also on a generally unquestioned system of intra-racial social class distinctions. Like other socially stratified societies, social class distinctions among blacks in Bermuda are determined by education, occupation and income and residence. The role of prior family status appears to be a more determinative factor of the class status of black Bermudians than for blacks in the United States. Although there are indications of an increase in opportunities for upward mobility for blacks in Bermuda, class distinctions in the religious, social, cultural and recreational life of Bermuda remains a pervasive factor and continue to reflect the historic ties to the British social system. Within the last two or three decades there are indications that the American system of increased opportunities for social, educational and economic mobility is having some influence on Bermuda society. The increasing demands, the seething tensions and turbulences, particularly among working class black Bermudians, are indications of this influence.

In a recent (December 13, 1977) communication to the Government, the Premier and the Leader of the Opposition, leaders of the Bermuda Clubs Association expressed their views "on the underlying causes which have led to the disruption of the past week." The developing concern of the black clubs in Bermuda with the larger issues of education, the economy, internal security and politics was indicated by the preparation and communication of this document. Some observers contend that these clubs are exclusively concerned with the recreational and sports life of their own members, and have not played a constructive role in the struggle for overall desired progress in the society as a whole. In this regard it is significant that in this document submitted to the government and political leaders more than half of the space was devoted to specific club administrative and operational matters. No major section was devoted specifically to the overall needs, aspirations and plans for Bermuda's youth. Concern for youth was expressed in the discussions of education and employment opportunities; but a comprehensive educational, training, recreational, sports, cultural program designed to provide a sense of self-esteem, personal worth and achievement and as a counter to alienation and justifiable resentment was not articulated or requested.



## RECOMMENDATIONS

It is essential that a more comprehensive, Bermuda wide youth development program be designed and put into operation as soon as practicable. It is suggested that the appropriate department or departments of government invite among others, representatives of the Church, the clubs of Bermuda, educational and civic groups, the business and commercial associations and youth groups to meet and discuss ways in which the present plethora of youth services and the Department of Youth and Sports could be re-organized under a coordinated and effective **Bermuda Youth Committee**.

This Youth Committee would be charged with the responsibility of designing and implementing a comprehensive youth development program which would seek to integrate the educational, cultural, sports, and recreational activities in ways which would enhance the quality of life and the constructive use of talents and abilities of all Bermudian youth.

Through the activities of the Youth Committee, young people in Bermuda would be provided with the facilities and the opportunity and encouraged to develop their athletic skills; their artistic and craft talents; their communication, organizational, merchandising and marketing skills. Such programs could be an integral part of church, club, neighborhood and school activities. If successful, a comprehensive program for Bermuda's youth would strengthen the base for the cultural and recreational life of Bermuda, would contribute to economic and political equity, and would thereby assure social stability.

### 10. Reorganization of Bermuda Race Relations Council

Legislative amendments in 1969 and 1970 created the Race Relations Council with power, through the Attorney General, to bring prosecution against persons practicing various forms of discrimination. This statutory body was given the responsibility for enforcing the Race Relations Act of 1969. To date no individual has been prosecuted for discrimination. In 1977, only 5 complaints were received. Two of those 5 involved industry.

It is generally agreed that as it is presently constituted and operated, the Bermuda Race Relations Council is seen by Bermudians, outside observers and even its present leaders and members as pitifully impotent. One could speculate that the majority of even well-informed Bermudians are unaware of its existence. It is presently inadequately staffed and has limited facilities and resources. The meetings are desultory and the overall morale is low.

In the light of the fact that the recent disturbances in Bermuda had underlying, if not exclusively, racial determinants, the Bermuda Race Relations Council should be reorganized into an important instrument of Government, and given the specific authority to identify and deal with problems of racial inequities and diminish the likelihood by positive actions, of future racial disturbances.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

It is hereby recommended that the Government move forthwith to reorganize and reconstitute the Bermuda Race Relations Council on the following terms and authority and powers:

The membership of the Council should consist of individuals from both major parties and public members without any primary party affiliation. It is important that the Council be perceived and function as a non-partisan government agency. Political partisanship should play no more role in this agency than it does in the judiciary.

The members of the Bermuda Race Relations Council should be representative of all racial and ethnic groups which comprise native Bermudians.

The Council should be provided with the budget, the staff and the facilities to fulfill the responsibility of monitoring and enforcing the Bermuda Race Relations Act.

The Council should seek to involve the business and community leaders of Bermuda in developing Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity programs designed to meet the specific needs of Bermuda's economy.

The Council should be charged with the responsibility of seeing that these AA/EEO objectives are complied with. Initially, compliance should be sought through discussions, negotiation and conciliation. Only as a last resort should compliance be obtained through judicial decree and government fiat.

The Bermuda Race Relations Council should be given the power to require complainants, respondents and witnesses to appear in order to resolve disputes.

## v. FINAL OBSERVATION

The preliminary findings and recommendations presented in this interim report address themselves to problem areas and related issues. It is important to emphasize, however, that while it is necessary to present the overall design and suggested recommendations for future action in terms of these specific areas of concern, there is an interdependence among them. Programs and activities in each of these areas are related to, and affect the effectiveness of the programs in other areas, and most important determine the possibility of success in the attainment of the overall goal "to achieve a more meaningful integration of the races and a more equitable distribution of the wealth of the community."

Given the complex nature of any developed social, political and economic system, it would be unrealistic or questionable to attempt to isolate one set of recommendations from the total pattern of other recommendations which comprise this overall design. What is being suggested in this interim report is that this report be read, discussed, modified where found necessary, and adopted and implemented by the Government of Bermuda as a systematic, comprehensive, holistic program designed to attain the desired goals. Experience has demonstrated that major, observable social, economic and racial changes cannot be obtained piece-meal or by equivocal, defensive and apologetic action on the part of the responsible leaders.





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CHRONOLOGY OF FIELD TRIPS TO BERMUDA BY CPC&H STAFF

Covering the Period from October 1 through December 31, 1977.

November 9 – November 12, 1977 – 4 days  
*Hilton Clark and Diane Dorsey*

November 11 – November 14, 1977 – 3 days  
*Kenneth Clark and Franklin Williams*

November 25 – November 26, 1977 – 2 days  
*Hilton Clark*

November 30 – December 3, 1977 – 4 days  
*Kenneth Clark and Franklin Williams*

December 13 – December 16, 1977 – 4 days  
*Hilton Clark, Jarbe Durant and Diane Dorsey*

December 20 – December 23, 1977 – 4 days  
*Kenneth Clark and Franklin Williams*



# PERSONS INTERVIEWED BY CPC&H

The Hon. David Gibbons.....Premier

## Cabinet Ministers

Hon. Clarence Woolridge..... Deputy Premier and Minister of Tourism  
 Hon. John Swan.....Minister of Home Affairs  
 Dr. Hon. Clarence James.....Minister of Health & Social Services  
 Hon. Quinton Edness..... Minister of Community Relations  
 Hon. Harry Viera.....Minister without Portfolio  
 Hon. James Pearman..... Minister of Transport  
 Hon. John Plowman.....Minister of Marine & Air Services  
 Hon. Stanley Ratteray..... Minister of Planning & Environment  
 Hon. Ralph Marshall.....Minister of Works & Agriculture  
 W.J. Williams.....Secretary to Cabinet.

## Members of the House of Assembly

Mrs. Gloria McPhee, M.P.  
 Lancelot I. Swan, M.P.  
 Ottiwell A. Simmons, M.P.  
 Lois M. Browne-Evans, M.P.  
 L. Frederick Wade, M.P.

## Members of the Legislative Council

Dr. Hon. Vincent Bridgewater

## Clergy

Rev. Cyril Butterfield  
 Rev. Wendall Foster  
 Rev. Raymond Lowe  
 Rev. Wilbur Lowe

Dr. Gerard Bean, Chairman, Race Relations Council

A. Brackstone

Mansfield J. Brock, Permanent Secretary to the Minister of Education

Molly Burgess

Sir John Cox

David Critchley, Permanent Secretary to the Minister of Health & Social Services

Arnold Francis

Benson Hayden, Cigam Souvenirs

Stanley Lee, Education Officer of the BIU

Doreen Lightbourne

Jim McKey

David Rego, President/General Manager, Rego Furniture

Alan Humphreys  
David Saul  
Dana Smith, Lady Dana  
Calvin Smith, Chief Statistician, Ministry of Finance  
Stanley Thomas, President Bercra Ltd.  
Robert Trew, Managing Director, Eve's Group  
Lee Tucker, Managing Director, TopValue Supermarket  
Charles Webbe  
Sally Wilson, Government Employee

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