



Windrush 75
NETWORK

Why the Windrush matters today

Where are public attitudes to race, identity and history as we mark the 75th anniversary of the Windrush?

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About British Future:

British Future is an independent, non-partisan think tank engaging people's hopes and fears about integration and migration, identity and race, so that we share a confident and welcoming Britain, inclusive and fair to all.

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About the Windrush 75 network:

The Windrush 75 network aims to make 2023 a year of celebrations to mark the 75th anniversary of the Windrush. Everybody is invited to take part. The network helps to broaden public recognition of the contribution of the original Windrush Pioneers, as well as increasing public understanding of the history of race and migration to Britain across the decades.

www.windrush75.org

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Cover picture courtesy of TopFoto



Picture by Sean Pollock for Hackney Council

1. Introduction

Patrick Vernon, Convenor of the Windrush 75 network

As I reflect on the legacy of the Windrush Generation I need to look at my own family history as a starting point. My parents, who are both alive – my mum 89, my dad now approaching his 92nd birthday – came to Britain in the late 1950s. They raised my four sisters and me in the Wolverhampton area in the West Midlands, under the gaze of Enoch Powell, who was our local MP for many years.

My parents are part of a Windrush Generation that made significant contributions to post-war Britain: from development of the social housing movement, the NHS, transport, engineering, education, sports, arts, music, and public life. Yet sadly the majority never achieved their true personal aspirations in either career, professional development or entrepreneurship. Some left the UK in the 1970s and 80s, heading back to the Caribbean or to North America.

Nobody taught me about Windrush at school. My sisters, nieces and nephews or even great nieces didn't learn about it either. It was down to our parents and grandparents. They taught us this history and imbued us with the ethics associated with Windrush and other migrant communities in surviving and thriving in a hostile Britain: respecting our elders, self-help, hard work, savings (or 'pardner'), faith and contributing back to the community. We were brought up to recognise that we are part of transnational families, with relatives in the Caribbean and North America, and needed to support each other emotionally and financially. These values were reinforced through stories, sayings, music, family structures and, yes, some licks and beats too!



Knowing one's history and heritage is important. We need to make sure that the history of the Windrush is in the national curriculum and that it reflects all aspects of our society. This is black history and it is British history, the story of how our society came to look as it does today and why we all have a stake in it. That is something that is valuable for all our children to learn; but it is also something that we can all celebrate.

There are many versions of what Windrush means and has come to symbolise, as awareness of it has grown in recent decades. It is a foundational story about the Black Caribbean experience and of the Black British story; and is also a symbolic origins moment for the story of broader post-war migration from the Commonwealth and beyond. This 75th anniversary offers an opportunity to involve us all in the national story of modern Britain. So everybody should be invited to a party that extends right across society, from community groups that have marked Windrush Day for years to our largest institutions.

While Windrush 75 is about celebration, it is also about recognition of the survival, the tenacity and the vibrant energy that the Windrush Generation brought with them. We need to recognise the contribution of this generation and the sacrifices they made, starting new lives and raising families in the face of overt and covert racism, with children walking past signs saying 'No Dogs, No Blacks, No Irish' on their way to school. The Windrush Generation endured the worst of racism and anti-blackness. It wasn't just the 'colour bar' that they endured but the ongoing issues of the impact of empire and colonisation. And we need to recognise, too, that racism and injustice can still be experienced today.

This injustice is manifested in the ongoing Windrush scandal. This stripped the citizenship of those people from the Windrush Generation who were taught they were British, who were made British, and who thought they were British – only to find out that because of the hostile environment policy, they were seen as illegal immigrants, despite the fact that many had been here for 40 years or more. That is why a part of the 75th anniversary Windrush Day is bittersweet. Bitter because there's still injustice, not just around Windrush Generation, but structural racism. And that is why we need to end the scandal this year.

This government has the power, right now, to give proper compensation; to recognise its failures; to right the wrongs done to the Windrush Generation; and to give people proper citizenship status. It should not be forcing those Windrush pioneers still affected through the High Court and Court of Appeal in its defence of the failings of the compensation scheme. It should adopt the full recommendations of the Wendy Williams Lessons Learned Review.

What does the future look like? I believe we can learn from the example of America during the 1930s, during the Great Depression. The Federal Bureau Project commissioned artists and writers to travel in America's deep south to record oral histories of first and second-hand experiences of enslavement. Over 5,000 oral histories were recorded, which have been archived in the Library of Congress in Washington. This has become a rich source of material that has influenced books, the curriculum, TV, films and biographies.

The Black experience in Britain has of course been very different to that of America and we remain very different today. But we can capture and preserve its history in a similar way, so it can be shared across the generations in the future. It may be our last chance to do so. If we don't do this today, who is going to tell the stories of the Windrush Generation and its legacy in the future? Many of the original Windrush Generation have passed on, and as we approach the 80th, the 90th or 100th anniversary of Windrush, they will have all disappeared. That's why it's important that we document, record and acknowledge those Windrush Generation elders that are still alive today.

Over the years there have already been many oral history projects conducted by local museums, local archives, black-led organisations, anti-racist organisations, universities and the like. But these valuable resources are all spread and hidden in different archives; on different files or on different people's databases. What we need is to bring together these oral histories – together with as many new testimonies as we can capture – and to archive and present them in one place. A comprehensive, one-stop shop that houses all the histories of the Windrush Generation and other communities that

came to Britain in this early post-war period, from across the Commonwealth. Better still if we could involve young people in the collection of this material, engaging them with this history of our multi-ethnic society.

Such a resource would help to remind us about the history of racism and discrimination in the UK but also about the countless examples of achievement and success through business, through the church movement, housing, education, and people's contribution to public life. It could inspire future generations, to remind everyone that the Windrush Generation played a key role in shaping the Britain that has evolved over these years and that we know today – a Britain with many flaws but with many great strengths too.

That would be one fitting, tangible legacy of the Windrush Generation. But a greater legacy may come from learning the lessons of this history to shape what comes next. Windrush 75 can be a launchpad to mobilise for the future; to look at how we will fight the ongoing battles around structured racism and anti-blackness which are still pervasive in British society; and to think about where we want to be in 25 years time when we mark Windrush 100 – setting out plans today for how we will get there. We can use the 75th anniversary year as an opportunity to re-commit to addressing the ongoing battles of racism; and to create a future that we should all be proud of. A future that the Windrush Generation would be proud to have as their legacy.



'Picture courtesy of Jim Grover, from his new exhibition Windrush: A Voyage through the Generations (www.windrushvoyagethroughthegenerations.com)'

2. Ten facts about the Windrush

1. On 22 June 1948 the HMT Empire Windrush disembarked its passengers at the Port of Tilbury in Essex. It has since come to symbolise the post-war migration to Britain from the Commonwealth that has shaped today's multi-ethnic society. This year marks the 75th anniversary of this historic moment.
2. Out of the 1,027 listed official passengers on board the HMT Empire Windrush, just over 800 gave their last country of residence as somewhere in the Caribbean.¹
3. On 15th April 1948, a small advertisement was placed in a newspaper announcing an opportunity to sail from Jamaica to the UK on the HMT Empire Windrush. The price of a ticket was £28 and 10 shillings.²
4. Roughly one third of the Empire Windrush's passengers were RAF airmen returning from leave or veterans re-joining the Service.³
5. The ship itself was originally German and was named the Monte Rosa. Before the Second World War it had been a German cruise ship but it was then requisitioned by the Nazis and used to transport troops during the invasion of Norway and for the deportation of Norwegian Jews. In 1945 it was captured by the British as a prize of war and renamed the Windrush.⁴
6. Prior to the docking of HMT Empire Windrush, two other ships from the Caribbean docked in England. The Ormonde docked in Liverpool on 31 March 1947 carrying 241 passengers. The passenger list reveals a wide range of skills and professions among the passengers, which included carpenters, engineers, plumbers and more. Later that year, on 21 December 1947, the Almanzora docked in Southampton carrying 200 passengers.⁵
7. Many of the Windrush Generation faced discrimination in housing and employment, the latter exemplified in Bristol by the refusal of the Bristol Omnibus Company to employ black or Asian bus crews. The Bristol Bus Boycott, which fought to have this discriminatory policy scrapped, achieved success on the same day that Martin Luther King made his famous "I Have a Dream" speech at the March on Washington.⁶
8. People were recruited directly from the Caribbean to work in a variety of London Transport roles. The government of Barbados lent recruits the travel fare to Britain, which was then paid back over a two year period. Similar schemes were organised by British Rail and the National Health Service.⁷
9. On board the Empire Windrush was Sam King, an RAF engineer during the war, who later became Sam King MBE. In 1964, he started a Caribbean street festival that grew into Notting Hill Carnival. He later became the first Black mayor of Southwark in 1983.⁸
10. On 30 March 1954, HMT Empire Windrush sank off the coast of Algeria, after a fire on the ship. The wreckage now sits 2,800 metres down at the bottom of the Mediterranean Sea, 23 nautical miles off the coast of Algeria. There is currently a campaign to recover one of the ship's anchors from the seabed, as a memorial to the Windrush Generation.⁹

3. How Britain is marking the 75th anniversary of the Windrush

Windrush 75 marks a major moment in British history and events and activities are being held across the UK for the anniversary – from our largest institutions to community groups and equality campaigns that have been marking Windrush Day for many years.

The Royal Mint will produce a new coin commemorating Windrush 75 and Royal Mail will release a new set of commemorative stamps; King Charles commissioned, when he was still Prince of Wales, a series of portraits of Windrush pioneers; and our major TV Channels have commissioned special programming to mark the occasion. The Royal Albert Hall is hosting a special Windrush concert on 9 June, featuring some of the artists featured in a 'Windrush Top 20', released by the Windrush 75 network on Spotify, to recognise the enormous contribution to UK music of the Windrush Generation and those who followed.

There will be major events taking place in the capital and other big cities across the UK; but anniversary celebrations are also happening in other locations too.

In London there will be a Windrush 75 Service of Thanksgiving at Southwark Cathedral on Windrush Day itself, 22 June, one of several religious services happening across the country to mark the anniversary. Museums including the National Maritime Museum and the V&A have programmes of events, with the Imperial War Museum hosting a 'From War to Windrush 75' symposium on 17 June. The RAF Museum in Colindale will host a special 'Wings and Waves' family day, recognising the fact that around a third of the Windrush passengers were Caribbean RAF airmen returning to the UK.

Brixton in South London will see a 22 June event on Windrush Square; a Black Culture Market showcasing black businesses; a history event at Lambeth Town Hall and a programme of events as part of the Voices of Windrush festival. The Radiate Windrush 75 festival in Southwark's Burgess Park on 25 June will see international Reggae artist Richie Spice flying in from Jamaica to appear live onstage.

Celebrations are not restricted to the capital, however. The Port of Tilbury in Essex, where the Windrush first docked 75 years ago, hosts an all-day programme of events on 22 June featuring a steel band, singing, dancing, films, exhibitions and workshops.

Birmingham will mark Windrush Day by raising the Windrush flag in Centenary Square, together with a thanksgiving service and Birmingham Rep hosting a performance by a newly formed children's choir, The Next Generation Choir Birmingham. Up the road in Coventry the Caribbean Association hosts a day of festivities – including authentic food – on Saturday 10 June.

In the East Midlands, Nottingham has Windrush Day festivities, a talk from playwright Colin Grant and the 'Digging Deep' Touring exhibition by the Black Miners Museum; in Mansfield there is a Windrush 'House through time' exhibition too.



Picture by Sean Pollock for Hackney Council



Photo credit Paul Yates

In the South West, Bristol sees a film festival onboard a 'vintage mobile cinema bus' as well as events for the St Paul's Carnival fringe; while Rice and Peas Community CIC has three days of activities in Cornwall. In Cardiff on 22 June, Windrush Elders from across Wales will march, wrapped in their National flags and led by the Army in Wales Marching band, from the Millennium Centre to the Senedd Parliamentary building. In the east of England, Ipswich hosts the Suffolk Windrush 75th Anniversary on 22nd June, with live music, guest speakers and food.

In the north of England, Bradford has a 'Carnival of Culture' on 16-17 June to warm people up before its Windrush Day parade on the 22nd. Preston hosts its annual Windrush Festival on 18 June, which has been going now for a decade, while on Saturday 24th revellers in Southport will come together for a family fun day; those in Manchester will gather in Alexandra Park; and in Sunderland the African Caribbean Community Centre promises music, food and dancing at their Windrush 75 celebration. In Scotland, the Edinburgh Festival Carnival and Edinburgh Caribbean Association will host an intergenerational, family-friendly Caribbean celebration with music, dance and poetry.



Events across the country to mark Windrush 75

Scotland

Windrush 75 family-friendly Caribbean celebration, The Edinburgh Caribbean Association, Edinburgh, 24 June.

North West

Preston Windrush Festival, 18 June
CAHN Windrush 75 celebration, Manchester, 24 June

North East

African Caribbean Community Centre in Sunderland marks Windrush 75, 24 June.

Yorkshire

Carnival of Culture, Bradford, 16-17 June
Windrush 75 Celebration, Civic Hall, Leeds, 16 June.

East Midlands

Windrush Day celebration, Beechdale Community Centre, Nottingham, 22 June.
'Windrush: It runs through us' at the Mansfield Museum, ongoing

West Midlands

Windrush Day 75th celebration, Birmingham Rep, 22 June
Windrush 75 festival, Coventry, 10 June

Wales

Windrush Elders March, Cardiff, 22 June
Windrush Caribbean Film Festival, Newport, 17-19 June.

East of England

Suffolk Windrush 75th Anniversary, Ipswich, 22 June
Aswad Live at Woodbridge Festival of Art and Music for Windrush 75, 30 August

London

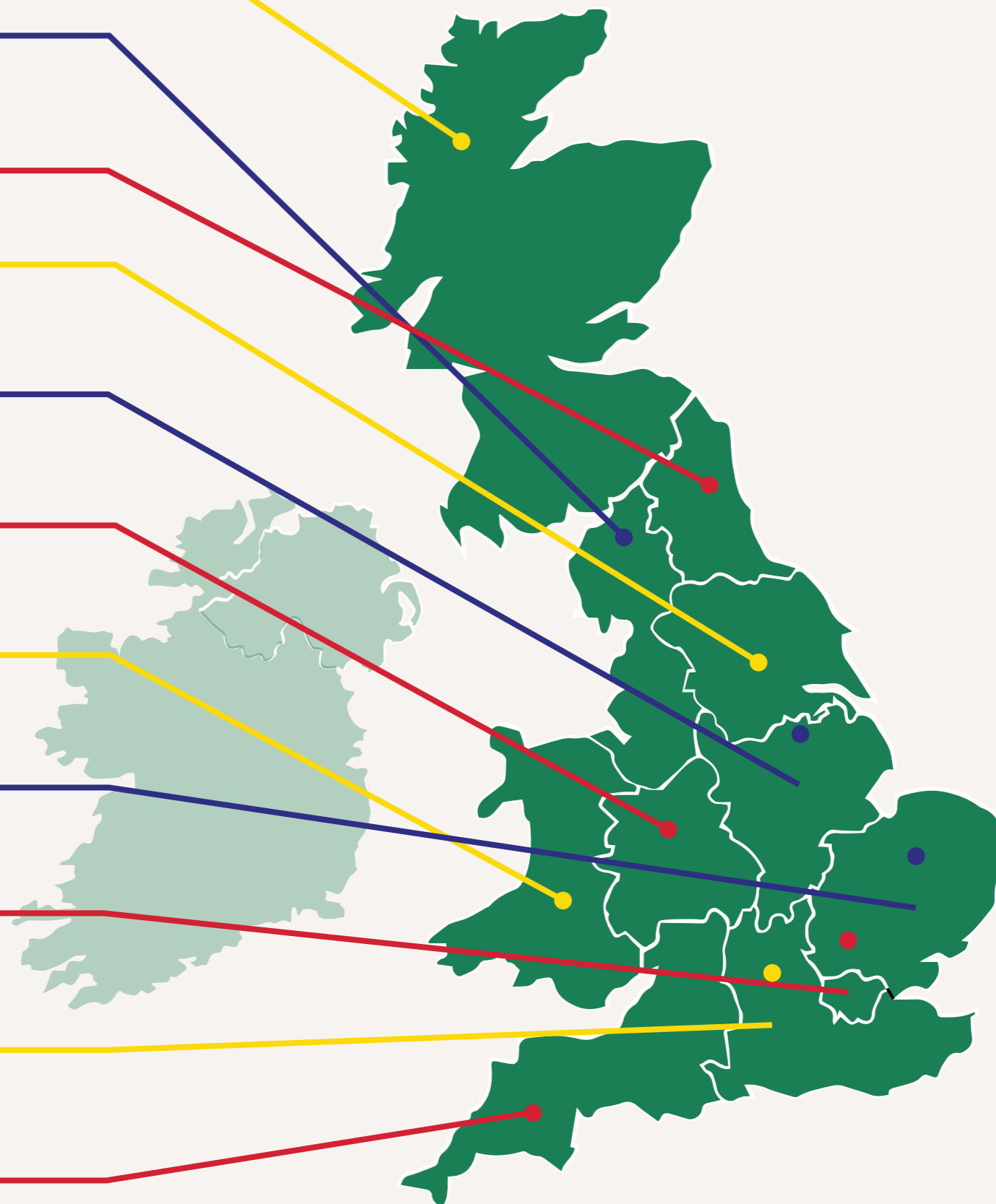
Windrush 75 Service of Thanksgiving, Southwark Cathedral, 22 June
Windrush 75: Radiate Festival, Burgess Park, 25 June.

South East

Windrush Day 75th anniversary celebration, Port of Tilbury, 22 June
Windrush 75 celebration, Brighton Book Festival, 22 June

South West

Summer film takeover - Windrush 75: Stories Through Film, Bristol, 22-24 June.
Rice and Peas Community CIC Windrush celebrations, Cornwall, 22-24 June



4. What does the public know and think about Windrush?

Steve Ballinger, British Future

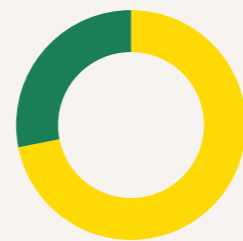
Just over half of the public is aware of the Windrush. Asked to name the 'particular ship that has become symbolic of Commonwealth migration to Britain,' 55% pick 'Windrush' from a shortlist of four (13% think it was the HMS Victory). As with many historical events, there is a significant age gap in awareness: just 13% of young people aged 18-24 are aware of the Windrush, compared to 87% of those aged over 65. Our survey found that awareness is actually lower among ethnic minority respondents (42%) and indeed in our Black Caribbean sample (50%) – most likely because of younger age demographics.

Few people know when the Windrush arrived at the Port of Tilbury, however, so awareness that this is the 75th anniversary year may be quite limited. Only 28% of the public are able to correctly choose 1948 from a list of four dates – almost as many (23%) think it was 1964. Awareness among Black Caribbean respondents is significantly higher at 45%, but there is clearly still some public education needed about this aspect of our history as part of the anniversary celebrations. Participants in our discussion groups, conducted in April, didn't feel that Windrush 75 had yet received enough publicity and at that time only one person in any of the groups was aware of an event that was planned to mark the anniversary.

On hearing more about it, however, six in ten people in Britain (61%) feel that the 75th anniversary of the Windrush arriving in Britain is an important moment for the country, rising to 71% of ethnic minority Britons and 84% of Black Caribbeans. Just over half of the public (53%) – and two-thirds (64%) of people from an ethnic minority background – would like to learn more about it. A quarter (26%) of the public, however, say they don't care about the story of the Windrush.



55% of the public is aware of the Windrush



28% correctly identified the date when it arrived

As an important aspect of Britain's history, three quarters (74%) of the general public think children should be taught about Windrush in school, with ethnic minorities feeling this particularly strongly. Some 89% of Black Caribbean respondents want children to learn about the Windrush story at school, with more than half (53%) saying this is very important. In our discussion groups, some Black Caribbean participants spoke of their worries that young people in their community do not see the Windrush as particularly relevant to their lives today, and of a desire to ensure that the story is passed down to the next generation. While young people from an ethnic minority background are twice as likely as young people in general (25%) to be able to name the ship, only around half of ethnic minority 18-25s feel that Windrush 75 events are for 'people like me' – compared to 63% of the ethnic minority population across all ages.

Some participants in our discussion groups also felt that schools could hold the key to using Windrush 75 as a moment to build bridges in local communities. Involving children in our diverse classrooms in Windrush events, and then inviting their parents along, could help bring people from different backgrounds together. The engagement of major national institutions with Windrush 75 – from the royal family commissioning portraits of the Windrush Generation and new commemorative stamps and coins to events at the V&A and Royal Albert Hall – will also help to extend the reach of the Windrush anniversary to majority audiences. The Windrush story is part of British history and is something for all of us, but it is particularly important for those from the Black Caribbean community, who are a full 25 points more likely than white respondents to say that Windrush events are 'for people like me'.

Attitudes to immigration also influence how interested people are in the Windrush anniversary. While 70% of those who feel most positive about immigration say they would consider attending a Windrush anniversary event, a similar proportion (73%) of those with the least positive attitudes say they would not. However, with half of people who sit in the middle of the attitudes spectrum on immigration saying they would consider attending, event organisers do have an opportunity to connect with this middle group and open a conversation about Britain's history of migration and diversity.

74% of the general public think children should be taught about Windrush in school

While some recent discussions about race and the way in which we commemorate Britain's history have become angry and polarised, we found little evidence that the anniversary of the Windrush would spark divisive reactions among the public, or get caught up in 'culture war' arguments. Instead, while not everyone may feel that the celebrations are particularly relevant to them, we found an appetite to discover more, and for young people to learn about this moment in our shared history. In our discussion groups there was a general warmth towards the Windrush anniversary, a desire to acknowledge the contribution of those who came to help rebuild the country after the war and an acknowledgement of the hardships those first arrivals faced.

"It matters because it's our history," we were told. "It shaped the country."



**It matters because it's
our history ”**

- Sheffield discussion
group participants



5. State of the nation: Where are we now on race in Britain?

Sunder Katwala, British Future

Britain has come a long way on race in the 75 years since the Windrush arrived, but with much further to go to complete that journey to inclusion. Changing how we talk about race – with more focus on the actions that are needed in practice – could help us to make more progress in the generation to come.

That sums up the widely shared consensus view across much of Black, Asian and ethnic minority Britain on the eve of these Windrush 75th anniversary celebrations. It is a message that strikes a chord with most of their fellow citizens from the white British majority group too.

The lived experience of race in Britain is considerably less binary, less polarised and more nuanced than much of our media and political debate often makes it seem. But there are significant challenges for how the public and political conversation might better reflect that in order to mobilise and sustain a broad consensus for effective action in the years to come.



A story of progress – and much more to do

Has Britain made progress on race – or is there much more to do? One starting point for a constructive conversation about race is to recognise that most people think that both of these things are true at the same time, rather than being opposing views to choose between.

That Britain has made significant progress on race over the last 25 years is a perspective shared by over two-thirds of respondents across both ethnic minority (68%) and the white majority group (71%). Some 13% of ethnic minority respondents disagree, rising to almost one in five (17%) of Black respondents and a tenth of the white population.

That the UK needs to make much more progress on race in the next 25 years commands a very broad consensus too. Eight out of ten ethnic minority respondents and almost two-thirds (64%) of the white British majority agree on that. No fewer than 87% of Black respondents agreed, with the majority of Black respondents agreeing strongly. A fairly narrow 15% segment of the white majority disagrees, alongside 5% of ethnic minority respondents.

Perceptions of past progress and the need for future progress on racial equality

	Ethnic minority	White
“The UK has made significant progress on racial equality in the last 25 years”	68%	71%
“The UK needs to make much more progress on racial equality in the next 25 years”	80%	64%

That Black and Asian people face discrimination in their everyday lives in Britain today is something most people recognise. Two thirds (67%) of ethnic minority respondents and 61% of white British respondents agreed with this, with 17% of white respondents and 10% of ethnic minority respondents disagreeing.

The Focaldata survey shows, in common with other surveys, that there is a significant degree of inter-ethnic consensus in the UK on patterns of opportunity and disadvantage across society, in contrast to more polarised perceptions in the United States. Some 9% of the white British think it is now harder to get on in Britain today if you are white (with a similar proportion saying it is easier to get on if you are Black or Asian). Around half (48%) of white British respondents and 60% of ethnic minorities say that it is easier to get on in Britain if you are white.

Comparative confidence in Britain

That call for greater change is combined with confidence about the British journey on race when respondents consider the comparative context. Asked to say whether Britain is a better or worse place to live, as someone from an ethnic minority background, than other major western democracies like the USA, Germany and France, most people think that the UK has a much stronger claim to be a pace-setter than a laggard.

Ethnic minority respondents were somewhat more emphatic, with 80% saying that the UK is a better place to live as a minority and 20% saying worse. For the white British the split was 73% to 27%.

If you had to choose, is the UK a better or worse place to live as someone from an ethnic minority than other big democracies like the USA, Germany and France?

	Better	Worse
Ethnic minority	80%	20%
White	73%	27%

Respondents were asked to select 'better' or 'worse'. The strength of this verdict may largely reflect the broad British public consensus that the state of race relations in the post-Trump United States is worse than in the UK. But Britain also has a strong claim to be putting more energy into race equality than most continental European countries – where the foundations for this work, such as data collection, are often missing – though that may be a level of detail better known by the more civically engaged than among the public at large.

Time for a better conversation about race?

There is a broad public appetite for a better public conversation about race here in Britain: one that is less heated, less polarised and more practical. People from different backgrounds and perspectives agree that we could make more progress in tackling race equality if we focused less on arguments about language and more on practical action.

Most people think that the political and media debate has become more divisive and polarised – with the 56% to 7% margin among the general public exactly mirrored among ethnic minorities.

Most people say that they would welcome a less heated debate about race in our politics and our society – a view supported by 66% of the public as a whole, with 8% opposed; and by 61% to 13% among ethnic minority respondents.

Most people say that they would welcome a less heated debate about race in our politics and our society

The offer of a less polarised public conversation about race would strike a chord across a wide spectrum of opinion. But there will be competing perceptions of what this should mean in practice. There is a similar margin among Labour and Conservative voters – of around 60% to 6% – that the public conversation has become more divisive. Yet perceptions will differ by age and education, by ethnic group, and by political perspective as to where responsibility for the current heat and polarisation lies.

The range of perceptions as to whether or not we are talking enough, or too much, about race in Britain today illuminates this. Race has had a much higher level of public salience over the last few years, particularly since the anti-racism protests of 2020. But the idea that we are talking too much about race does not strike much of a chord among ethnic minority Britons: just one in four (24%) agrees, outweighed by the four in ten (40%) who do not think we are yet talking about race enough. The balance of views among the white British majority is somewhat different, with 42% feeling that we are now talking too much about race, and a quarter (27%) saying that we need to talk about it more.

The median white and ethnic minority respondent are somewhere in the middle, though a majority of Black respondents (53%) think we still aren't talking enough about race yet. This perception gap reflects contrasting political instincts too. Among ethnic minority supporters of the Labour Party, a majority (52%) think we still are not talking about race enough, in contrast to the proportion of white British Conservative voters (56%) who think there is too much discussion about race. Ethnic minority Conservatives see it differently, split equally between a third who think we talk too little, a third too much and another third who feel there is about the right amount of discussion of race. So there is a big gulf between Black Britain, especially those who lean left, and Conservatives (especially older white Conservatives) on whether we need to talk more or less about race in Britain. White British Labour voters and ethnic minority Conservatives are somewhere in the middle on this question.

Do people think we talk too much or too little about race in the UK?

	Talk too little (much too little)	About right	Talk too much (much too much)	Net score
Ethnic minority	40% (14%)	30%	23% (8%)	Talk too little +17%
General public	29% (11%)	25%	39% (18%)	Talk too much +10
White British	27% (10%)	23%	42% (20%)	Talk too much +15%
Asian	35% (10%)	32%	26% (7%)	Talk too little +9
Black	52% (23%)	28%	17% (6%)	Talk too little +35
Mixed	38% (13%)	29%	24% (11%)	Talk too little +14

Three years after the Black Lives Matter anti-racism protests, ethnic minority opinion remains in favour of their impact. Two-thirds of ethnic minority Britain continues to approve of those anti-racism protests, with a fifth on the fence, and one in ten opposed. Half of Black British respondents say they strongly approve, along with a quarter of British Asians, where being somewhat supportive is the median perspective.



What could we achieve by Windrush 100? Public appetite for a 'net zero' mission on race and discrimination

There is a more substantive and broader latent consensus about the practical priorities for action on race. There is broad public approval for a mission to achieve 'net zero' racism and discrimination in Britain by the time of the Windrush centenary in 2048.

There is 65% support and 5% opposition for setting this goal across the general public. Seven in ten people from an ethnic minority background (71%) would support this, with 5% opposed, rising to 74% of Black respondents, where 55% agree strongly.

Ethnic minority respondents were considerably more likely to think that such a goal could be met if it was set – with 45% saying this was achievable by 2048 and a third saying that it was not. By contrast, across the public as a whole, 28% felt the goal could be achieved, while 48% thought this was unlikely.

Asked to consider different priority issues to address if this goal was adopted, Asian and Black respondents gave the highest priority to ensuring a fair chance for people from an ethnic minority background to get a job. 'Tougher rules on online hatred' was the most popular choice among white British respondents. This is an issue of concern to ethnic minorities too, but ranked fourth when compared to other priorities, with an inclusive curriculum that tells the full story of Britain and the Empire, and more opportunities for people from different backgrounds to meet and mix, ranking higher.

If the Government were to set 'net zero racism by 2048' as a goal, which policy areas should be a priority?

In contrast, white British attitudes have shifted more since 2020-21, when around half of the majority group expressed support while a fifth to a quarter said they were opposed. There is a white British plurality in favour of the anti-racism protests but that margin has now narrowed to 43% approval versus 35% disapproval. Partisan political and media cues have played a role in white British views becoming somewhat more split by age, education and party politics. Majorities of the under-50s, university graduates and Labour voters among the white British group remain supportive.

A majority of ethnic minority respondents say that they agree that disagreement and division are a price worth paying for progress on race equality. That proposition is supported by 54% to 13% among ethnic minority respondents, while white British respondents are ambivalent, with 36% agreeing, 18% in disagreement, and another 35% on the fence. So most of ethnic minority Britain does want to hear our politicians, policy-makers and the media attempt a more constructive, action-oriented conversation about race: but they will become more sceptical if calls for more civility and a calmer public debate about race might lapse into complacency or avoidance of issues that need attention.

	General public	Ethnic minority	Asian	Black
A fair chance for people from ethnic minorities to get a job	42%	51%	51%	55%
More opportunities for people from different backgrounds to meet and mix	43%	45%	44%	50%
Introducing an inclusive curriculum that tells the full story of Britain and the Empire	38%	42%	38%	48%
Tougher rules on online hatred	47%	36%	36%	34%
Police forces that look like the communities they serve in their ethnic mix	34%	32%	32%	33%
None of these	10%	5%	4%	3%

Future challenges: the politics of race

A broad social consensus for race equality should be an active and explicit goal of policy-makers in a multi-ethnic liberal democracy.

The Focaldata research shows the potential for a more productive and action-focused public conversation about race. But how far that potential is realised will depend on how the public conversation is led. In the run-up to the General Election and beyond, political pressures within both major parties may make a constructive bridging agenda more challenging.

The Sewell report in the Spring of 2021 generated a sharply polarised and binary debate, often dominated by mutual accusations of bad faith between the government and its critics in civic society. It was largely a binary debate, between an account of past progress and future challenges, about how to describe the problem, with future policy largely squeezed out. The Government's subsequent Inclusive Britain strategy in 2022 did mark a welcome de-escalation of the debate – focusing on constructive proposals for curriculum reform, monitoring and addressing inequalities in health, work and other areas – though this incremental agenda did not generate a significant amount of political or public attention.

While some voices on the right-of-centre see political advantages in a so-called 'anti-woke' agenda, these Focaldata findings show that potential ethnic minority Conservatives favour a more balanced and constructive approach. Appealing to this group could be important if the Conservative party is to reach across generational and education divides within the majority group after Brexit.

The Labour opposition can be anxious and uncertain about how to talk and act on race and identity in polarised times. It may well be the case that Labour would have the most to lose from a highly polarised public conversation about race, as it seeks to both maintain its historically strong support across different ethnic minority groups, and also to reach across the geographic and generational divides arising out of Brexit. In a zero-sum politics of competing grievances, the likelihood is that different sections of ethnic minority and majority groups may both feel that the centre-left party is on somebody else's side. Yet these findings show that there is potential for the centre-left to integrate an account of race equality into its approach of setting national 'missions' to indicate areas of policy focus.

These are not just challenges for the political parties, however. This year's census results show why every institution in Britain needs to become more confident in talking about race if we are to unlock the opportunities of our society's growing diversity for the benefit of all.



6. Young people and Windrush 75

Steve Ballinger, British Future

For Windrush to have a lasting legacy it needs to matter not only to the Windrush Generation and their second-generation children, who have heard the Windrush story direct from their parents. It needs to resonate with the next generation and those to come.

The heightened public profile of Windrush in this 75th anniversary year is a great opportunity to engage young people with the Windrush story. Everyone in our discussion groups felt it was important

that this should happen: particularly those from the Black Caribbean community, who feared that some of their culture and history could be lost as the first generation passes. Some Black Caribbean members of our discussion groups worried that young people in their community do not see Windrush as particularly relevant to their lives today. Better education and more targeted efforts to engage young Black Caribbean people with the Windrush story may be needed.

A narrow, 'Diverse history for diverse youth' approach, however, would be a missed opportunity to promote understanding, inclusion and contact. Young people from all backgrounds should know the Windrush story because it helps to explain why the increasingly diverse society that they are entering looks as it does today.

In his introduction to this report Patrick Vernon talks about the importance of preserving oral histories. Sir Lenny Henry referenced this too at a recent Q&A with Windrush Generation elders after a performance of his one-man show August in England at the Bush Theatre. Younger generations will need to capture their heritage now before it is lost: "We need to get the recipe for the cake and the Saturday soup," he told the audience. Involving young people in these efforts to capture and archive this history could fulfil the twin aims of preserving heritage and promoting intergenerational contact.

Young people (18-24) are 50/50 on whether Windrush 75 events are 'for people like me' – in line with the population as a whole. Young people from an ethnic minority background are no different – around half feel that Windrush 75 events are for 'people like me'. But two-thirds of young people say they would consider going to a Windrush 75 event – higher than all older age groups – offering a real opportunity to open a conversation with this group during the anniversary commemorations.

Young people's preferences for events closely mirror the public as a whole: they would rather take part in something celebratory, like a food-focused event, a street party, music event or film screening, than an event with a political or campaigning focus.


As with older groups, bringing party politics into the Windrush 75 commemorations was not popular. The 6th formers in our London discussion group were more politically aware than the average teenager, as most were studying politics. They were well versed on current affairs, race politics and campaigns against racial injustice. Yet this group, too, was dismissive of public debates involving politicians, who they saw as self-serving. They also favoured festival-type events that would attract a wider audience.



Politicians will do what they do best, which is not address issues. Having a political discussion will stray away from Windrush and make it all about politics and party points."

-Newham discussion group participant

There is potential to engage young people, however, with efforts to use the 75th anniversary moment to bring campaigns for racial equality to new audiences. Nearly eight in ten young people (77%) feel that "The UK needs to make much more progress on racial equality in the next 25 years", significantly more than the two-thirds (66%) of the public as a whole who agree. A third of the young people surveyed by Focaldata say that would consider going to an event that links the 75th anniversary with campaigns against the injustice of the Windrush scandal.



Some Black Caribbean members of our discussion groups worried that young people in their community do not see Windrush as particularly relevant to their lives today.

Photography by Ilyas Ayub for British Future

Other tactics than in-person events may be more effective in connecting with this audience, however. Our London youth discussion group was savvy about how to extend the reach of Windrush 75 in this digital age. Festival film screenings, for example, could also be streamed or made available to download. And they felt that online video and podcasts could be used to capture and share the testimonies of Windrush Generation elders, in a way that would be more engaging and have wider reach among young people than an event where older people were speaking.

Schools provide an obvious location in which to engage under-18s with the Windrush story. Several older members of our discussion groups felt it was important to do this in the classroom,

where students are a 'captive audience', as a way of reaching a group they perceived as reluctant to engage. Today's classrooms are more diverse than ever, and teaching Windrush enables students from diverse backgrounds to feel that their own heritage is reflected in the curriculum. It also offers a way in to talk about our modern, multi-ethnic society and how it has been shaped by migration over the last 75 years. Many teachers will be looking for ways to talk about the 75th anniversary of Windrush in June. In Section 11 of this report Meg Henry of educational charity The Linking Network looks in more detail at why and how to teach Windrush in schools.



Picture by Sean Pollock for Hackney Council

Nearly eight in ten young people (77%) feel that “The UK needs to make much more progress on racial equality in the next 25 years”, significantly more than the two-thirds (66%) of the public as a whole who agree

Photography by Ilyas Ayub for British Future

7. A vision for Windrush 100: targeting 'net zero' on racial discrimination in the next 25 years

Sunder Katwala, British Future

It is three-quarters of a century since the Windrush docked at Tilbury, providing the symbolic origins moment for how post-war Commonwealth migration reshaped modern Britain. That story of post-Windrush Britain could be seen as a tale three-quarters told: an unfinished story in three parts of a journey against prejudice and discrimination, with the conclusion yet to come.

After 1948, the first quarter of a century was the contested story of arrival. Those who came to this country had a strong sense of their own Britishness, having been taught more about the 'Mother country' at school than the land of their birth. Yet they found that very few of their new neighbours felt the same sense of shared identity upon arrival in Britain. The Windrush Generation had next to no public voice as fierce arguments raged in politics or the media about their very presence in the country.

After 1973, the next quarter-century saw a breakthrough for recognition. Commonwealth free movement may have ended, but the first British-born generation had put down roots. There were many firsts, with the first Black and Asian voices in parliament after 1987, alongside breakthroughs in sport, the law, media and many other fields.

After 1998, the last quarter century has been of challenge and contestation. From the Macpherson report of 1999 to the Windrush scandal and the anti-racism protests of 2020, the demand is not just for some presence in the room. It is rather for institutions to recognise the scale of change needed to deliver on the promise of fairness and equal treatment in practice. There has been social progress too, most notably in educational outcomes, yet that has also seen expectations rise faster still, particularly across the generations.

Can those expectations be met? That depends on what happens next. This anniversary year is deepening understanding of the history that made modern Britain. Windrush Day itself will be a chance to recognise how far we have come. But a seventy-fifth anniversary also offers an important chance to look forward as well as back.

A seventy-fifth anniversary also offers an important chance to look forward as well as back.

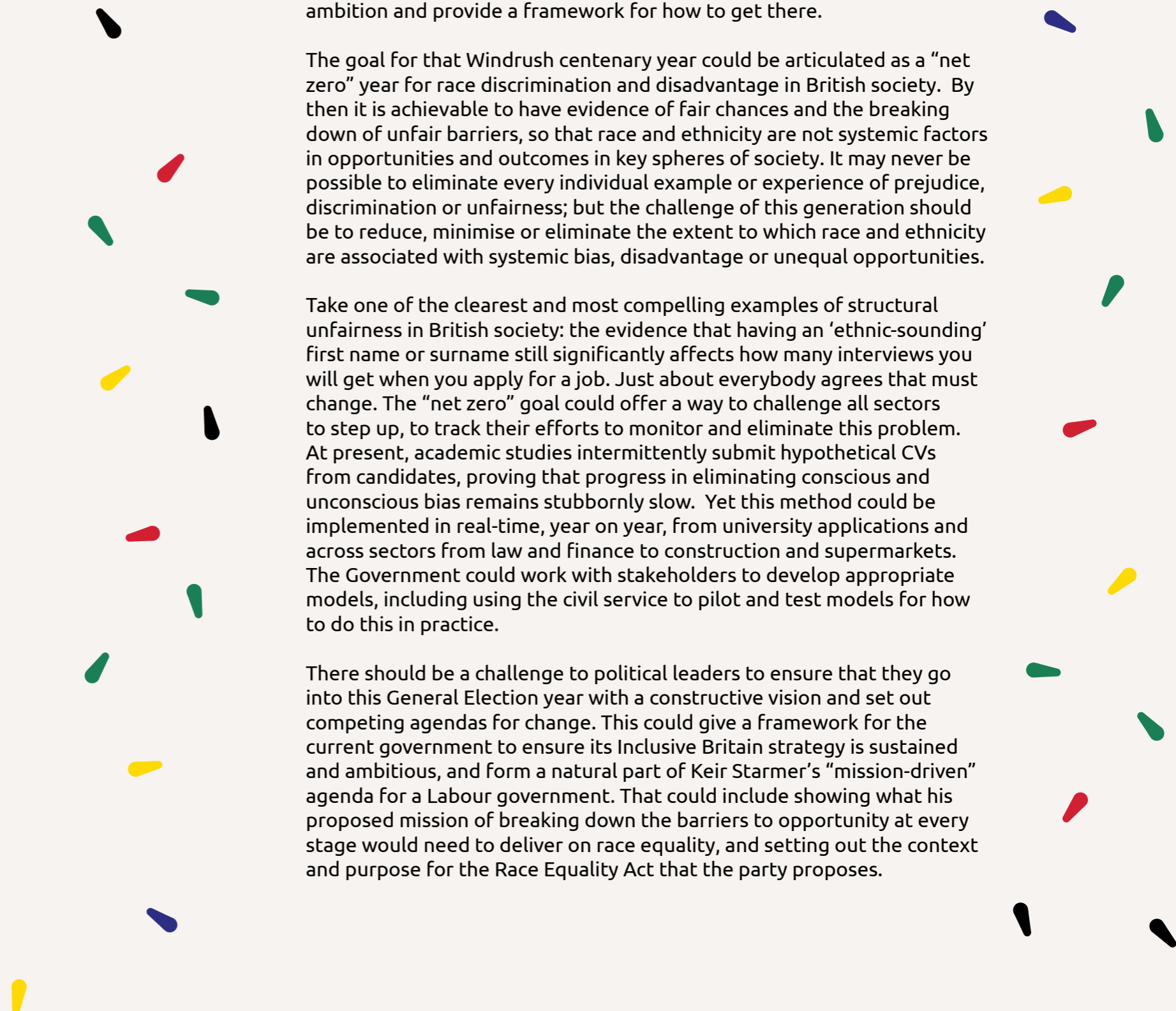
What story will Britain want to tell ourselves at the end of the first century of post-Windrush Britain? How can we put in place the foundations that we need to make a decisive difference in this generation on race equality by the time of the Windrush centenary?

We are now used to thinking about "net zero" on climate change. The 2050 targets set an animating mission that is constructive, action-oriented, and which allows each strand of policy-making to see its effort as part of a larger mission. Let us now adopt the Windrush centenary year – 2048 – as a lodestar year for race equality in Britain, to set the vision and ambition and provide a framework for how to get there.

The goal for that Windrush centenary year could be articulated as a "net zero" year for race discrimination and disadvantage in British society. By then it is achievable to have evidence of fair chances and the breaking down of unfair barriers, so that race and ethnicity are not systemic factors in opportunities and outcomes in key spheres of society. It may never be possible to eliminate every individual example or experience of prejudice, discrimination or unfairness; but the challenge of this generation should be to reduce, minimise or eliminate the extent to which race and ethnicity are associated with systemic bias, disadvantage or unequal opportunities.

Take one of the clearest and most compelling examples of structural unfairness in British society: the evidence that having an 'ethnic-sounding' first name or surname still significantly affects how many interviews you will get when you apply for a job. Just about everybody agrees that must change. The "net zero" goal could offer a way to challenge all sectors to step up, to track their efforts to monitor and eliminate this problem. At present, academic studies intermittently submit hypothetical CVs from candidates, proving that progress in eliminating conscious and unconscious bias remains stubbornly slow. Yet this method could be implemented in real-time, year on year, from university applications and across sectors from law and finance to construction and supermarkets. The Government could work with stakeholders to develop appropriate models, including using the civil service to pilot and test models for how to do this in practice.

There should be a challenge to political leaders to ensure that they go into this General Election year with a constructive vision and set out competing agendas for change. This could give a framework for the current government to ensure its Inclusive Britain strategy is sustained and ambitious, and form a natural part of Keir Starmer's "mission-driven" agenda for a Labour government. That could include showing what his proposed mission of breaking down the barriers to opportunity at every stage would need to deliver on race equality, and setting out the context and purpose for the Race Equality Act that the party proposes.



The central challenge for public policy is how the next government could provide an operational framework to track sustained progress on race as part of a national mission for equal opportunities. The UK is a world leader in the quality and depth of ethnicity data: the next step is for this to become a catalyst for constructive action. This could require efforts to ensure that our political debates, in which the discourse of race equality can be sharply contested, do not crowd out effective plans for action.

A net zero goal could now provide a purpose and a focus for institutionalising future race audits – within a framework of fair chances and equal opportunities for all, in a way that decides what matters most and tracks progress towards it. Regular, high-profile audits and an annual race equality summit could help to maintain the salience and profile of this mission and agenda for change, to ensure significant progress in the next five years towards the goal.

Committing to the principle of the ‘net zero’ challenge for Windrush 100 could be a platform for in-depth public engagement across groups and generations to set the key priorities and goals to meet this. A Windrush 100 mission, and a net zero goal for race equality, could provide an important focal point too across other spheres of economic and cultural power in Britain:

- In criminal justice, how should the 25th anniversary of the Macpherson report next February be used not just as a moment for retrospective reflection but to commit to the future vision for change in this generation?
- Which are the most important disparities in health inequalities that can be closed in this generation? How will the NHS itself meet the challenge of seeing the enormous diversity of its clinical staff much better reflected in the most senior levels too?
- How can major national sports, such as football, plot the journey they need to take so that the increasingly level playing field on the pitch is reflected in the managerial dugout, the boardroom and the press box?
- How can our armed forces, with their proud history of ethnic minority and Commonwealth contribution in the world wars of the last century, articulate their vision of a more diverse fighting force for the future, and track their progress towards it?

The challenge is to ask what needs to change in this next generation for every sphere of our society to play their part in unlocking the full potential of a modern diverse Britain, across every colour and creed, social class and generation. All of those involved in marking the Windrush 75 anniversary can be invited to find their place in a Windrush 100 movement committed to achieving change in this generation.

Get this right, and when we reach the centenary of Windrush 100 we should be able to look back with pride on how much further we have come.



Photography by Duncan Cumming

8. Windrush stories

Liz Mitchell

Liz Mitchell is the original lead singer with Boney M, the three-quarters Black British group that sold over 100 million records in the 1970s. In 2022, Boney M was crowned 'the most popular black pop group ever' by UK music industry experts after 1978 hit Rasputin became a global TikTok dance challenge, resulting in nine million videos viewed 22 billion times. She is the only woman to sing three tracks in the all-time Top 20 best-selling UK singles.

My Windrush story starts in Jamaica in 1952. I was born in the Clarendon Parish and we lived in the country – certainly not anywhere grand like Kingston. I have many memories looking back, some more clear than others. One thing I remember very clearly is the music. It was ska and blues beat, which later became rocksteady, and it was incredible. Prince Buster was massive when I was a little girl. He was the godfather of Jamaican music.

I was left in the care of my grandparents by my mother and father when they came to Britain in the 1950s to start a new life for our family, and they moved into a house in Harlesden in north-west London. My father Norman is now 102 and he still lives in the same house.

And then in 1964 I joined my parents in the United Kingdom. I was 11 years old and travelled as a minor. So alone on a plane bound for Heathrow. I have two memories from when I first arrived: the feeling of not knowing anyone and thinking it such a very cold country.



By September I had been enrolled into the local comprehensive school, and would always sing with my girlfriends in the school cloakroom, telling them I was going to become the black Twiggy.

Someone heard me one day and said: 'Oh, you really can sing, can you help me with my audition?' And then this audition turned out to be my audition as well, and the rest is history. Coming from rural Jamaica, I didn't even know you could earn money by performing or being on stage.

I grew up in London in the 60s, and then went to Germany in the 70s to make music - and our music brought us back to the UK, where we were regularly on Top of the Pops singing our songs. Boney M was a three-quarters black British group, yet I somehow always felt slighted, as if I wasn't really British. I think that's how many of the Windrush Generation have felt over the years.

The Windrush scandal six years ago, which saw people denied the right to remain in the UK despite living and working here for decades, was devastating - not just for me but for all the immigrants from around the world in this country.

We heard of people that had to fight to stay but most of my family had applied for British citizenship all over again, even though we were British on arrival. My father said he believed we should do it so as to be sure. It was a good thing that we did, or else we could have been on that list of deported people.

My father has been here for over 68 years, which is a very long time, and then there's all the people who came here before that, from 1948 onwards – yet they never really felt they were properly accepted.

I believe the Windrush 75 celebrations marking the 75th anniversary should be the start of much wider recognition, to fully and finally acknowledge what the West Indian community brought and contributed to this country.



I believe the Windrush 75 celebrations marking the 75th anniversary should be the start of much wider recognition”

Glenda Caesar

Glenda Caesar worked in the NHS for over 20 years but her career was brought to an end by the 'Windrush Scandal'. She has since become a campaigner against injustice.

I came to England in 1961 from the Caribbean Island of Dominica, a 'babe in arms' just three months old. I travelled with my mum and my aunt to meet my father, who had gone out ahead of us to find work and a place to live. I am the middle child of 7 with three older and three younger siblings.



We first settled in Islington in North London, with the whole family living in one room that my parents divided with a curtain, with two double beds at the back. We lived next door to some 'Teddy Boys' who really didn't like Black people. I remember them using racist names towards my mother, but my mum wasn't having it. She taught us that we shouldn't ever let anyone call us names; and that we have a voice and should use it – something that has stuck with me to this day. Eventually my parents bought a house in Hackney, East London, which is where I went to school and grew up.

As an adult I became a mum of four myself, bringing up my family on my own by working for the NHS as an administrator, a role I was in for over 20 years. But my career was cut short in 2009 by what came to be known as the 'Windrush Scandal'.

I'd first realised something was wrong more than 10 years before in 1998. My mum had fallen very ill while on holiday back in Dominica but when I applied for a passport to go out to see her, it was denied. This was heart-breaking as my mother eventually passed away without me being able to see her again. But I didn't take it further at the time as I was still in employment without any restrictions.

It wasn't until 2009 that I truly felt the full weight of the Windrush scandal. I had taken on a part-time role as a GP Practice Administrator and was faced with questions about my legal right to work and live in the UK. A new manager was not happy that I did not have a UK passport and in the end, they terminated my employment on the grounds of 'Gross misconduct' for not being able to prove that I had the legal right to work or live in the country.

It was a life-changing moment. For the ten years that followed I was denied the right to work – but I wasn't allowed to claim benefits to support myself either. I was forced to rely on my children. Eventually in 2017 my story, and those of thousands of others, came to public attention when journalist Amelia Gentleman broke the news of the Windrush Scandal in the Guardian newspaper.

Since then I have received compensation, but many others still have not. Today I continue to fight for changes in the Windrush compensation scheme and to ensure that other victims are compensated correctly and fairly. I advocate on behalf of those still seeking compensation and I helped to challenge policy so that family members who supported primary claimants were financially reimbursed via the scheme. I use my voice to campaign and help others who feel unheard or unable to come forward.



I was denied the right to work – but I wasn't allowed to claim benefits to support myself either. I was forced to rely on my children”

Lorna James

After coming from Jamaica as a child, Lorna James enjoyed a 45-year career for the NHS as a nurse and midwife. She shared her 'Windrush story' with students at Clayton Village Primary School in Bradford as part of a Linking Network/British Future project.



I came to England on 23 April 1963. From what I can remember, it was a long journey. There was a stopover and it took over 15 hours to get to England from Jamaica. I was travelling on my own – my mum had come to England three years earlier, to find work. She came to Bradford because a friend had invited her and she thought she could build a better life for us here.

I was worried about leaving my friends and family, especially my grandmother who I loved so much. I lived with her and my grandfather after my mum left for England and she was like a mum to me. She taught me to cook and bake from an early age. Life in the Caribbean was beautiful – sunny and warm, sandy beaches and blue skies, exotic fruits on the trees.

When I got to England the first thing that struck me was the cold. The sun was actually shining and other people had their sleeves rolled up, so I thought it would be warm – but it really wasn't. I didn't like the cold at all and this big thing you had to wear, a coat – I hadn't needed anything like that in Jamaica. It was so heavy!

Settling in wasn't easy. The looks you got from others weren't very nice – you felt as though you were intruding, as though you were somewhere you shouldn't be. Some of the notices that people talk about – the infamous 'No dogs, No blacks, No Irish' – I saw them posted in windows while I was walking to school. It wasn't easy to make friends of my own age and I missed my friends in Jamaica.

But from a fairly early age I had a very clear goal. Back in Jamaica I'd seen the local midwife hurrying to people's houses with her black bag to help women safely give birth. I wanted to be like her. First I had to train to become a nurse: it took three years and it wasn't always easy, but I'm a very determined person and there was nothing that was going to stop me. I still have my certificate and badge showing that I am a State Registered Nurse. Getting that certificate was one of the proudest moments of my career – though there were a few more to come.

I worked in the NHS for 45 years, first as a nurse and then as a midwife. In that time I delivered over 1,000 babies and in 2006 I was nominated as Midwife of the Year. While I went into the profession to care for people, it was certainly nice to receive some appreciation. I went to London to collect my award. It was a very special day.

I retired 10 years ago as a Labour Ward manager. Looking back at my time in the NHS, given the chance I'd do it all over again – it was always a pleasure to go to work. It was so fulfilling helping women, seeing their faces with their new babies and seeing the families gathered together. I'm quite sad that I'm not a midwife anymore and if you handed me my bag tomorrow and told me to go out and deliver more babies, I wouldn't say no. But you do need a rest eventually!

My advice for young people today is to have good people around you and to have clear goals for the future. Never let anyone tell you that that you can't achieve them. Work hard and play hard as well – I certainly did – but you've got to do the work first.

I think Britain really has changed over the years, in many ways. The blatant racism and abuse in the street that we first experienced is far less evident now. Things have improved but there's still a long way to go. I really do think that if we support each other we can get there in the end.

Windrush 75 is an important moment for me, for others in my community and for our wider society too. I do feel that the wider public, especially young people, need to learn about this history, because there are a lot of misconceptions out there. We were invited here to come and rebuild Britain after the World War and we have contributed ever since. It's important for these stories to be told and shared – and for those 75 years of contribution to be celebrated in a big way.

A video for schools featuring Lorna sharing her story can be downloaded, along with other Windrush teaching resources, from: thelinkingnetwork.org.uk/teaching-resources/windrush/



Things have improved but there's still a long way to go. I really do think that if we support each other we can get there in the end."

9. How and why should business talk about Windrush 75?

Sandra Kerr CBE, Race Equality Director, Business in the Community

This year marks the 75th anniversary of Windrush Day, when the Empire Windrush arrived in the UK carrying the first 802 of the 500,000 Commonwealth citizens who settled here between 1948 and 1971 – the Windrush generation. It should not be forgotten that the Windrush generation were invited to Britain to help rebuild our country following labour shortages after the Second World War, particularly in industries such as health, transport, and manufacturing. My parents were among the group that settled here from Jamaica in the late 50s and early 60s. The values instilled in me that I saw demonstrated in their example growing up were to work hard, do your best work, be on time, and respect and appreciate your employers, leaders, and the colleagues that you work with – something that I have endeavoured to do throughout my career. The Windrush generation has played, and continues to play, an important role in supporting the UK economy, diversifying our culture and creating a positive impact on UK society.

As we mark the 75th anniversary of Windrush Day, businesses should consider how they can celebrate, remember, and pay tribute to the hundreds of thousands of people from the Windrush generation who made the UK and its businesses what they are today. While it is important to look back at the UK at that time, the Windrush anniversary also provides an opportunity for business leaders to demonstrate to both internal and external stakeholders that their business is committed to equality, equity, diversity and inclusion in the workplace, and diversity in our wider society.

Since arriving in the UK, the Windrush generation have often faced discrimination. Business in the Community's (BITC) Race at Work survey shows that sadly this is still the case today in many workplaces¹⁰. When the Windrush generation first arrived, many were denied accommodation as a result of their ethnicity¹¹. It is clear that society has come a long way since then, but the 75th anniversary of Windrush should stand as a reminder that we have still got much to do.

Under the leadership of the then Prince of Wales, BITC, with some key leading employers, began campaigning for greater workplace diversity in 1995, under the banner of the Race for Opportunity campaign. It was acknowledged by senior business leaders that more needed to be done to get more Black, Asian, Mixed Race and other ethnically diverse talent into workplaces and into senior roles. We need to break down barriers and enable and support those with the aspiration and drive to become successful entrepreneurs and business owners. The government-sponsored independent McGregor-Smith Review, Race in the workplace, found that if Black, Asian, Mixed Race and other ethnically diverse talent in UK workplaces was fully utilised, it could add £24 billion every year – or £481 million a week – to the UK economy.¹²

Today, BITC has nearly 1,000 businesses committed to taking action through the Race at Work charter. These businesses know that while the dial has shifted since the first of the Windrush Generation landed in the UK in 1948, there is still much more work to be done to make UK businesses truly inclusive. Census data in England and Wales shows that the Black population is growing. In 2011, the Black population in England was 3.4% (1.9 million); today it is 4% (2.4 million). It is clear from the Census data that diverse populations are increasing (18.3%), showing the importance of business leaders focusing on inclusivity, with sectors such as transport and communication (19.4%), distribution, hotels and restaurants (15.4%), and administration, education and health (15.0%) employing the highest number of Black, Asian, Mixed Race, and other ethnically diverse employees.¹³

With the tight labour market, it is vital that companies become comfortable talking about race and ethnicity and show their commitment to building a diverse workforce and an inclusive workplace culture. The working population of ethnically diverse employees is growing – to 1 in 5 (19.3%)¹⁴ – and the talent, skills, knowledge, and experience that a diverse workforce can bring will be instrumental in building the UK economy.

It is vital that companies become comfortable talking about race and ethnicity and show their commitment to building a diverse workforce and an inclusive workplace culture.

There are many ways in which businesses can engage with the 75th anniversary of Windrush. They should use this opportunity to communicate the importance of a diverse and inclusive workforce, while celebrating the significant impact and contribution that the Windrush Generation has made to Britain in the past 75 years. To do this, businesses should make a conscious effort to engage both internal and external stakeholders on what they are doing.

Internally, businesses can use the Windrush anniversary to drive their EDI strategy and show their employees, clients, customers and other external stakeholders that they are committed to fostering diverse talent and taking action to tackle race inequality in the workplace and in society. While utilising diverse talent can help boost the UK economy, only one in 10 people in senior positions in public and private sector organisations are ethnically diverse,¹⁵ even though it has been found that organisations which have more diverse teams have 36% better financial returns than those with less diversity.¹⁶ Actions such as capturing and reporting ethnicity data, including by reporting ethnicity pay gap data and committing to closing the gap, are effective ways of showing commitment to a diverse and inclusive workforce, where all employees feel safe, valued, and respected, and where everyone has equal opportunities.

The anniversary of Windrush Day should not just be about looking back and celebrating. It should also be a moment where businesses commit to further action on the inequalities that we know Black, Asian, Mixed Race, and other ethnically diverse employees experience in the workplace. While much has changed since 1948, there is still much work to be done to make UK workplaces truly equal – not only for descendants of the Windrush Generation, but for everyone from all backgrounds.



Photography by Diego Sideburns

10. Where would English football be without the Windrush?

Paul Elliott CBE MBE, special adviser to the Chair and Chief Executive of the FA

Football must play its full part in this Windrush 75 anniversary year. The simple truth is that our grassroots, domestic and national game would be unrecognisable and so much poorer without the legacies of the Windrush.

This feels personal to me. My grandparents and my parents were part of that first Windrush Generation. Their abiding message to me was that we would need to try twice as hard and be twice as good, just to have an equitable opportunity. Growing up in Lewisham, south London in the 'sixties', dreaming of becoming a professional player as I kicked a ball outside the Council flats next to Charlton Athletic, there were not many role models I could look to when I was at primary school.

English football had found little space for the Windrush Generation in the first quarter of a century after Windrush, either on the pitch or the terraces. That makes it more important to recognise those few, sometimes overlooked, pioneers of the pre-television era. It was in 1948, the year of the Windrush's arrival, that Lindy Delapenha became Portsmouth's first black player and the first Jamaican to play in the top flight in the post-war era. As a member of the Pompey teams that won back-to-back league titles, Delapenha was the first black player in a title-winning squad. It was mainly at Middlesbrough where Delapenha went on to be a legend. His skilful wing play created hatfuls of goals for Brian Clough, while Delapenha scored a hundred goals himself. Lindy Delapenha was more or less the only prominent black footballer in England in

the 1950s. This Windrush anniversary is a good year to elevate his name once again in football's history and memory.

The 1970s saw the breakthrough generation. So how vividly I remember watching Vince Hilaire from Crystal Palace, and Laurie Cunningham and Cyrille Regis, both at West Brom, on The Big Match. Their technical proficiency, elegance and balance on those pitches was a delight to see. The sheer physicality, acceleration and shooting power of Regis was like Roy of the Rovers. They became my early football heroes. Viv Anderson, the first black player at senior level, won an England cap in 1978, when I was fourteen – an important sign that the once-impossible was now possible.



So that second quarter of a century from the seventies to the nineties did see big changes. My generation stood on the shoulders of Cyrille, Vince and Laurie. We needed to inherit their mental resilience too, as it was part of their brilliance. When I broke through to the Charlton team as a 17-year-old in 1982, overt racism was a common experience – from the terraces, from opponents on the pitch and even from teammates in training. It was ignorance but the reality is that my negative football experiences reflected society. That was why I was committed to being an agent of change at the zenith of my career and post-career. I was so proud to co-found Kick It Out, the anti-racism campaign, thirty years ago, led by a great man in Lord Herman Ouseley.

I felt the difference that it made when I moved from Celtic to Chelsea. I was aware of the reputation Chelsea fans historically had up to that point. Paul Canoville was Chelsea's first black player in the 1980s and 'Canners', justifiably now a club legend, had faced terrible abuse from sections of the Chelsea support, where the National Front had sought to infiltrate. The reception I got was more respectful.

Fortuitously, I scored twice in my first two matches at Stamford Bridge (especially since I was a central defender). I was also Chelsea's and the Premier League's first black captain – though I only found that out much later after I had stopped playing. It was not the sort of thing that was much celebrated back then.

Before Chelsea, I had a good career that I was very proud of. Despite playing in some very hostile environments I represented some excellent clubs such as Charlton, Luton Town, Aston Villa, Pisa in Italy and Celtic in Scotland. Those experiences as a young man, playing in three different countries, shaped my strength of character as a leader.

Our 1990s generation passed the torch on in our turn. I take great pride in seeing how much the game has changed. Players born in this century, black and white, can have different expectations. The diversity of the crowds in our stadiums – watching the Three Lions and the Lionesses, and across the club game – shows how football is positively evolving. But we now face challenges again in the 21st century, as we saw during and after Euro 2020 with the abuse of the three black players who missed penalties against Italy in the Euros final. We need to challenge, with continued vigour, the online harms of the toxic racist abuse that festers on social media in this era. We should take this just as seriously as we took racism on the terraces in the 1990s. The behaviours of the perpetrators behind the keyboards replicate the same inappropriate language and abuse towards men and women of colour.

We cannot deviate from the fact that every participant in the men's and women's games has that fundamental human right to work in a racism-free environment.

And while football is an increasingly level playing field on the pitch, the game has similar challenges off the pitch as other spheres of economic and cultural power. The pace of change has been too slow on diversity in boardrooms, administration, management teams and the media. Debbie Hewitt MBE was the FA's first female Chair in its 160-year history and is leading the way. The diversity and independence of the FA Board are what boards, not just in football but across the corporate sector more broadly, should try to emulate. Essentially it's good corporate governance.

So football's Windrush journey has been a complex story – one of contribution but also of exclusion; of racism and discrimination; of resilience and anti-racism; of allyship and solidarity; and of the need to institutionalise leadership and progress. The Windrush 75th anniversary is an important opportunity for the game to educate stakeholders, supporters and players alike about why our journey towards inclusion across the generations has mattered – and inspire them to take it where it needs to go next. Football can do that in three ways.

Windrush 75 is a chance to recognise, honour and celebrate the pioneers of the journey across generations, from the national teams to the club game. It is a moment to reflect on what today's players have inherited from their commitment and resilience.

Windrush 75 should be a chance to celebrate the present – and consider how far we have come. When I began playing, football was mainly seen as part of the problem: a place where racism was given a voice on a Saturday afternoon. Today, I think we can take pride in how the game, at its best, provides a model of how we make progress. From Cyrille Regis to Gareth Southgate's young lions, our game has helped to shift the national conversation.

The work of recent decades has seen the game develop a serious aspiration to be a pace-setter for inclusion and race equality in our society. Forty per cent of the Premier League's players and thirty-eight per cent in the EFL are ethnically diverse but we have just a handful of Black coaches: just under five per cent. That's highly disproportionate, notwithstanding all the positive action programmes across the stakeholder bodies to increase the diversity of coaches.

Finally, Windrush 75 is a chance to make a new commitment to complete this journey. We should make football's involvement with Windrush 75 a catalyst for the changes that are still needed. Three-quarters of a century into this journey of modern, diverse Britain, it is an unfinished story. So I'd like to see football becoming a key player in a 'Windrush 100' movement, seizing this opportunity to set out a vision of where we want to be by the 2048 centenary – and the practical steps we need to get there. If football continues to play its part, in recognising Windrush 75 and setting out where the next generation can take us by the Windrush centenary, then I believe that we can make a real difference, both within the game and beyond it too.



11. How can museums engage with Windrush 75 this year?

James Bulgin, Head of Public History, IWM

Museums are a product of the society that created them. As societies change museums change too. Through this process they hold a mirror to the culture that produced them, offering ways of reflecting on where they have been, where they are and where they are going. The Windrush and the broader legacy of immigration from the Caribbean that it stands for impacted and shaped modern Britain. It shouldn't surprise anyone that museums and heritage organisations are an intrinsic part of that.

Windrush 75 has offered all of us within the sector a valuable opportunity to reflect on both our cultural histories and our organisational futures. Of course these reflections aren't always comfortable but they are important and they are necessary. For a museum like IWM this has been an integral part of a longer and ongoing process.

When it was established in 1917 IWM's founders intended it to reflect the experiences of the First World War for all of those who lived within Britain and its Empire. Through the second half of the century this remit was expanded to include any present or future conflicts involving the same participants. After the end of Empire, it was reconceived to include all of those within the Commonwealth.

Given this defined perspective, stories of men and women from the Caribbean have always been an integral part of the museum's work. This does not mean, however, that they have always been given the visibility they deserve. By convention, Britain's national focus on the two world wars has always focused on certain dimensions of the conflicts at the expense of others – and IWM has not, in the past, always been immune to that.

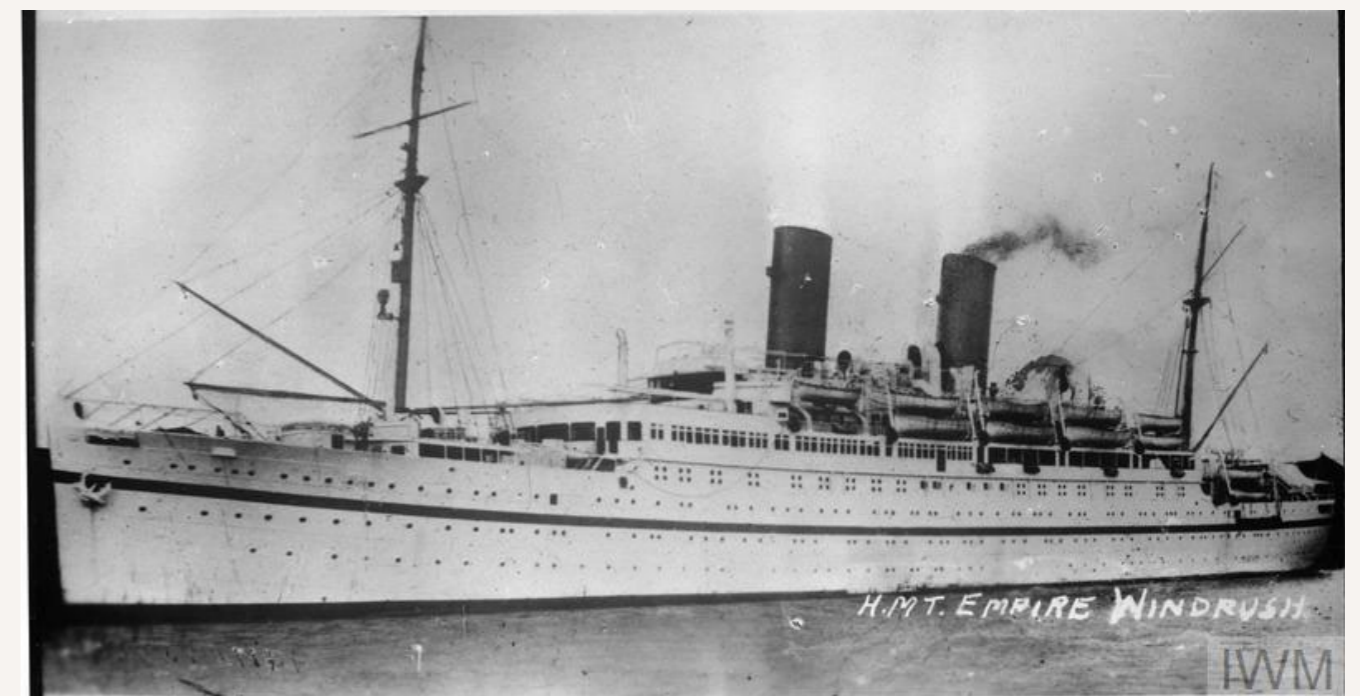
In 2008 a temporary exhibition called 'War to Windrush' was opened that explored the experiences of men and women from the Caribbean during the Second World War and its aftermath. This was a very visible part of a broader ambition within the museum to draw attention towards these narratives. Most visitors remain unaware that many of those who made the journey to the UK after the war were not so much arriving as returning. They had volunteered to support the UK in its hour of need and were doing so again to assist with the process of rebuilding.

In the years since the 'War to Windrush' exhibition, a series of different projects have sought to consider underrepresented stories from across the collections more broadly. This has led to changes in the museum's approach for new collecting and the reappraisal of its current collection.

The Windrush anniversary has redoubled IWM's focus in this area. Much like the rest of the sector, we have been keen to mark the anniversary but also to ensure that the outcomes arising from it form part of a longer legacy. A new family activity has been created in collaboration with author Kandace Chimbiri based around individuals who were part of the Windrush Generation. This activity will become part of the museum's permanent family offer after the anniversary has passed. The learning team are also working with external artists and poets to create responses to the museum's collections related to Windrush history. Part of the output of this will be a 'trail' allowing visitors to identify relevant items on public display.

In June the museum is producing a symposium to discuss different dimensions of the Windrush and its legacy as it relates to IWM's remit. This symposium features an incredible range of speakers and panellists addressing various dimensions of Windrush history.

For IWM and for museums and other institutions across the heritage sector, the 75th anniversary of the Windrush is an opportunity to look afresh at our collections, our programming, the audiences we attract and the staff who make it all happen. Looking into the future, IWM is working with different organisations to develop an identity more closely aligned with the nation that the Windrush Generation helped to create. This will involve developing the collections to include these experiences and encouraging a more diverse staff to work with them and with content across the museum. IWM wants to reach those who hadn't considered a career in museums to say you are wanted, and you are needed. Finding practical ways to succeed in this final ambition would of course be the most successful legacy to Windrush 75 of all.



The 75th anniversary of the Windrush is an opportunity to look afresh at our collections, our programming, the audiences we attract and the staff who make it all happen



Photography by Ilyas Ayub for British Future

12. Why and how we need to teach Windrush in schools

Meg Henry, The Linking Network

Why should we teach Windrush?

Who am I? Who are we? How do we all live well together? These are crucial questions for pupils and school communities to explore and the Windrush 75 celebrations this summer provide a great opportunity and space for these conversations to take place. In sharing and celebrating these stories, we hope to promote understanding in our society.

A recent event from the Linking Network and British Future for the Windrush 75 network brought together Windrush Generation elders, teachers and students so that young people could hear at first-hand the stories of people who came to the UK in the 1950s and 60s. It was also a fantastic opportunity to capture different perspectives on why and how to teach the Windrush story.

Charles Dacres, Director of the Hate Crime Alliance in Bradford, who is Windrush second generation himself, told us:

“Teaching Windrush is important for promoting understanding, inclusivity, and social justice. By making children aware of the stories and experiences of Caribbean migrants to the UK, we can help to break down stereotypes, promote empathy, and create a more just and equitable society.”

Head teachers and school leaders we worked with recognised the value and were quick to agree to sessions. Heidi Rahim, Head teacher at Clayton Village Primary School, told us:

“I think it’s really important that children understand where people have come from, and where we are today, and why we’re here.”

And Tom Darling, History Teacher and Assistant Headteacher at Beckfoot School, said:

“I think it’s important that students learn about Windrush because it’s history – and it’s everybody’s history. The benefits of learning these stories from people who lived it is that it brings it out of the textbook and into reality. When students hear stories from someone who was there, who experienced it, it really brings it to life for them.”

Students and pupils really engaged with the project, speaking and listening to Windrush elders with sensitivity and empathy. One Secondary student told us:

“Seeing people who actually went through it, it puts a face to what you’re learning about, it makes it real, and it makes it important to you.”

Another Primary pupil agreed that hearing from those with lived experience brings a new dimension to history classes, telling us:

“I think it’s good to learn about history from real people so then we know the actual facts rather than getting from the internet and stuff, so we really know how it felt”

We should teach this and other stories of migration and relocation because this is of value for all pupils. One teacher at a Sixth Form college shared how the session inspired some students to discuss ‘migration’ with their own families:

“One pupil shared how she always saw herself as White British but never really thought deeper about her history. Following the session, she discovered that her mother’s side of the family had migrated from Ireland around 150 years ago, her ancestors were also seeking a new life and opportunities and faced many obstacles when they arrived in Bradford. She found this aspect of her own history inspiring. Other pupils had not really understood just how much Commonwealth citizens were needed by the UK in order to help rebuild Britain after World War II until they had the opportunity to learn about Windrush.”

“

Seeing people who actually went through it, it puts a face to what you’re learning about, it makes it real, and it makes it important to you.”

Opportunities like this anniversary should not be taken for granted. Azam, Ali, Secondary Advisor at The Linking Network, reflected:

“ Imagine being a pupil and never having any time at school exploring why we have migration from other countries. This was my reality growing up in the 1970s and 1980s: migration stories were not even a side note in all my time at school. Either it didn't matter, or the contributions of people like my ancestors didn't have enough impact to merit any representation. As a teacher today and advisor at The Linking Network, I feel that the Windrush story is crucial as it empowers pupils and recognises the journey and sacrifice of those who came before to help rebuild Britain. The Windrush story is our story – our story of Britain, of where we live and the people we know. Teaching Windrush and other stories of migration and belonging in schools is a powerful statement in itself; because it recognises that our history is a shared history that transcends borders. It also reminds us that many of us share stories of migration, hope, reinvention and new beginnings, regardless of our backgrounds.”

One of the Windrush elders was accompanied by her granddaughter who was struck by the value of this work being embedded in the curriculum. Kate Henry, a third generation Windrush descendent, said:

“Hearing this story shared by my grandmother with students in a classroom was really important. I found it quite emotional hearing about the journey and some of it was quite difficult to hear. I loved history, it was one of my favourite subjects at school, but I do think that enhancing the curriculum by hearing more of the stories about Windrush, about people coming from the Caribbean to Britain, what life was like in the UK when they settled would be so positive - I think it would have been a really important part of connecting with my heritage.”

How should we teach Windrush?

Windrush 75 and stories of migration can be taught as a celebration but with honesty about the challenges and difficulties that have occurred. These themes need careful handling, awareness and sensitivity from teachers with particular sensitivity if there are asylum seekers, refugees or looked after children in the group.

One of the most powerful ways that we can get pupils to reflect on and celebrate Windrush is to create opportunities for conversations with Windrush elders, so they meet someone with lived experience. This can be rich and memorable for everyone and build empathy and understanding helping us to teach with authenticity, honesty, and integrity.

The Linking Network has created guidance written by teachers who have invited Windrush elders into their classroom and found it valuable for their students. The guidance outlines points to discuss before a meeting in a classroom setting that the teacher needs to consider to help make the sessions run smoothly.

Human stories combined with historical fact and images support learning. To support teachers to celebrate Windrush we have created adaptable templates for lessons and assemblies and these are freely available on The Linking Network website. They include a new video showing interviews with Windrush elders in the classroom and suggestions of classroom activities. The Primary Resources are aimed at Year 5 and 6. There is a section at the end of the lesson resources designed to prepare pupils to talk with a Windrush elder from your local area if this is possible to arrange.

This work can be the starting point for all pupils to reflect on journeys of hope and challenge that they, their families, people in the school community or local community have undertaken or others' lives that they research, and a resource is provided for this.

Books offer opportunities for children to see themselves represented and hear stories beyond their own experience. In the guidance we suggest some books we have used that teachers may want to use but know there will be many more books and resources that teachers will find that ensure representation and widen horizons.

The 2020 Runnymede Trust Report, Reframing Race, exhorted us all to show 'that real change is possible and is happening already. ...by painting a vivid picture showing that another world is possible.' Sharing authentic stories in schools, and not hiding from the challenges but celebrating the contribution made by the Windrush Generation over time, can play a part in helping to achieve this.

At The Linking Network we are delighted to be working in partnership with the Windrush 75 Network, British Future, and the Bradford Black Arts and Heritage Planning Group . We are particularly grateful to the four Windrush Generation elders Lorna, Pamela, Charles and Sadie who came into schools to share their stories and to the pupils, teachers and schools who worked with us to trial these resources.

You can download the new schools resources for Windrush 75 at: thelinkingnetwork.org.uk/teaching-resources/windrush/



Picture courtesy of Tony Cealy

13. Why marking Windrush 75 matters today

The Windrush 75 network has mobilised a broad range of voices to call for action to commemorate this anniversary year.



It's vital this year to celebrate the courage of those Windrush pioneers 75 years ago, who gave up the life they knew to seek a better one here in Britain. They paved the way for those of us who have followed."

- Sir Lenny Henry



The 75th anniversary of the arrival of the Windrush is a fantastic opportunity to celebrate the work of our black and other ethnic minority colleagues and their significant contributions to the National Health Service, which is also marking its 75th year. From 1948 to today, the NHS has always welcomed talent from around the world. Many of the new arrivals' contributions to the health service helped to create a new and free health care system for all. They were critical to the formation of the NHS, and I am honoured to work alongside their descendants and generations that followed in their footsteps."

- Amanda Pritchard, CEO of NHS England.



The arrival of the Windrush is a pivotal moment in black history and British history. We see its legacy every day, when we turn on the radio or TV, walk down the High Street or cheer for England at the World Cup. So it's important that the anniversary is marked in a significant way and that everyone is invited to take part."

- Professor David Olusoga



The 75th anniversary of Windrush will be an emotional day in many communities as we remember the sacrifices of a generation which gave so much to this country, but it is bittersweet. A time to celebrate how migration and diversity has helped build modern Britain – but also to put pressure on the government to finally give the victims of the Windrush scandal the compensation they deserve."

- David Lammy MP, Shadow Foreign Secretary.



The Windrush pioneers and those who followed have made such a contribution to our communities, our congregations and wider British society over the last 75 years. Offering a place of welcome is part of the Christian tradition, from the stories of the Bible to the work of our churches today. So it is only right that the Church celebrates the Windrush anniversary this year."

- Rose Hudson-Wilkin, Bishop of Dover



For many of us who owe our lives in Britain to family who travelled here from overseas, the Windrush has a special resonance. That generation made a deep and lasting impact on this country and the 75th anniversary is a moment to celebrate the contribution they continue to make to our economy, health service and society."

- Sajid Javid MP



The arrival of HMT Windrush is an event which is indelibly woven into the fabric of this country. Seventy-five years later, we have the opportunity to use the anniversary of Windrush as a springboard towards closer communities and greater understanding. Anniversaries like these are major national moments which – with careful planning and consideration of legacy – can bring people from across divides together in celebration, much like the other huge events which have taken place in 2023.

- Ruth Hollis - Chief Executive, Spirit of 2012



As the son of one of the original Windrush pioneers, Sam King MBE, the 75th anniversary is a very significant moment on a personal level and for the nation. Permanently raising the profile of the Windrush pioneers and their descendants should be an important aspect of the celebrations, to ensure people never forget the huge contribution made by this generation to our country."

- Reverend Michael King, whose father Sam King came to the UK on the Windrush.



The Windrush embodies so many human stories – of dreams for the future, injustice and adversity, identity and belonging – which have spanned generations over the last 75 years. It's a powerful symbol that will inspire culture-makers throughout 2023."

- Kwame Kwei-Armah, Artistic Director of the Young Vic theatre.



The 75th anniversary of Windrush is an important milestone for this country. The Windrush Generation and their descendants helped rebuild this nation after the war and shaped the UK as we know it today."

- Jason Tarry, Tesco CEO, UK & ROI.

14. About this research

This report draws on nationally representative public attitudes research by Focaldata, conducted in March and April 2023, with a 1,000 nationally representative GB sample, a 1,000 ethnic minority sample and a boosted sample of 300 Black Caribbean respondents. It also comprises insights from a series of qualitative discussion groups in Sheffield, Sutton Coldfield and London.

The members of the Sheffield discussion group were all from an ethnic minority background, with several participants from the Black Caribbean community. The Sutton Coldfield group was ethnically mixed and made up of an attitudinal group we term 'Balancers', who make up half the UK public. These are people who are not particularly pro- nor anti-migration and diversity, but somewhere in between. The London group were sixth-formers, mostly studying politics or members of the college BAME network, at a college in Newham, London's most diverse borough. As such they were not representative of the average teenagers in terms of awareness and interest with issues of race and diversity, but the group offers useful insights into an audience that could be engaged with the Windrush 75th anniversary.

This research sought to establish what people know about Windrush and what they want from the anniversary, as well as capturing a 'state of the nation' snapshot of where people feel our society is on issues of race equality and combating prejudice, at this important moment of the 75th anniversary. It also examined which audiences are most likely to engage with Windrush 75 and what types of events they are more likely to attend; as well as how best to talk about Windrush 75 in a way that resonates with different groups. These latter findings were incorporated into a toolkit for stakeholders hosting Windrush 75 events and activities, to help them communicate effectively about the anniversary. The toolkit is available from the [Windrush 75 network website](#).

British Future, an independent thinktank and charity, has a decade-long track record of understanding public attitudes and how to talk about issues of race and identity. Previous publications on these themes include *An agenda for action: Reducing racial inequality in modern Britain (2022)* and *Race and opportunity in Britain: Finding common ground (2021)*.

15. Acknowledgements

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