



REPORT  
OF  
THE ROYAL COMMISSION  
INTO  
THE 1977 DISTURBANCES  

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# REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION INTO THE 1977 DISTURBANCES

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Walter N. H. Robinson, Esq.; and  
William A. Scott, Esq.

## REPORT

To His Excellency the Governor of Bermuda

We, the undersigned Commissioners, having been appointed

- (a) to enquire into the civil disorders occurring in Bermuda on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd December, 1977, in consequence of which a State of Emergency was declared;
- (b) to enquire into the causes (including the contributory causes) of such disorders; and
- (c) to report the findings of such enquiries, and to make such recommendations thereto as the Commission shall think fit, including recommendations that decisions be reached and action taken within such time as we may deem reasonable,

humbly submit our report.

We were asked to report in July 1978 if that were possible and have done our best to meet this request, though the brevity of the timetable has meant that we have not been able to report in detail on certain matters. We commenced our public hearings in Bermuda on 5th April, and concluded them on 23rd May, reconvening in London on 27th June to consider the substance of our Report.

We wish to record our appreciation of the co-operation given us by Ministers and Officials of the Bermuda Government and the warmth of the response shown by so many members of the Bermudian public. We must also mention our indebtedness to our Secretary, Idwal Wyn Hughes, MBE, Ph.D., Director, Bermuda Department of Agriculture and Fisheries, who organized the work of our Commission and played an important part in the compilation of our Report. In the same connection we thank Mr. Alan Powell of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, who served as Private Secretary to our Chairman throughout the period of our work.

14th July, 1978

Lord Pitt of Hampstead  
 Walter N.H. Robinson  
 Reginald C. Cooper  
 John I. Pearman  
 William A. Scott  
 Michael Banton

*L. Pitt*  
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*William A. Scott*  
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*Michael Banton*

## CHAPTER 1: BERMUDA IN TRANSITION

"Thou call'dst me up at midnight to fetch dew from the still-vexed Bermoothes . . ."

*Ariel*, Act 1, Scene 2

1.1. Ours is an age of rising expectations, when the citizen demands more than ever before and is continually ready to remark how far short of the ideal are many features of his life. Nevertheless, the history of Bermuda over the past thirty years is one of astonishing economic progress. Many readers of this Report will need to be reminded of what Bermuda was like after the Second World War. They might be amused by the text of the Colonial Annual Report for 1948 which states: "Bermuda is primarily a base for the Royal Navy and some 500 Bermudians are employed in H.M. Dockyard". It goes on to refer to the naval and air bases constructed by and leased to the U.S.A., employing 800 Bermudians, and to the company of British infantry, continuing: "apart from these military commitments the Colony derives most of its income from the fact that it is a tourist resort. There are no other industries or factories of any importance."

1.2. Bermuda was also a racially segregated society. Black people were barred from the best hotels and from other public facilities. They were required to sit downstairs in the cinemas. If they attended a Church of England service they had to sit at the back. They could not use the same public lavatories as white people. Nor was the picture one simply of physical segregation. Black people were expected to know their place and be thankful for favours. The Bermudian pattern resembled that of the Southern states of the United States.

1.3. Bermuda may have derived most of its income in 1946 from tourists, but there were only 26,000 of them and the Government's revenue totalled no more than £1,066,000. Since then there has been a dramatic change, as can be seen from the figures in Table 1 which reports the yearly average of beds available to tourists, and in Table 2 which indicates the steady but rapid rise in Government revenue. The change was led by the British shipping company, Furness Withy, which brought most of the tourists in its passenger liners. (Zuill, 1973: 156-60, 179-82). Before the war, Bermuda was favoured as a resort for winter holidays, but afterwards many more visitors came in the summer season. The rate of economic growth after the war was sufficient to absorb the closing of the dockyard in 1950, the depression of 1953-55, and the withdrawal of the garrison in 1957, without any very painful readjustment. Throughout the 1950's the number of visitors who came to Bermuda by ship was steadily falling but the number of arrivals by air and the number of cruise ship visitors were both

increasing more rapidly. By the late 1950's Bermuda was beginning to attract international companies who found it convenient to be registered in a country which raised its revenue by indirect taxation (mainly by customs duties on imports) rather than by direct taxation (like income tax). As the tourist industry grew it was impossible to meet the capital costs of hotel construction from the industry's domestic revenue, and so international hotel companies moved in to build hotels that seemed almost like miniature towns. As a result, Bermuda experienced a major boom in the construction industry between 1968 and 1972. Many construction workers were imported. Over the period 1967-71 the gross domestic product was growing at a rate of about 16 per cent per annum but since about half of this was attributable to inflation, the real growth rate was about 8 per cent per annum.

(See Tables 1 & 2 following)

1.4. The great expansion in the number of tourist beds ran ahead of demand which caught up only in 1976, the year before the civil disorders on which we are reporting. Nevertheless, the living standard of the average Bermudian continued to advance. In the year 1975/76 the gross domestic product per head in Bermuda was calculated at \$6,698. International tables of Gross National Product for 1974 record only 18 countries with a GNP per head of over \$5,000; three of them are Arab states; ten European; three North American (including the U.S. Virgin Islands) while the remaining two are Australia and New Caledonia. Only the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait and Sweden seem to be clearly ahead of Bermuda, while the United Kingdom, at a 1974 GNP per head of \$3,360 has a living standard about half as high as Bermuda's. (GDP is, in essence, a correction of GNP which allows for the operations of foreign-owned companies). Comparisons of this kind can never be precise and they leave out many considerations relative to the welfare of a people (especially those concerning the distribution of wealth) but they are relevant here in two respects. Firstly, they point up the remarkable economic growth achieved in Bermuda during the past twenty-five years. Secondly, they help us to understand why the task was made easier when Bermuda consciously went about attracting workers from foreign countries.

1.5. In a relatively short period of time Bermuda passed from a low-growth economy to one in which its human resources were fully stretched. Economic changes stimulated social ones, both because Bermudians got caught up in a wider network of social and economic relations, and because the operation of any advanced economy requires a high level of public participation and an effective democratic basis. It is appropriate to call the twentieth century "the age of the masses", for the effective utilization

of modern technology necessitates a different style of social organization from those of earlier periods. Countries which have been unable to adopt this style do not feature very high in the international table of GNP per head.

1.6. Bermuda entered upon the transition from a relaxed but segregated society to a sophisticated and competitive order with little realization of what was in store.

1.7. In 1946 the Bermuda Workers' Association prepared a petition to the Secretary of State for the Colonies requesting the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate and report on the social, economic and political conditions of Bermuda, with recommendations for the alleviation of the inequities under which the black population were suffering. This petition, together with a memorandum from the Governor and an answering despatch from the Secretary of State were printed as a British Government Command Paper (Cmd. 7093) in 1947. The Secretary of State requested the Bermuda Colonial Parliament to consider the petition, drawing to their attention several matters which he thought required action and one (namely, the introduction of direct taxation) where radical reform was needed. A Bermuda historian has commented on the work put into the petition in these words: "It was a tremendous effort; but at the time it fell flat. The Legislature considered the petition and issued a report on it and that was about all. Changes were still many years away" (Zuill, 1973: 189).

1.8. In 1953 the House of Assembly appointed nine members (5 white, 4 black) to a Select Committee concerned with racial problems. The members may have been thought in advance of contemporary opinion, yet their conclusions today sound timid (Journals of the Bermuda House of Assembly, 1953-54, pp 479-490). They told their colleagues: "Your Committee believe that racial tension has increased in these islands within the last ten years" and went on to recommend that there should be no colour bar in Government employment. As a result of their recommendations the first black nurses were engaged in the King Edward VII Memorial Hospital; black players were permitted to use the Government-run tennis courts and the Jockey Club was forced to modify its policies of segregation. But on more serious issues they were less courageous, remarking, for example, that "the social difficulties and resentments which would be engendered if the schools were integrated, do not justify (such) radical departure from existing policies . . . the Committee are unanimous in recommending that the position remain unaltered, until changes in social thinking should invite reconsideration". Apropos "Trade Development Board policy with respect to Negro tourists" they reported that they fully appreciated that "the present travel business is predominantly

white. It would obviously be most imprudent and unwise to adopt new policies, which might jeopardize the continuity of this trade, and impair the Colony's economic position".

**1.9.** The changes in social thinking were not long in coming, and it was the blacks who set the pace. The year 1959 was notable for the air of prosperity, for a sharp rise in labour disputes, and for a black boycott of segregated cinemas and restaurants which brought quick results. 1960 saw a forceful campaign for universal adult suffrage which evoked the support of blacks who had previously appeared apathetic. In 1963 the Progressive Labour Party, Bermuda's first political party, was formed; this stimulated their opponents to come together as the United Bermuda Party a year later. Trade union militancy was growing and a recognition dispute in 1965 led to a near riot. The year 1966 brought a constitutional conference whose report was not signed by representatives of the Progressive Labour Party. Nevertheless it paved the way to the first election under full adult suffrage two years later, the introduction of responsible government, and the appointment of a leader of Government business who was later given the title of Premier and who became responsible to the House; the Governor retained only limited reserve powers in connection with external relations and security. When a new constitution came into force in 1968 it provided protection from discrimination on grounds of race as part of a comprehensive chapter purporting to guarantee fundamental rights and the freedoms of the individual.

**1.10.** Bermuda has come a long way in a short time, as can be seen by comparing the views of the House of Assembly in 1954 with those of the Premier, the Hon. J. David Gibbons, M.P., J.P., in 1978. Mr. Gibbons has defined his Government's aim as being that of "total integration". Giving evidence before our Commission he agreed that this might equally well be described in words similar to those of a contemporary reggae song, as an attempt to create a society in which the colour of a man's skin is of no more significance than the colour of his eyes.

**1.11.** Many white people in Bermuda are impressed by the speed of recent changes; they believe that blacks should acknowledge this and therefore moderate some of their present demands. Such an argument overlooks the pace of change in other parts of the world. It also fails to recognize that racial segregation was at the outset morally unjustifiable. There was no reason, other than that of differences in the economic development of Europe and Africa, why blacks should have been at a disadvantage to start with. What is important now is to learn the lessons of recent history because the consequences of de-

isions and patterns of life of previous generations are still present in the lives of Bermudians today and they constrain the options for the immediate future. Having discussed these issues we shall go on to argue that many of Bermuda's problems stem from changes in the relation between Bermuda and the outside world. The transition to which we refer has three stages. First, a low growth, low income, low immigration and relatively isolated colonial society. Second, a high growth, high income, high immigration society catering to an international demand for tourist and business facilities, in which racial divisions are being rapidly reduced but racial tension is quite high. The move from the first to the second stage has been the theme of the last quarter century. The third stage, to which we look forward, is one of low growth, high income, low immigration, and a racially integrated society. To maintain a high national income means remaining internationally competitive, which is never easy, and will be the more difficult in Bermudian circumstances if immigration is to be substantially reduced, but Bermuda is already embarked upon an attempt to move to stage three. Since it may be characterized by many tensions and conflicts of interest, the management of this phase of the transition will require skill as well as restraint.

## CHAPTER 2: THE 1968 DISORDERS

"When first I rais'd the tempest"

*Prospero*, Act 5, Scene 1.

**2.1.** The social and political changes recorded in Bermuda since 1948, including a modest movement towards racial integration, were achieved without civil disorder, apart from a brief but violent clash between police and pickets at the site of an industrial dispute in February, 1965; But the calm and complacency to which Bermuda had long been accustomed was shattered by civil disturbances on 25th April, 1968. These lasted two days and were of an intensity and scale previously unknown on the island.

**2.2.** A three-man commission, chaired by the Rt. Hon. Sir Hugh Wooding, was appointed by the then Governor, Lord Martonmere on 20th August, 1968, to inquire into the causes of the disorders, both immediate and contributory, and to recommend steps for their removal. The result was the "Wooding Report" and the account and diagnosis of the 1968 disorders which follow are drawn from that Report.

**2.3.** On the afternoon of Thursday, 25th April, 1968, large crowds were attracted to the City of Hamilton by three events — the Annual Floral Pageant Parade; a charity fair, the "Fair for All", held in the Hamilton Hall and a political meeting organised by the Progressive La-

bour Party. Both the Floral Pageant and the political meeting ended without incident but the fair became overcrowded and large numbers of people congregated at the entrance waiting, with growing impatience, to gain entry. The admission of several white teenagers, purporting to be helpers, was interpreted by blacks in the crowd as racial discrimination and led to unrest at the entrance to the Hall. When an off-duty white policeman indiscreetly attempted to evict a black man who had been admitted to the Hall by a black policeman, tempers flared, the black man was arrested and in an ensuing struggle was allegedly assaulted by the police. A mini-riot erupted outside the fair, resulting in additional arrests.

**2.4.** Further disturbances then took place outside the Police Station in Hamilton, at which point riot police were called in and the crowd was forced back to Court Street and contained there. The Wooding Commission was satisfied that in this operation the police showed restraint, but noted that some people were roughly handled and there were persons in the crowd who incited young people to violence.

**2.5.** On the Friday and Saturday, disorders continued, shop windows were smashed and premises set on fire in the north section of Hamilton. At 1.30 a.m. on Saturday, 27th April, the Governor-in-Council declared a State of Emergency and published a number of emergency regulations aimed at restoring law and order. Among them was one imposing a curfew from 7 p.m. to 6 a.m. At the same time, the Bermuda Regiment was embodied and the Reserve Constabulary called out.

**2.6.** At the request of the Governor, the frigate H.M.S. Leopard was diverted to Bermuda and anchored alongside Front Street in Hamilton. A company of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers arrived from Britain on 28th April, but the armed forces were not used in riot control, for by this time the disorders had subsided and the police were in control of the situation. During the disturbances, six policemen suffered minor injuries. Ten civilians were also injured, two seriously. Damage to property was estimated at one million dollars.

**2.7.** The Wooding Commission concluded that the disorders were sparked by the reaction of a youthful crowd frustrated at being excluded from the Fair and resenting seeming displays of racial favouritism.

**2.8.** Youths involved in the disorders expressed deep-seated dissatisfaction with a police force which was predominantly white and expatriate. The enforcement by the police of the Motor Car Act, 1946, and its subsequent amendments imposing restrictions on the use of auxiliary cycles, and of the Dangerous Drugs Act 1936 and its 1966 amendment, empowering police to stop and search without warrant any persons

reasonably suspected of having drugs in his or her possession, led to much aggravation. This widespread resentment of the police force by youths, particularly black youths, for reasons which were real or imagined, was considered by the Wooding Commission to be one of the most important immediate causes of the disorders.

**2.9.** The Wooding Commission viewed as significant contributory causes of the 1968 disorders, the questionable decision by Government to ban certain publications during the period 1963 to 1968, including one relating to the Black Muslim movement, and the militancy during the same period of Black Power advocates, whose aims and actions were never fully understood by the white community. The Commission also drew attention to the high level of juvenile delinquency, a shortage of low-cost housing and the high proportion of single-parent families in Bermuda and pointed out that it was from such social conditions that "a mood of protest could be fostered" and from which disorders could be expected to spring.

**2.10.** The basic causes of the 1968 disorders were seen by the Wooding Commission to be rooted in the history of Bermudian society which had been characterized by white supremacy, patronage and, until 1959, complete segregation of the races. The Commission specifically cited as basic causes of the 1968 disorders:

- (i) racial conflict;
- (ii) limited scope for employment of black Bermudians in a "white economy";
- (iii) the artificiality of the Bermudian society with its emphasis on holiday living and easy money;
- (iv) the heavy dependency upon alcohol and the increasing use of marijuana, and
- (v) the 1968 election campaign. Each deserves brief elaboration.

**2.11.** The decade preceding the 1968 disorders saw black Bermudians win victories in their struggle for racial equality and social justice. Desegregation of the theatres, hotels, and restaurants, the granting of universal adult suffrage, and the birth of party politics all occurred during this period, as we have noted in Chapter One. This period saw the introduction of legislation aimed at eliminating racial discrimination in schools, employment, housing and public records, and a Race Relations Advisory Council was appointed. Other revisionist legislation passed during this period dealt with pensions, employment of children, trade unionism and workers' compensation.

**2.12.** The Wooding Commission recognized the importance of legislation as an instrument in bringing about social change, but noted that change promised in law had to be implemented quickly in order to be seen to be effective. Evi-

dence heard by the Commission suggested that for many blacks in the community, particularly young blacks, the changes achieved were too few and occurred too slowly to remove frustrations.

**2.13.** Full employment, indeed over-employment, was experienced during the 1960's so that everyone was assured of a job. However, job opportunities remained restricted for many black Bermudians, thus continuing an historical trend which had seen a large proportion of blacks working in menial positions for white employers. There was little incentive for black Bermudians to pursue further education and the circle became complete when senior positions proved to be closed to these same black Bermudians because of lack of education. At the same time, policemen, teachers, accountants and executives in hotels and business places continued to be recruited from abroad. The Wooding Commission noted the call for change by those who wanted jobs to be open to them at every level, and observed that the frustrations of those who, having gained education and experience, were still not rewarded, caused intolerance and rebellious attitudes.

**2.14.** The Wooding Commission saw the holiday environment which existed in Bermuda as contributing to the 1968 disorders. The Commission suggested that the high cost of living often made it mandatory for both parents in the household to work long hours, thus depriving children of parental care. This in turn led young people to drift into the street in search of outlets for their energies, and from there to slip or be led into lawlessness.

**2.15.** The Commission concluded that alcohol was a serious problem in Bermuda and considered excessive drinking a further reason for the absence of men from the family household and for the lack of paternal influence in child-rearing. Marijuana (cannabis) smoking was considered by the Commission to "take the hat off people's inhibitions and to obliterate self criticism, thereby tending to lead to thoughtless actions". In these contexts both alcohol and drugs were seen as basic causes for the 1968 disturbances. (We might add that subsequent research indicates that cannabis is not an addictive drug and is unlikely to have had quite the influence ascribed to it by the Wooding Commission).

**2.16.** Finally, the Wooding Commission considered the 1968 Election Campaign, which it felt at least superficially could be seen as divisive in racial terms, and a basic cause of the disorders. The Commission was of the opinion that the PLP's platform, based upon racial solidarity and denunciation of the UBP for alleged insincerity, assumed a positive racial character. The Commission considered that the campaign could not have failed to have a major influence on

those who participated in the disorders, even though nothing was further from the PLP's intentions than the incitement to civil disorder.

**2.17.** In summary, the Wooding Commission concluded that those participating in the 1968 civil disorders were almost exclusively young people, many of them teenagers. In the main, the disorders resulted from racial tensions having their origins in the history of a society deeply divided along racial lines. Through segregation at every level and discrimination in education and employment, the benefits of economic progress and recognition as equal citizens had been denied to black Bermudians.

**2.18.** The Wooding Commission found that virtually everything in Bermudian society was viewed in racial terms. Whether it was the relationship between the police and the civilian public, the banning of publications, social conditions, the confrontation between political parties, or the attitudes of people. That in the opinion of the Wooding Commission was why the disorders erupted in 1968.

**2.19.** The Commission saw an urgent need for a "new and true understanding, a deep conviction of the essentiality of building a single community providing common opportunities for all and an unyielding commitment to promoting the democratic values of equality and fraternity in a society that is free in every respect".

**2.20.** The Wooding Commission looked closely at the local education system, job opportunities and immigration, social welfare and the police service, for these were all areas in which the Commissioners saw the root causes of most of the problems in the community. The recommendations of the Commission calling for change in these areas are summarized here.

#### **2.21. Education**

(i) **Zoning:** Government should in the normal course of events provide free schooling only in the districts immediately surrounding the residence of the applicant.

(ii) **Levelling Up:** All schools should be improved to a common standard of excellence and the principle of compensatory provision be accepted and implemented in primary schools to achieve this goal.

(iii) **Management Committees:** Committees of management comprising from 5 to 7 members should be appointed annually for all maintained and aided schools and should have clearly defined and equal powers.

(iv) **Training and Career Prospects — The Commercial Sixth Form:** Renewed efforts should be made to convince young Bermudians that long-term prospects for them in hotel work and commerce were good, and to preserve the newly created Commercial Sixth Form to cater to the

training needs of those pursuing careers in commerce.

**(v) Bermudianization of Teaching Staff:** Reference to the considerable wastage of money, time and training occasioned by the breaking of contracts by expatriate teachers, who comprised 40 percent of the total teaching staff in aided and maintained schools in 1968, can be interpreted as a surprisingly oblique recommendation for further Bermudianization of teaching staffs. The need for more black teachers in predominantly black schools was also noted.

**(vi) Professional consultative machinery and a common syllabus:** The absence of a common syllabus in local schools was noted by the Wooding Commission, and a suggestion made that consultative machinery should be established involving the Department of Education and the Teachers Union to devise a common syllabus.

## 2.22. Job Opportunities and Immigration

**(i) Manpower surveys:** From time to time surveys should be made of potential job requirements, in both private and public sectors, in order to determine what opportunities for employment were likely to arise for which Bermudians could and ought to be trained.

**(ii) Selection for Training:** guidance and research officers should select and, if necessary, persuade apt students, regardless of race, to be trained to fill jobs as they arose. Career selection should be married to job opportunities.

**(iii) Training:** There should be an intensive training programme to prepare talented Bermudians to meet the academic, practical and experience requirements of jobs; in-service training should be part of the programme with expatriate contract workers to be required, by condition of contract, to give time and attention to the practical training of qualified Bermudians. The cost of the training programmes were to be met by Government and the business community.

## 2.23. Social Welfare

**(i) Housing:** Government should give urgent attention to the long neglected need for low-cost housing and should on its own, or in co-operation with the private sector, assist in the provision of such housing by making houses available on owner-occupation arrangements or through a system of guaranteed loans for the cost of building.

**(ii) Family Welfare:** The Commission noted the high level of illegitimacy in the island and the concomitant problems, and supported the work of those Government and private agencies seeking to mitigate these problems.

**(iii) Youth and Recreation:** Premises suitable for a recreational centre

should be made available to youth in the Court Street area along with tactfully supplied advice on the management of the centre and financial support. Effective control of the premises should remain with youths of the area.

## 2.24. Police Force

**(i) Police Cadet Scheme:** The Commission proposed the expansion of the police Cadet Scheme so that at least half of the existing vacancies in the service could be filled by the scheme; schools should be canvassed for potential cadets.

**(ii) Minimum age for entering into service:** The minimum age for entering the police should be lowered from 20 to 19.

**(iii) Entrance Examination:** The Commission was of the opinion that the standard of the written examination for entering into the Police was too high, and that more emphasis should be placed upon personal interviews.

**(iv) Promotion:** In order to enlarge the prospect of promotion consideration should be given to increasing the number of Chief Inspectors by two.

**(v) Police Image:** A firm of business consultants specialising in public relations should be commissioned to advise Government and the Commissioner of Police of steps to be taken to improve the image of the Police; appropriate arrangements should be made so that on completion of basic training a recruit constable may be sent on attachment for a period of at least three months to a police force in the Eastern Caribbean while at the same time preserving the existing scheme of advanced police training courses in the United Kingdom and the United States.

**(vi) Police Liaison Committee:** The existing Police Liaison Committee to be replaced by a body comprising a panel of five or six persons drawn from both races, of acknowledged integrity and independence and unconnected with police or politics, to receive complaints against the police, to ascertain the nature and availability of evidence in their support and, if found prima facie, to have any substance, to channel them to the Commissioner for investigation and action. Such a body would also have the right and duty to follow up any such complaint so as to ascertain that it had been duly investigated and to report the result to the person or persons complaining. In other words, the panel should act as a police ombudsman.

**(vii) Hamilton Police Station:** The Hamilton Central Police Station was found by the Commission to be in a deplorable state and required immediate attention.

**(viii) Bobby Hat:** It was recommended that the helmets worn by the police in Bermuda which were replicas

of those worn in the United Kingdom be replaced with less alien headgear.

**2.25.** The extent to which action, if any, was taken by Government and the community during the period 1969--1977 to implement the Wooding Commission's recommendations will become apparent in succeeding chapters, as we examine the course of the December 1977 disturbances.

## CHAPTER 3: THE 1977 DISTURBANCES

"did'st wake you? It struck mine ear most terribly."

**Sebastian, Act 2, Scene 1**

**3.1.** The Governor and his ADC were shot dead in the grounds of Government House on 10th March, 1973. Two shopkeepers were shot dead in the Shopping Centre, Victoria Street, on 6th April, 1973. Erskine Burrows and Larry Tacklyn were indicted for the murders. Burrows was found guilty of the murders of the Governor and his ADC, and also of the Commissioner of Police who was shot dead on 9th September, 1972. Burrows was sentenced to death on 6th July, 1977. On 20th July, 1976, Tacklyn was found not guilty of the murder of the Governor and his ADC. Tacklyn was not charged with the murder of the Commissioner of Police. On 18th November, 1976, Burrows and Tacklyn were found guilty of the murders of the shopkeepers, by a majority verdict of a special jury and were sentenced to death. Appeals were made by Counsel on behalf of Tacklyn. The last of these appeals was heard by the Court of Appeal on 1st December, 1977, and was dismissed. At no stage was Burrows represented and he made no appeals.

**3.2.** An announcement that the death sentence would be carried out on 2nd December, 1977, was made by the Government from the floor of the House of Assembly on Friday, 25th November, 1977. At that time the death sentence had not been carried out in Bermuda since 1943, but the matter had been debated in the House of Assembly in 1975, when members, in a free vote, had opted 25 to 9 for the retention of the death penalty.

**3.3.** Public protest against capital punishment, first evidenced early in 1977, escalated dramatically following the announcement of the date for the hangings. With effect from Sunday, 27th November, meetings were held and petitions were signed and presented to the Governor. The organizers of the petitions, who were reported to have collected 6,000 signatures in September, 1977, claimed to have collected a further 2,200 signatures at "The Peoples' Parliament" on 30th November, 1977, and 4,800 by the National Committee Against Capital Punishment on 1st December, 1977. It was stated that this rep-



resented 13,000 separate signatures from residents aged 18 or over. Most of the campaign aimed at lobbying the Government on this matter was undertaken by leaders of the Progressive Labour Party who are on record as advocating a campaign of protest by lawful and peaceful means. During this period, churches of various denominations opened their doors for prayer vigils.

**3.4.** The roles of the Bermuda Government, the Governor and the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs during this period are confusing to many people. The following is the statement made by Dr. Owen in the House of Commons on 5th December, 1977:

"I will, with permission, Mr. Speaker, make a statement on the situation in Bermuda.

"The House will be aware of the decision to send British troops to Bermuda following serious disturbances there. On 2nd December two Bermudians, Erskine Burrows and Larry Winfield Tacklyn, were executed in Bermuda. Burrows had been sentenced to death on 6th July, 1976, having been found guilty of murdering Police Commissioner Duckett in December 1972 and the Governor, Sir Richard Sharples and his ADC, Captain Sayers, in March 1973. Tacklyn was tried separately on these three charges but acquitted. In November 1976 both Burrows and Tacklyn were found guilty of murdering two supermarket managers in April 1973.

"Tacklyn appealed against the verdict to the Bermuda Court of Appeal. The court rejected his appeal in April 1977. Following this rejection, the Bermuda Prerogative of Mercy Committee advised that neither Burrows nor Tacklyn should be reprieved and the then Acting Governor decided to accept the Committee's advice. An application to the Privy Council for special leave to appeal was dismissed on 6th October.

"Meanwhile a petition for clemency to Her Majesty on behalf of both men, signed by approximately 6,000 Bermudians, had been received. I referred the matter to the new Governor, who carefully considered the matters raised in the petition. The Prerogative of Mercy Committee again advised against a reprieve and he decided that there were no grounds for changing the decision of the Acting Governor.

"In 1947 the then Colonial Secretary, Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, announced to this House the policy which has been followed ever since. In accordance with that policy, having satisfied myself that there were no grounds for believ-

ing that there had been a miscarriage of justice, I had no alternative but to advise Her Majesty not to intervene. An announcement was made to this effect on 25th November and the date of the executions was set for 2nd December.

"The Governor, who is responsible to the British Government for Bermuda's internal security, consulted the Premier and Bermuda Ministers, who are responsible for all other aspects of internal affairs, on whether a stay of execution should be granted because of possible reaction to the executions. They advised the Governor that racial harmony, respect for law and order, and the security situation, would suffer more if a stay of execution were granted.

"On the night before the executions a demonstration occurred outside the Supreme Court building, which had to be broken up by police using tear gas. A number of buildings were burnt, possibly through arson, including an hotel in which, I deeply regret three people died. The Governor announced on 2nd December a State of Emergency and dusk-to-dawn curfew. Although the announcement of these measures initially had some calming effect, groups of youths caused extensive damage to property by using home-made fire bombs and other missiles, some of which were thrown at firemen, who therefore also needed police protection. There was, however, no serious personal injury.

"On 3rd December the entire police force had to be called out to deal with a group of about 500 youths who had assembled with the apparent intention of mounting further attacks on property. The Governor considered that the police and the Bermuda Regiment would not be able to hold the situation for much longer and he asked that reinforcements be sent from Britain. In order to meet this request as rapidly as possible — and I am very grateful to the Armed Forces for their quick and efficient response — a small contingent from the Belize garrison was despatched to Bermuda yesterday. They have been joined by a company of the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers from the Spearhead Battalion, based in Britain. They are available to supplement the local security forces if the Governor thinks it necessary.

"The Governor, the Premier and the Leader of the Opposition, have appealed to the People of Bermuda for calm and for the restoration of peace and harmony. I hope the appeal and the measures we have taken will have that effect."

**3.5.** It has been put to the Commission that by refusing to allow an emergency debate on the question of capital punishment the Bermuda Government abrogated its responsibilities, but nevertheless hoped that "something" would be imposed upon it by action taken by the British Government. The Commission is satisfied that by refusing to allow an emergency debate and allowing the law to take its course, the Bermuda Government was fully involved in the decision-making process.

**3.6.** Prior to the announcement of the death sentences in the House of Assembly, a police unit numbering twenty-six men was placed on standby.

**3.7.** The Police stated that rumours of impending violence reached them prior to the first reported incident on 29th November, when a white youth was pulled from a car in Victoria Street and beaten, allegedly because he failed to express an opinion on capital punishment. On 30th November, the Police Force was placed on twelve hour shifts. Later that evening two petrol bombs were thrown at private homes in the Cavendish Heights district of Devonshire.

**3.8.** From 8 p.m. on 1st December, two police units, comprising of fifty-two men, were placed on duty in the area of Casemates Prison. The police in their evidence to the Commission stated that it was their considered opinion that some attempt would be made to disrupt prison activity during the night of 1st/2nd December. In the event, no such attempt was made, although there were some elements in the crowd that gathered in the Tills Hill/Court Street area from 7.00 p.m. on 1st December, who were heard to propose that the crowd should march on Casemates Prison, the Supreme Court and Government House. At 9.30 p.m. this crowd marched into Parliament Street. The barriers which had been placed across Parliament Street at the junction of Church and Reid Street were dismantled by the crowd. Some of their number scaled the boundary wall of the Supreme Court and proceeded to break windows in the building and floodlights in the grounds. During this time the Court of Appeal was in session. No individual gained entry to the building and the Court remained in session.

**3.9.** Following this incident the crowd then moved south across Reid Street to its junction with Front Street. After a pause they retraced their steps north along Parliament Street. At this point a police riot unit from Prospect arrived on the scene and formed an extended line across Parliament Street, south of the Supreme Court. The barriers which had earlier been dismantled were again placed across Parliament Street. The crowd that had gathered in this area then proceeded to exit north from Parliament Street between Reid and Church Streets in the direction of Victoria Street. During this period damage



was caused to two police vehicles and to a number of auxiliary cycles. Subsequently the windows of a number of premises and of a private residence were broken at the corner of Parliament Street and Victoria Street. The majority of those present turned right into Victoria Street. Others turned left into Victoria Street and the windows of various business premises were broken.

3.10. Shortly afterwards bottles were thrown at the police riot unit which had taken up a position at the junction of Victoria Street and Parliament Street. Later petrol bombs were thrown and the police fired tear gas. The sequence of those events is disputed. The tear gas had the effect of breaking up the crowd, after which the riot unit was deployed at various street corners in the vicinity. After the dispersal of the crowd, buildings in the proximity of Court Street were set on fire. At 11.00 p.m. that night a fire was discovered on the top floor of the Southampton Princess Hotel. One Bermudian and two tourists lost their lives in the blaze. Sporadic outbreaks of fire bomb damage to premises were reported from many areas of the island during the night.

3.11. The death sentences were carried out in the early morning of 2nd December. At 9.00 a.m. that morning the Governor declared a State of Emergency and embodied the Bermuda Regiment. The Governor made a televised address to the people of Bermuda and spoke as follows:

"I am speaking today to all Bermudians.

"Our country is passing through a time of deep anxiety — a time when people are clearly apprehensive about what might happen, and perhaps fearful that malign influences could be let loose among us to spread bitterness and division. Were that to happen, all that has been achieved these past years in promoting prosperity and racial harmony, could be lost. We cannot afford to let that happen.

"The evils of blind passion and hatred, which so beset other countries in the form of terrorism and acts of violence, must never be allowed to infect us. We must strive so to improve our society that young people can grow up in the knowledge that they can advance themselves and enrich their lives without recourse to envy, bitterness or violence. We must, instead, set ourselves resolutely to keep moving forward towards a greater degree of harmony and equality in our mixed racial society. I know that this is the sincere purpose of the leaders of both our political parties.

"The people of Bermuda have always shown themselves to be mature and level-headed. Individual citizens have acted soberly ac-

ording to their consciences, and I am confident that we shall all come through this time of testing with dignity and determination.

"We can be thankful for the wise leadership shown by the leaders of our two political parties and for the compassionate guidance of the leaders of our churches with whom we join in praying for peace and reconciliation in these islands.

"You will all, no doubt, have heard of the very considerable damage which occurred in the early hours of this morning.

"After taking appropriate advice, I have decided to declare a State of Emergency under the authority of Section 14 (3) of the Bermuda Constitution. At the same time, a curfew will be imposed throughout Bermuda and this will go into effect tonight, and will remain in effect tomorrow night and until further notice. The hours of the curfew will be from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m.

"It is my hope and my confidence that everyone will make a determined effort to abide by the curfew and so avoid a recurrence of the events of the last twenty-four hours.

"I join with Government and with other responsible bodies in the community in appealing to all Bermudians to act calmly and responsibly in what is a difficult situation for us all. But, with everyone's help, we shall be able to emerge from this tragic situation a stronger and more closely-knit community."

3.12. At 5.45 p.m. on 2nd December, there were further reports of disturbances in the Court Street area and the police riot unit was deployed in a manner which was intended to contain the disturbances within that immediate area. A serious fire broke out at Gosling's liquor warehouse and it became necessary for police to provide protection to the Fire Brigade to enable their firemen to tackle the blaze. There were further outbreaks of violence during the night and a number of fires were started. It became necessary to provide the Fire Brigade with police protection at all times, with the result that it was often impossible for the firemen to be at the scene of the fire as quickly as would otherwise have been the case. During the night of 2nd December and the early morning of 3rd December, there were occurrences of riotous behaviour by the crowds in the Hamilton area and during this same period there were reports of serious fire damage from widely scattered parts of the island.

3.13. At 1.00 p.m. on 3rd December, a large crowd gathered in the Court Street area and behaved in a riotous manner until 6.00 p.m. when heavy rain came down and appeared to have the effect of dispersing the majority of those

present. During this period the police employed tear gas and fired rubber bullets.

3.14. On 4th December, 80 British troops stationed in Belize arrived in Bermuda and these were followed shortly after by a contingent numbering 120 from the U.K. Although there were incidents when fire-bombs were thrown in the period 4th-8th December, British troops were not at any stage employed in directly confronting Bermudians engaged in riotous behaviour. The State of Emergency was lifted on 9th December.

3.15. It is worth noting that although a number of business premises including supermarkets received the attention of the crowds there were no reports of any looting. Bars in many workmen's clubs were closed. At various times during the disturbances, churchmen and leading members of the Progressive Labour Party and of the NCACP, addressed the crowds in an effort to try to ensure orderly behaviour. They are to be commended for the efforts they made. There is no record of a Government Minister having spoken to the crowds at any time.

3.16. The police carried out a difficult task which taxed their resources to the limit, in a manner which reflects the greatest credit on the force.

3.17. The firemen, including volunteers, did all that was demanded of them in an exemplary manner.

3.18. We are greatly concerned about the role assigned to the Bermuda Regiment and the delay in their embodiment during the December disturbances. The regiment was embodied only at the time of the declaration of the State of Emergency, and yet we have been informed that the authorities had seen the need to swear in as "special constables" volunteers who were drawn from the Bermuda War Veterans' Association. We are not impressed with arguments which suggest that it is not possible to employ kith and kin in such a situation. Since the events of 1968, it has been clear to all concerned that the role of the Regiment would be to give support to the Police in an internal security situation. While we well understand that premature embodiment might have excited public opinion, it surprised us that no orders to embody the Regiment were given until 1045 hours on Friday 2nd December. By 1330 hours the Regiment was in a position to deploy two platoons though they did not actually deploy them until 1830 hours. Their role was then to serve in aid of the civil power, assisting the police as required. Many soldiers were keen to join the riot squads rather than undertake guard duty, and there was considerable disappointment as they felt they had been adequately trained in the duties of crowd control. Their Colonel agreed with this, stating that he believed his men able to cope with crowd control and to do it better than troops imported from elsewhere. It is also dis-

turbing to note that the Commanding Officer of the Regiment was not invited to be present at all of the meetings of those concerned with decision-making during this period.

3.19. At the end of one of our hearings, our Chairman congratulated the Colonel on the performance of the Regiment, remarking that they seemed to be capable of doing a lot more than they had so far been called upon to undertake. We now repeat that opinion, and recommend that in the planning of future internal security in Bermuda, greater reliance should be placed on the Regiment for it should not be assumed that troops will be available from overseas.

## CHAPTER 4: THE CAUSES OF THE DISORDERS

"I am subject to a tyrant, a sorcerer, that by his cunning hath cheated me of the island" **Caliban, Act 3, Scene 2.**

4.1. We have been required "to enquire into the causes (including the contributory causes)" of the 1977 disorders. Accordingly we propose to distinguish between the immediate causes (such as the executions) and the more long-term contributory causes which led to a growth of tension such that the immediate causes could act like a match applied to tinder. Just as the tinder is present before the match is lit, so it is logical for us to discuss the contributory causes before we turn to the immediate causes. One of the most important features of our argument will be the contention that those who actively engaged in the disturbances (as by throwing fire bombs) were influenced by the knowledge that a wider section of the population, particularly the black population, sympathised with the frustrations they felt and with the belief that riotous behaviour is, in contemporary Bermuda, the most effective way in which the discontented can get their grievances rectified. It is in this sense that one can describe the disorders as racial disturbances.

4.2. To account for the contributory causes it is necessary to consider the whole social structure of Bermuda and its relations with the outside world. We need to know what factors underlie and explain Bermuda's special characteristics. We need to appreciate that the history of any country is influenced by long chains of cause and effect so that the events of long ago may still mould the social relations of our own time. Among these causal factors we shall concentrate upon six:

- (i) Bermuda's history is that of a colonial society which is small and isolated;
- (ii) it was, until recently, racially segregated;
- (iii) it shows a particular pattern of capital accumulation;

- (iv) it has catered to a select tourist market;
- (v) it has a distinctive taxation structure;
- (vi) its recent economic growth has depended upon the importation of labour.

4.3. The first of these will be readily understood. Bermuda developed not as one small society in relation to other small societies, but as a small society dominated by the institutions of what was, for a time, the most powerful society in the world, one possessed of a far-reaching empire. The disparity between the power, resources and skills of the colony and the imperial country generated among the colonial people some of the traits of what has been called a "dependency complex": a tendency to ascribe responsibility to the British Government rather than to accept it locally. We have seen evidence of this during our hearings. Bermuda's isolation also reinforces the characteristics it shares with other small societies in which everyone seems to know everyone else; it becomes difficult for any one individual to take the initiative so that when a problem arises the reaction is to send for an outside adviser. Many residents find the social atmosphere of Bermuda claustrophobic: they tell us that they need periodically to travel somewhere away from the island in order to preserve their sense of equilibrium.

4.4. The second characteristic of a racially segregated past, is also simple, but white people rarely understand how deep the wounds of discrimination can strike into an individual's personality. These wounds continue to bleed in the victim's heart long after the person responsible has forgotten them. For example, we were told by one witness about the arrangements for the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1920. All the school children were looking forward to it with great excitement but when the Prince arrived only the white children were invited to Government House to meet the heir to the throne. The black children stayed in class and, as a consolation, were each given a photograph of the Prince and a shilling. These little slights — and there have been many of them — have an effect much greater than white people understand, while blacks have had to contend with many other forms of discrimination and suppression that have struck at much more than their dignity.

4.5. The third factor, of capital accumulation, cannot be properly analysed without better statistics than are available to us. But it would seem that in the period after World War I, when Bermuda's economy was hit by changes in the U.S. market and readjustments became necessary, the white population was in a much better position to take advantage of the new opportunities. Land was bought from blacks at prices which may have seemed reasonable at the time

but have subsequently proven to have been bargain prices for the purchasers and this still evokes resentment among blacks. After World War II there was a repetition of this. Whites got into the boom market first. Only now that blacks are increasingly participating in the pattern of growth is the Government beginning to spread the burden of taxation in order to take back a bigger share from those who have been successful. In 1946, 74 percent of the revenue came from customs duties; in 1956, 63 percent; in 1966, 60 percent; by 1972/3, it was down to below half, and in 1976/7, it had fallen to 43 percent. Those who entered the growth market first were able to keep most of the profit for themselves. Until recently there were no "death duties" or taxation of inheritance; even now the "stamp duty" is no more than 3 percent, which means that families which have accumulated capital and wish to maintain it, have to work less hard than they would in many other countries.

4.6. The fourth characteristic has been the kind of tourist industry that Bermuda has developed. The 1954 Select Committee were over-delicate in saying that the business was "predominantly white". It was based on an attempt to attract the upper class tourist who had money to spend on decorous entertainment rather than risking it at the gaming tables. Moreover we have been told that in the mid-1950's only one hotel in Bermuda welcomed Jewish guests. Such a policy maximised the social gap between the tourist and the black Bermudian who waited upon him.

4.7. This leads on to the fifth of the factors we listed. Bermuda's policy has been to place as much as possible of the burden of taxation policy upon the tourist. It has been a policy of taxing consumption rather than income. Only as the Government has come close to the limits of indirect taxation has it introduced measures for the direct taxation of land, employment and inheritance. In those countries which utilize income tax, the taxation unit is usually the household or the husband-and-wife partnership. If they both have incomes these are reported jointly and any allowances (e.g. for children or dependent relatives) are deducted from the joint income before the tax liability is determined. In Bermuda, there is no income tax. If a wife undertakes paid employment this does not lift their combined income into a category which is taxed at a higher rate, so there is a greater incentive for a married woman to find a paid occupation than in many other comparable countries. One of the few points on which we disagree with our distinguished predecessors who reported on the 1968 civil disorders is their view of "the need in most of the less well-to-do households for both the man and the woman to work in order to meet the high cost of living" ("Wooding" Report,

paragraph 183). There is a circular argument here. Expectations concerning the standard of living are high because both husband and wife can take paid employment and pay no income tax. The high standards have generated an expectation that mothers will want to engage in paid employment. The same expectations coupled with the pattern of taxation encourage many people to hold down more than one job. The incentive to wage-earning sometimes results in the neglect of children: mother is not at home when the child returns from school; father is not at home at the time when the child should be busy with homework for the next day's lessons.

**4.8.** The service economy together with the pattern of taxation have a different effect upon males and females. The Youth Health Education Development Teen Services told us that in Bermuda the male's ego can be damaged because he sees himself, a black man, continually waiting upon white males who project — however temporarily — an image of wealth, success and power. Black women have less difficulty in accommodating themselves to the needs and wants of others. Historically, women have rarely felt demeaned by service. If the male feels demeaned, he is likely to compensate for this by asserting his masculinity in other ways. Often it means that the woman has an even greater burden in the home. We received evidence that problems in child development and adolescence are greater for boys than for girls. Dr. Kenneth Clark, an expert on questions of child development, indicated that this was a reasonable hypothesis, and said:

"There is something about the process of growing up which seems to be much more difficult for boys. By the way, this starts almost from conception."

**4.9.** Mention of the changes in the woman's role prompts a more general reflection. Members of a society may be agreed that a particular change is desirable and just, but in making the change they may upset other relations that they did not wish to alter. Desirable changes in women's roles may have undesirable effects unless men's roles are also changed. Sometimes the problems are more recalcitrant. When a Bermudian man marries a non-Bermudian woman she qualifies for Bermudian status but when a Bermudian woman marries a non-Bermudian man he is not similarly qualified. Justice for women suggests that this is inequitable, yet there is a simultaneous demand that the range of entitlement to Bermudian status be restricted.

**4.10.** This leads us on to the sixth of the chains of cause and effect. The economic growth of Bermuda could never have been so rapid had it not been possible to attract expatriates from overseas who bring skills that Bermudians could not command, though this was

partly because they had received insufficient training. Yet Bermudians resent the privileged position the expatriates occupy and they dislike being treated as if they were second-class citizens in their own society. Bermuda, they say, belongs to Bermudians. In part, they are acting as men usually act in seeking to protect their own interests. If Bermuda has a gross domestic product per head of \$6,700 and the United Kingdom has one of \$3,400, then the opportunity to participate in Bermuda's prosperity is worth a lot to the Englishman. The Bermudian would like that extra income to come to him and he resents a state of affairs which, partly for historical reasons, prevents his being able to undertake the work for which the Englishman has been given a permit. This is an important consideration in assessing the contributory causes to the 1977 disorders.

**4.11.** The same principle of cause and effect can also explain the way in which undesirable social patterns can have desirable consequences. Racial segregation was assuredly something to be condemned, yet it helped build a sense of solidarity amongst the black population that has many positive features. It certainly makes more sense to talk of a black community in Bermuda than to talk of a white community; since the white population is socially fragmented. Blacks have, over the years, come to identify with one another because they have suffered common disadvantages and have felt it necessary to combine in order to combat them. From this has grown a sense of fraternity which has many positive features. It would be a pity if this sense were to decline with the amelioration of racial subordination. Bermuda, and particularly black Bermuda, is also a religious society. As a recent visitor observed, the island exemplifies what has been called a "burned-over district" — an area scorched by the fervour of revivalist Protestantism. Sentiments are often voiced in religious modes of expression, and this combination of fraternity and religious outlook has given a special quality to black rejections of the morality of capital punishment. This attitude of principled rejection, though far from island-wide, seems to be more widespread in Bermuda than in many parts of the modern world.

**4.12.** As communication with the outside world improved and the mass media developed, so Bermuda was drawn more into overseas movements of opinion, particularly those in the United States. The 1960's were a decade in which black opinion in that country was mobilised as never before and the revolution in self-conceptions was dramatised in the adoption of the designation "black" in place of "coloured". Black Bermudians came to identify more with black Americans and to believe that they might learn from the tactics employed by them. Black racial consciousness in

Bermuda took on a new tone. The rhetoric of Black Power, the Afro hair styles and the affirmation that Black is Beautiful came to Bermuda. So too, did the Nation of Islam (the "Black Muslims"). Bermudians have long tended to stress that their country is not part of the West Indies and to emphasise the difference between their people and those of the Caribbean, so it is of particular interest to note that many of the young Bermudians (particularly the young men) who are most critical of their society, are now taking up the ideas of the Rastafarian movement which started in Jamaica and is sometimes called the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. It regards Haile Selassie, former Emperor of Ethiopia, as having been a divine figure.

**4.13.** Some people have suggested to us that contemporary Bermuda is a sick society. While not necessarily making that diagnosis we think it important to ask what kind of society is possible in the circumstances in which Bermuda now finds itself? The factors and influences we have discussed are bound to create special difficulties for social relations. They make it much harder to achieve the objective of integration, and people become the more dissatisfied because goals that appear within reach seem to come no closer. Many of these problems come to a head in Bermuda's schools, for in some respects a school is a microcosm of the society. Any problems in the society are likely to be reflected in the school. This is something to which we shall return in a later chapter.

**4.14.** We turn now to discuss the contributory causes which underlay the disturbances. It has been suggested to us that the most fundamental of these is that of race. This is at best a shorthand expression for a more complicated set of relations. At the outset we would observe that the concept of race is not regarded as having much, if any, explanatory value in modern science. 'Race' comes into the picture as far as we are concerned only because physical differences between men (and in particular the colour of their skins) are taken as indicators of difference of wealth, power, social status and other purely social variations. 'Race' matters only when it is associated with other things. To ameliorate the problems of race relations it is essential to determine just what these other things are and to find how they can be regulated. The United Bermuda Party said as much to us when they identified as the central question: "If our current practice of racially separated social lives is so pernicious to our collective long-term interests, how can we generate effective peer-group pressure which will nudge us along the path of genuine, effective and broadly-based integration?"

**4.15.** The contributory causes, in our view, are all tangled together and derive much of their influence from the way they interact. To try to separate

them, and to compile a list, can therefore be misleading. At best those factors which, through weight of evidence are perceived to be the most important of the contributory causes, can be grouped under headings. These groupings include the economic structure of Bermuda and the strong belief that there is inequality of economic opportunity. Concentration of economic power in "Front Street" and the banks, lack of support for small businesses, especially if they are black, lack of job opportunities, training and Bermudianisation, all (of which) are intricately intertwined. Then there is the inadequacy of housing in certain areas both in terms of physical standards and lack of accommodation for low income groups; the problems of the family in Bermudian society, including the decline in discipline, the single-parent households, and the deficiencies in social welfare in addition to those of the education and criminal justice systems. In this connection we note also the lack of a sense of national unity. These perceived contributory causes will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

**4.16** The suggestions that have been made to us about political and constitutional factors as possible contributory causes have been given careful consideration. These include questions about the franchise (single seat constituencies, equal value votes, residential votes, and the reduction to 18 of the age of qualification); they also include the claim that Bermuda's orderly and peaceful development is hampered by the Government's not being responsible for internal security and by the failure to set a date for independence.

**4.17.** We devote more attention to the contributory causes than to the immediate causes because the latter are relatively simple, and so long as the sense of frustration was acute, a variety of factors could have served to precipitate disorder. There is general agreement that the decision against a reprieve for Burrows and Tacklyn was the foremost immediate cause. Though it is simple, this cause is interpreted in at least two different ways. On the one side it is seen as a perfectly proper decision made in the long-term interest of the society. On the other side it is seen as a vindictive action to which the Government obstinately adhered in the face of mounting evidence that it was contrary to the wishes of a very substantial part of the population, and that implementation of this sentence could shake the very foundations of that society. It has also been suggested to us that we should see in the conduct of the campaign against capital punishment, another precipitating cause. It has been asserted that the widespread disquiet about the moral justification of capital punishment in general was manipulated to serve the purpose of the Progressive Labour Party and to fan the flames of racial enmity. In short, it is

charged that the campaign was conducted irresponsibly. We find little merit in this accusation. In present circumstances all sorts of incidents can exacerbate racial tension and the power of leaders to regulate this is limited on both sides. It is the duty of the Government even more than of other groups not to place too great a strain upon the social structure. We also emphasise that there is a further duty on Government to evaluate feelings in the community as an aid to taking steps to avoid consequences which are not in the best interest of the community at large. In our opinion Bermuda came perilously close to a precipice at the end of 1977.

**4.18.** It has been alleged that when Mrs. Browne-Evans emerged from the Sessions House just after 2200 hours on 1st December (when the decision of the Court of Appeal was announced) her conduct fell short of what might have been expected in a potentially inflammatory situation. This was a taxing moment for her and others. We have been given conflicting testimony about this relatively brief period and do not believe that there is sufficient certainty about the facts at issue for us to give any support to these allegations. Nor can we determine whether the actions of the NCACP, in raising petitions and organising prayer vigils, led to a magnification of frustrations that helped provoke the disturbances, or whether they were successful in holding the lid on an already explosive situation. One witness who was well placed to form a judgment assured us, indeed, that the effect of the Campaign was to delay the disorders by one week.

**4.19.** Though the events of 1st December will be differently interpreted, we hope that there is no disagreement about two of the principles involved. We trust that the Government will at all times recognise the need to allow for peaceful means of expressing civil dissent. Equally we observe that it is the responsibility of anyone who organises dissent to bear in mind the possible consequences of his actions and to ensure that the law is not infringed.

**4.20.** We also express our opinion that the disorders could very well have been much more serious had the police not behaved with commendable restraint. Racial riots in the United States have been made much worse by acts of ill-discipline on the part of individual police officers which then led to reprisals from the crowd. Bermuda was fortunate that the disorders of 1st to 3rd December were no worse.

**4.21.** Dispute about the causes of the December disorders can be reduced by distinguishing some of the different questions that may be thought to require an answer. Firstly, there are the "who?" questions: just what sections of the population participated in the disorders actively or otherwise? Why was their number not greater, or smaller? Secondly,

there are "when?" questions: Why did the disorders start and finish when they did? We note that when the disorders started there was evidence of a degree of preparation and of an attempt to direct the activities of rioters by citizens' band radios. And yet, despite this, the disorders were relatively confined (in Hamilton at least, and were sporadic elsewhere), and they came to a sudden end on the third day with a shower of rain. Thirdly, there are "what?" questions: What did the rioters do? Why, apart from the fire at the Southampton Princess were there so few injuries and so little looting?

**4.22.** There are other kinds of questions that cut across these, concerning the motivations of the rioters and the importance of passive support from people who did not themselves take part. The Premier has said "it is highly unlikely that the overwhelming majority of the young people involved in the disturbances gave a fleeting thought to the tremendous harm they were doing to our economy" (Budget Statement, 24th February, 1978, page 3). Such evidence as there is indicates to us that this is far from the truth, and that the young people intended to damage the interests of those who benefited most from the prevailing social and economic order. Equally, we assert that when the Deputy Premier speaks of the disturbances in terms of "the thoughtless actions of a handful" he under-estimates the nature of the problem. It is important to ascertain the motives of the rioters to arrive at a diagnosis of the disorders, for on the accuracy of the diagnosis may depend the efficacy of the remedy that is applied.

**4.23.** We shall not attempt here to answer all the questions which the disorders pose, though help in answering some of them may be found elsewhere in our report. What we maintain instead, is that to understand why the 'who', 'when' and 'what' factors came together on 1st to 3rd December, it is necessary to see all the causes described earlier in this chapter, particularly in paragraph 15, as a reflection of the entire society of Bermuda at the time. We do not thereby imply that the disorders were inevitable, for the course of events is always shaped by the way in which men and women discharge their responsibilities to one another. At the same time we argue that among the contributory causes there are two clusters of causal factors which are of particular importance. One is the widespread belief amongst black Bermudians that there is insufficient equality of economic opportunity. The strength and justice of this sentiment and its basis in fact were recognised by the Government when it commissioned a special study from Dr. Kenneth Clark and his colleagues. The other is the fateful association of this belief with the racial division. It was made apparent to us that there are many indi-



viduals who feel, passionately and bitterly, that there are fundamental inadequacies in the organisation of Bermudian society. So are there in most countries. What makes them so dangerous in Bermuda is that they are identified with racial privilege and disadvantage.

**4.24.** When he appeared before us, we asked the Premier if he thought he was sitting on a powder keg. He replied, frankly and honestly "Yes . . . because of the stresses and strains . . . which are now more manifest because of the disturbances, it could well be that such a situation exists — to what extent I do not know." It is our view that there is explosive material in Bermuda's social structure and that it has not been dissipated since December. Irritations of a kind which it is impossible to predict could well act upon the stresses and strains to make them dangerous once again.

**4.25.** We believe that though there were some very special influences at work in the build-up to the 1977 disorders it would be a mistake to see them in isolation. Many of the witnesses who appeared before us saw them as part of a sequence. Thus, an educated and — we would judge — successful, young man told us:

"Each riot I as a young man could identify with. I too had frustration building up — 1965, '68, '70, '77; and I can almost say that there will be another . . . because we are the majority, because we have not had our equitable share in the community, not just in terms of finance, but in terms of upward social mobility."

**4.26.** The Police have also described this sequence for us. The 1965 civil disturbances occurred in February of that year in connection with a strike at the Bermuda Electric Light Company. The 1968 disorders were those reported on by the Wooding Commission. In 1969 a debate in the House of Assembly on the security measures taken during the Regional Conference on Black Power had to be adjourned because of disorders involving a crowd outside of about 150 people and their colleagues in the gallery of the House. In 1970 there were three such occasions: a protest about injustices suffered by black people which caused trouble in the early hours of 1st January; a crowd of over 100 that assembled outside the Magistrate's Court in April when young Black Beret Cadre militants were brought to court; and a series of incidents involving arson in Hamilton between 24th September and 10th October. In March, 1977 an angry crowd of about 200 youths marched on Hamilton Police Station and threw petrol bombs because of an early morning arrest of a youth.

**4.27.** The view of the 1977 disorders as part of a sequence is strengthened by the evidence that many blacks

who would never contemplate participating themselves in a riot and who have interests in the prevailing social order, nevertheless believe that in some circumstances and on some occasions, rioting is justified. Consider the testimony of a respectable young black man who says "We are all to blame" and "it is not really a black law but a rich or poor law" — but who also told us:

"I am inclined to agree with the lady who said there were quite a few Bermudians cheering from the sides during the riots, and I include myself in that category and for one reason only, and that is because the only thing the businessmen know is dollars and cents. The riots . . . hurt them financially and so for that reason I sat back and cheered . . . What happened in December was people's natural reaction . . . They had spoken in some instances until they were blue in the face and were not heard, and so . . . the only avenue for them to take was to loot and burn and riot. We must raise our consciousness so that we can rise above this and bring about peaceful change."

Other respectable black witnesses said to us:

"The establishment hears only the sound of breaking glass" and "When we burn up the city they begin to realise" and "After every riot there seem to be more jobs".

**4.28.** The witness quoted in 4.24 also told us:

"It seems like we need a riot every few years to get things done in this country . . . the under-thirties, blacks, we are talking in glowing terms of the riots sometimes, and it is unfortunate . . . it is terrible to say it that way but . . . they offer a positive relief. It is damaging to the tourist dollar but sometimes when you feel those frustrations the tourist dollar seems so remote. It is amazing, after the riot we can put our shop back with the tourists, within a week, not in the long-term, but we are all out there within a week, smiling, you know, the riot is over, let's sort of prepare for the next . . . it is not malicious because I truly think if people were all that malicious we would have had more than the dollar value of the damage done. I think it is a token of dissatisfaction, and it is a shame, but the Government, after the riot there has to be change because the people have asked for a change in the worst way, through violence . . . Bermuda riots are a little different."

This witness, explaining his feelings, says "we are the majority" yet he knows that there are more black faces than white in both the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council. He says, regarding

tourism "we can put our shop back . . . within a week" yet he knows that though Bermudians may soon be smiling again the damage has been done "in the long-term". This is clearly a dangerous outlook, because if there is another outbreak there may not be a downpour of rain at a convenient moment, and it may get quite out of hand.

**4.29.** Part of the trouble seems to be that in a period of such rapidly increasing affluence many Bermudians have come to believe that their underlying economic position is far more secure than we as a Commission consider it to be. For another comment to this effect we cite the testimony of the Police Association:

"Many people have no hope of owning their own homes, moving up the social ladder or occupying satisfying, constant and rewarding employment. (They) . . . have developed their own distinctive attitude. This may be summarised as "So what good is this Bermuda Way of Life to me; what good is tourism? I don't get a share of it. Only the fat cats do. If it all collapsed tomorrow I would be just as well off fishing or farming" . . . This 'So what? I can fish!' attitude . . . is more common than is largely believed."

We were told by the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries that technical studies had indicated that Bermuda's traditional inshore fishing resources were declining. Where previously a fisherman got four lobsters in a pot, he now needed four pots to catch one lobster. Fishermen had to work much more efficaciously to bring back the same amount of fish. There is indeed a widespread belief that fishing is a viable alternative to tourism and offshore businesses, but unfortunately it is without foundation. Fishing and farming alone could maintain only a fraction of Bermuda's present population, and only at a primitive standard of living. However, both industries could play a much more useful part in Bermuda's overall economy.

**4.30.** If we are right in seeing the disorders of 1977 as part of a pattern supported by a belief held by a broad section of the population that, within limits, riots are a legitimate method for correcting the thoughtless actions of a handful of very powerful politicians and businessmen, then there is a parallel with the civil disorders in London in the 1820's and '30s. England then enjoyed a form of rule that has been called "aristocracy tempered by riot". Every now and then the populace — who were very inadequately represented in Parliament, decided that they had had enough. They took to the streets, and thereby issued a warning to the ruling class. The older history books used to refer to them as "the mob", but more recent studies have shown that the rioters were not ruled by the unreasoning emotion suggested by

such an epithet. They did relatively little damage and caused less personal injury. They knew well just who their targets were, and by modern standards were quite good humoured about how they made their point; they then retired quite peaceably.

4.31. We do not suggest that the history of disturbances in England is an exact parallel to the disturbances in Bermuda, and we will be returning later in this Report to the relationship between the disorders and the parliamentary process (paragraphs 12.5 to 12.9). What we emphasise at this point is our view that unless Bermuda listens to the sentiments that we have quoted in paragraphs 25 to 29 and learns the lessons they teach, the prosperity enjoyed by many Bermudians during the last twenty years will vanish and aspirations for the future will be blighted.

## CHAPTER 5: ECONOMIC GROWTH AND IMMIGRATION

"Here in this island we arrived; and here have I, thy schoolmaster, made thee more profit than other princes can . . ."

**Prospero, Act 1, Scene 2.**

5.1. In most advanced economies, disorders such as those experienced in Bermuda would have little effect; yet they can easily shatter Bermuda's main source of income. The danger is the greater because the world press is inclined to magnify the scale of any disorders. Tourists have been frightened away from islands to the south of Bermuda by the fear of hostility. Furthermore if Bermuda asks the British Government for aid this evokes the imagery of colonial rule which is far from popular in the United States. The 1977 disorders were the more ominous because of their association with racial divisions and this factor, very properly, is of particular interest to the mass communications media of our age. It internationalises what might otherwise appear a local dispute.

5.2. Since many Bermudians must see any imperial military contingent as composed of "foreign" troops, their use adds an element of provocation in the eyes of many who are opposed to the Bermuda Government. The continued invocation of imperial military assistance can only strengthen the sense of an opposition between, on the one hand, a privileged and mostly white, power-holding section of the population and, on the other, an unprivileged black section which is being kept in line by the troops. The events of last December showed that political unrest could threaten the country's economy. Had the damage been greater or longer-lasting, this could have upset the parliamentary basis of Bermudian politics and opened the way to an authoritarian regime of ei-

ther a right or left-wing character. Half-way through 1978 it may now appear that relations in Bermuda have returned to relative tranquility. We hope that they will indeed remain peaceful. But we have also to report our conclusion that the political and economic balance is delicate, and our fear that if the equilibrium is ever lost, the quality of life in Bermuda would deteriorate dramatically for everyone.

5.3. The tourists who stayed in Bermuda during the disorders reported that they were scarcely inconvenienced by them, and they said that the experience did not make them reluctant to return. However, people in the United States who had been planning to visit Bermuda did cancel their reservations and for a while bookings did fall off alarmingly. The figures for the early part of 1978 have to be seen in relation to those for earlier years and the comparison is made in Table 5.

(See Table 5 following)

5.4. The true monetary costs to Bermuda of the December disturbances will never be known. The value of private property destroyed or damaged was at least \$9 million, while Government provided \$2.31 million in supplementary funding to meet the costs of transporting and supporting British troops flown in to assist local security forces, to pay overtime to police and fire services, to fund additional advertising by the Department of Tourism to offset the unfavourable publicity overseas and to cover the cost of damage to Government buildings and equipment. Loss of anticipated revenue is even more difficult to assess but has been estimated at \$1.2 million in the public sector and \$5 million in the hotel industry, based upon reduced occupancy in hotels during the period December, 1977 through April, 1978. (This latter figure is highly speculative and takes no account of other factors which might very well have influenced the fall-off in tourism in the first four months of 1978.) Together, these estimates total \$17.5 million. Surprisingly, insurance premiums were not increased after the December disturbances, although they did double shortly after the 1968 disorders.

5.5. On the Bermuda Stock Exchange the volume of transactions in the first quarter of 1978 was very substantially below that of 1977 and the index dropped 15 points to 215. This was attributed in part to a lack of support from investors who had become more cautious since the December disorders (Royal Gazette, 3rd May, 1978). There has also been less money for mortgages so that the amount lent in the same period declined by 34 percent (Royal Gazette, 17th May, 1978). But we must also sound a note of caution: nearly all of Bermuda's tourists come from the United States and there have been changes in the economy there which could well account for a reduction in the

number of people wishing to visit Bermuda. Changes in taxation laws have apparently made it less attractive for U.S. organisations to hold their conventions in places like Bermuda. Cheaper air fares, a very severe winter in the north eastern United States and a protracted strike in the coal industry in that country may also have influenced tourist travel in the winter of 1977/78. Just because tourist figures declined after the disorders does not mean that they declined solely because of the disorders.

5.6. Although tourism has fallen back, the Bermuda banks have not suffered perceptibly from the disorders and we have been told that the number of international company registrations actually increased by comparison with the preceding period. In the first quarter of 1977 new registrations were 147; in 1978, 217, an increase of about 40 percent. So in this sector the steady growth of 12 to 13 per annum of the last six years has continued until there are now some 4,300 such companies in Bermuda. The Premier told us that these companies generate something in the region of \$50 million towards the GDP and that 65 percent of their employees are Bermudian. These may seem a counter-balance to tourism but it should be remembered that at an earlier period similar companies deserted the Bahamas when the Government there introduced legislation they found unwelcome.

5.7. Bermuda's economic vulnerability is, in our view, to be seen as a major social and political constraint upon any policies for Bermuda's future economic growth. The report Economic Options for Bermuda recently prepared for the Bermuda Government by Mr. Simon Reisman does not accord sufficient recognition to this, though it needs to be remembered that Reisman's report, which was written in Canada, was completed the day before the disorders started. Reisman gives proper prominence to the way in which Bermuda's attractiveness could easily be spoiled by incautious development leading to congestion, and he presents this as a physical constraint upon economic growth. But the December disorders show that there is also a civil constraint; if a pattern of growth is so poorly managed that a section of the population shatters Bermuda's tourist image then the outcome may well be a negative growth rate, a possibility which Reisman never envisaged. We regard the risk factor as important, all the more so because, as the events of last December suggest to us, the Government may well have difficulty estimating its magnitude.

5.8. Reisman argues that further expansion in the hotel field is necessary to give the industry "a competitive edge". We are surprised that the Government apparently accepts this reasoning. It seems that the element of competition between hotels in Bermuda is small, relative to the importance of com-



petition between Bermuda and other tourist resorts. Moreover, Reisman's argument must on his own terms eventually collide with the physical or environmental constraint. When there is no room for an additional hotel how then is competition to be secured? Cannot the means that would then be employed equally well be utilised now?

**5.9.** Reisman highlights the dependence that is placed upon the North American market. We believe that greater attempts need to be made to diversify into the European market, in particular that of West Germany. Now that British Airways have increased the frequency of flights and the seating capacity, and are offering connections with flights from Frankfurt, it would seem the moment to capitalise on the possibilities this presents. But to do so effectively the Hotel Association may have to relax its rules and meet the requirements of European travel agents. It is our view that Bermuda should continue to try to increase the number of tourist arrivals during the off-season.

**5.10.** Improvements to the airport areas handling flights to non-U.S. destinations must go hand in hand with any attempt to lure greater numbers of European visitors. We suggest consideration be given to the setting up of duty-free shopping facilities at the airport to cater for the tourist embarking for destinations where duty-free allowances are less generous than those to the United States. We believe that such a concession, which should preferably be given to small businesses, would be attractive also to merchants and would bring revenue to Bermudian companies, some of which is at present, by default, going to Air Canada and British Airways.

**5.11.** The Government has agreed to an investigation of monopoly elements in Bermuda's business structure and to the establishment of a Business Development Bank, whose funding, in our opinion, must be sufficient to enable it to achieve the end of assisting small businesses as required.

**5.12.** From our standpoint, the second major weakness of Mr. Reisman's analysis is his failure to give explicit consideration to the importance of immigration control as an economic regulator. Bermuda's economy has been able to grow at its remarkable rate because employers have been able to recruit on the international labour market almost anyone they wanted. Bermuda's high standard of living has meant that people who might have been hotel managers, chefs, bankers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, policemen in their own countries, would work in Bermuda instead. The domestic labour supply could not quickly respond to the demand for skilled labour that resulted from growth, but, for the reasons we have already indicated, it is necessary to bring the demand for labour and the domestic supply of labour into relation with one another. Continuing over-

seas recruitment entails domestic discontent and pressure upon the environmental limits to growth. This was well understood by many of the witnesses who appeared before us, but very few of them had any sense of the sort of strategy that will be necessary to resolve the problem. Some of our witnesses stressed the overriding importance of investment in job training so as to increase the skills of Bermudians and thereby improve the supply of labour. We heartily endorse such views, which were well expressed in the memorandum from the Employers' Council, but would add that much of the need for additional training could have been foreseen years ago. Some of our witnesses were also aware that if labour supply and demand are to be matched it may be necessary to restrain demand by providing for only a low rate of growth. But the big question remains of deciding how much the domestic labour supply can be enhanced in the next ten years or so, given the increasing sophistication of the skills likely to be required. Some skills, particularly those associated with the use of mechanical equipment, can be broken down into fairly simple operations, but others can be acquired only as part of a long career combining education and experience. This is a major problem for economically advanced countries in Europe and North America which have been trying to make better use of their human resources. If these are challenges to such large societies, how much more important may they be to a small society with so much less room to manoeuvre? A small society wants only a handful of judges, surgeons, head teachers, police commissioners, senior civil servants, and so on. Once appointed, they cannot be removed without good cause, and this must introduce an element of inflexibility by comparison with a society of fifty million people.

**5.13.** The control of immigration therefore entails a balancing of the economic gains from a high rate of entry against the political arguments for a low rate. Recent history has favoured the former, so that according to the 1970 Census only 42 per cent of white residents were Bermuda-born, by comparison with 93 per cent of blacks. The median age of whites was 29 years, that of blacks, 22 years. As Table 5.2. shows, the relatively slow growth of the black population arose from natural increase; the faster growth of the white population stemmed from highly selective immigration.

**5.14.** Our discussion, in the previous chapter, of the contributory causes of the disorders, can be read as a statement of the case that there should in the immediate future be a much lower rate of growth, provided Bermuda is enabled to benefit from a period of social consolidation. In social affairs, as well as at sea, the speed of the fleet may be the speed of the slowest ship. Those who have

been travelling fastest should now help the slow ones to catch up. There is, indeed, a good case for a period of zero growth, as can be illustrated by the situation with respect to motor traffic. In 1977 some 12,000 passenger vehicles were registered but some 19,000 households were entitled to a licence so that they could put a car on the road. Does Bermuda contemplate growth to the point where there may be 20,000 motor cars? Is it not in the common interest that some kind of restraint be found? Mr. Reisman, though he tends to favour continuing growth, himself acknowledges this and draws attention to the "people pollution" that results when the number of cruise visitors is at a height. But while we recognize the case for zero growth, we are impelled by the same logic as the Government to reject it in favour of attempting a low growth rate of up to 3 per cent. As the Government observe in their interim response to the Reisman report, some 300 young people will be entering the labour market each year for the next ten years. They must be able to find work, and allowance must be made for a possible decline in the tourist sector.

**5.15.** The question then becomes one of deciding what contribution should be made to growth from each of the three sectors under discussion: tourism, international companies, and off-shore banking? In the Government's interim view, it will be necessary to provide for a limited increase in tourist capacity and then, if the demand for tourist facilities does not pick up, it will be necessary to encourage growth by permitting the introduction of off-shore banking subject to careful regulation. We recognize that the banking question is partly technical; the Government believes that it is possible to legislate in such a way as to prevent the international banks from undermining the Bermudian banks' domestic market position. The Bermudian banks believe that this will not be possible and claim that similar attempts elsewhere have failed. We cannot adjudicate upon matters of this kind although we recognize their importance. Equally we believe that nothing should be done to give entry to the international banks without careful study of what the implications might be of the resulting demands upon personnel and housing. This is doubtless common ground. However, we are impressed by the possible risks entailed by this proposal and hope that the growth in international company registrations and the recovery in demand for tourist facilities will be such that Bermuda does not need to embark upon a new and possibly perilous course. The difficulty is that there has either to be a substantial move towards off-shore banking (with a consequential restriction upon all other international company registrations) or no move at all. There is no half-way house.

**5.16.** Some idea of the size of the

local labour force, its composition in terms of Bermudian and foreign-born workers and expected changes in this labour supply in the coming decade can be gained from the census figures for 1960-1970, and demographic studies by Dr. D. K. Newman (The Population Dynamics of Bermuda — A Decade of Change, 1972) and Professor G.W. Roberts (Provisional Estimates of Population Movements in Bermuda to 1990, 1972).

(See Tables 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 following)

**5.17.** Between 1960 and 1970 the population of Bermuda increased by 9,690 from 42,640 to 52,330, a rise of 23 per cent. Natural increase accounted for 77 per cent of the total increment, while net immigration accounted for the remaining 23 per cent. Distribution of the population by nativity and race for the period 1950-1970 is shown in Tables 5.2 and 5.3, while the countries of birth and race of the foreign-born population in 1970 are given in Table 5.4. There are no accurate figures available on the number of persons with Bermudian status. Dr. Newman estimated that 30 per cent of the 14,496 foreign-born in Bermuda in 1970 had status. If we accept this and take account of the 1500 or so who have received status since 1970, we may assume that there are now some 6,000 Bermudians by reason of status.

**5.18.** The participation of the labour force by main activity broken down into age groupings, is shown in Table 5.5.

(See Table 5.5 following)

**5.19.** Bermuda led the world in having the lowest unemployment rate on record and the highest labour force participation rate in 1970. The unemployment rate was 1 per cent for men and women at that time, compared with a 5 per cent rate for men and 6 per cent for women in the United States. A further striking statistic is the high level of participation by women in the labour force. Although not shown separately in Table 5.5, during the prime working years of 20-29 almost three quarters of the Bermudian women were in the labour force and 40 per cent was shown to be out of work. Unemployment among teenagers in the United States at that same time was more than three times as great.

**5.20.** During the period 1950 to 1970, the greatest change in Bermuda's employment structure occurred in the professional, technical, administrative, managerial and clerical occupations. (Table 5.6), clearly reflecting the growth of tourism and international business during the period and the increasing sophistication of the economy.

(See Table 5.6 following)

**5.21.** The Minister of Home Affairs said in evidence that the working population in Bermuda is now between 27,000 and 27,600, indicating little change from 1970. Some of these persons will hold two or more jobs, but we have no data on the actual number of

jobs available. We were also advised that there are estimated to be 500 persons unemployed, 250 of whom are considered by Government to be unemployable. The Minister further suggested that approximately 6000 non-Bermudians are now in the work force, and went on to say in evidence:

"The immigration policy is designed to systematically and orderly reduce the number of non-Bermudians employed locally. In keeping with this policy, certain job categories have been closed to non-Bermudians."

"Additionally, all renewal applications are closely scrutinized and many work permits are not renewed. For example, 547 non-Bermudian work permits were not renewed during 1977. As a consequence they (the employees) left Bermuda, as opposed to 453 in 1976."

**5.22.** In the absence of current data with which to update Table 5.6, and to project future trends, we must rely upon the estimates of population movement provided by Professor Roberts, to give some idea of what the labour force will be by 1990.

(See Table 5.7 following)

**5.23.** Table 5.7 compares the 1970 Census with population projections. It will be seen that the major changes occur in the older age groupings, promising increased pressure on social services in the future. The total projected increase in numbers in the 15-44 age groupings is only 4,658, an increase of 19.2 per cent. Data in Table 5.7 include the 6,000-8,000 persons estimated to be present on work permits in 1970, but make no allowance for further external migration in projecting the 1990 population. The relatively low anticipated growth in population during the period 1970-1990 prompted Professor Roberts to write in 1972:

"If, as seems probable, the recent immigration is associated with a condition of full employment and a shortage of certain types of labour, it may well be necessary to continue it for some time in the future, particularly since the indications are that only small increments to the working force can be anticipated under existing conditions of mortality and fertility. In any event the course of the movement will, presumably, be under full governmental control."

**5.24.** Certainly the evidence we have received suggests that labour will be in short supply in most categories in the coming decade and those difficulties which are experienced will be related to management of labour resources rather than to unemployment as such.

**5.25.** The granting of residential certificates appears not to be contentious. Those who secure such permits are retired, wealthy enough to support

themselves and are not permitted to work. There is no accurate record of the total number of holders of residential certificates in Bermuda but 482 certificates were awarded during the period 1970-1977.

**5.26.** We have already referred to the number of status Bermudians now estimated to be in the island. Persons may acquire Bermudian status by right under the Bermuda Immigration Act 1956 (wives of Bermudian men, children of status Bermudians etc.) or by grant of the Government. Those applying for status receive points on a scaled basis, depending on the applicant's contribution to the local society, skills and relations in Bermuda. A committee of the Board of Immigration, an advisory body to the Minister, makes recommendations. Under the present policy the award of status is limited to not more than 38 annually (one tenth of one per cent of the estimated number of Bermudians in the population). Since 1968, some 2100 persons have acquired status, 568 by grant.

**5.27.** We are gravely concerned about the role that society has decreed for the young Portuguese whose parents may have worked on the island for many years but who have not obtained Bermudian status. It is nothing short of soul-destroying to a child to provide him with the opportunity of benefiting from a good education, but then only allow him to take employment on a work-permit basis as a gardener or kitchen porter. It is also clearly a worrying factor to Portuguese parents, who value the closely-knit family community and who are generally hard-working and law-abiding citizens. The Portuguese in Bermuda are deserving of greater recognition and their children a better start in life. There is the danger that Bermuda may be creating a category of stateless citizens. We urge upon Government that careful consideration be given to the position of the children of Portuguese immigrants with a view to assisting them to obtain naturalization as British subjects, leading to the granting of Bermudian status.

**5.28.** Applications for work permits, like those for status, are reviewed by a Committee of the Board of Immigration which then makes recommendations to the Minister. In the case of work permits, a prospective employer has first to advertise a vacancy in the Bermudian press, giving the address to which applications must be sent. If he cannot fill the vacancy from among those applying, he may then recruit someone from outside Bermuda and apply for him to be given a permit to work in Bermuda in a specified occupation. The Board of Immigration next considers the application. They will receive a report from the Manager of the Employment Office about the availability of Bermudian workers in this category. If the application is granted, the employer is supposed to give the permit to the employee, but more usually he keeps it in the employee's personal file.

It will be noted that although the document is called a "permit" the procedure would more accurately be described as the licensing of an employer to engage and employ a particular person.

**5.29.** A work permit is valid for one year and costs \$50; the charge is usually borne by the employer. Extensions cost \$25 whether for one year or a shorter period. A multiple re-entry permit costs \$10 and is also valid for one year. If the employee leaves the island temporarily he or she needs a letter from the employer to be permitted re-entry.

**5.30.** Sometimes employers do not make a genuine attempt to find a Bermudian to fill a vacancy. They may testify that no applications have been received from qualified persons, whereas applicants may have submitted copies of their applications to the Ministry to guard against misrepresentation. Advertisements must specify the qualifications required, but sometimes employers advertise for a fully qualified person, fail to recruit in Bermuda, and then apply for a permit for an overseas worker who is only partially qualified. The Ministry's staff therefore check permit applications against the terms of the original advertisement. They also find on occasion that an employer has first interviewed overseas and then advertised in Bermuda, using a specification tailored to the overseas applicant's qualifications. Furthermore, the Board will reject any application in respect of an overseas worker who might bring more than two children to Bermuda.

**5.31.** We were told by the Minister of Home Affairs that no one admitted to Bermuda as a visitor can change his or her status while on the Island, but we have reason to believe that exceptions are made to this rule. On the termination of the period for which a work permit has been granted, the employer may be required to readvertise before any extension is considered. This is the case in the Public Service, and for those employed by the Bermuda Hospitals Board. We recommend a similar procedure of readvertising for the private sector, where currently an employer makes representation to the Minister of Home Affairs to have a work permit extended. While a member of the Bermuda Industrial Union is presently on the Immigration Board's Status Committee, the Union is currently not in a position to provide input in the screening of applications for work permits, particularly in the hotel sector. There is now considerable sensitivity about industrial relations in the hotel field and in tensions associated with supervision. Should the Union be represented on the appropriate Committee it could then be in the position to make representations when an application is considered for the renewal of a permit for a supervisor whose skills are in question.

**5.32** In theory, it should be against an employer's economic interest

to evade the work permit regulations. The Headmaster of Saltus Grammar School has been quoted as saying that "no one in his right mind would consider employing a non-Bermudian, with all the extra expense, the worry, the risk of not settling, and so on, if he could find a suitable Bermudian" — (Royal Gazette, 20th May, 1978). Yet it seems clear that some employers do just this, often because a manager or supervisor finds it easier to work with someone of the same background and with similar tastes to himself. The job market displays less than perfect competition and it may well be appropriate to increase the cost to employers of importing workers. The Commission insists that the advancement of Bermudians is to be seen as a fulfilment of their inherent rights in their own homeland and not in any way as according them any privilege.

**5.33.** It has also been urged upon us that the Government is as assiduous in examining applications for permits from Government departments as it is in examining applications from private industry. If the permanent secretary of one ministry maintains, for example, that 15 years experience in a particular post is a prerequisite, he may well have to argue his case at some length before the Department of Immigration and the Public Service Commission. Thus it is claimed that the Government has been leading the way in Bermudianisation. Despite this, we received evidence that there is an impatience in the community with the pace of Bermudianisation and of advancement for Bermudians and that impatience can be more readily appreciated when it takes 5-6 years for someone to qualify as a junior officer in the bank, regardless of whether the person has university training or not.

**5.34.** We now return to the discrepancies between the supply of labour on the international and the domestic markets. When the supply of labour on the domestic market is adequate to meet the demand, the Ministry closes the job category in question, declaring that no more permit applications in the specified fields will be entertained. Since 1974 it has closed a variety of skilled and unskilled occupations including sales clerks (salesmen and saleswomen), receptionists, airline ground hostesses, social hostesses, masons, carpenters, painters and floor supervisors and general managers. Since then Ministry officials have let it be known that the category of Personnel Officer could well be closed, and thus they have encouraged employers to engage Bermudian personnel officers. In some other occupations, however, like those of police officer and gardener, there is little sign of the domestic supply increasing sufficiently to meet the demand if existing rates of pay remain unaltered. Thus at the same wage levels, the international supply will always be superior to the domestic supply and the situation will not rectify itself. The Gov-

ernment needs sooner or later to close these and other categories (e.g. most categories of school teacher) but it cannot do so without either introducing ethnically differential rates (to pay Bermudians more than non-Bermudians) or improving the pay for everyone in the category in question. Incentives are vital. This takes us into the area of manpower planning.

**5.35.** Several witnesses stressed to us the importance of pushing ahead with the projected manpower survey. We endorse this, and regret that progress has been so slow with regard to something we consider of high priority. There will be a need to give coordinating powers to the Statistician's Office if the survey data are to be gathered.

**5.36.** The manpower survey will help to project demand and supply for persons in various occupations for the next ten to twenty years, but it is not the only thing to be done in this field. Steps other than those which depend upon survey techniques should be undertaken to collect, analyse and discuss relevant information. Account should also be taken of the numbers of Bermudians working overseas, and in this connection it is useful to mention the distinction made in sociology between "burgesses" and "spiralists". "Burgesses" are people working in occupations like those of the general medical practitioner, the solicitor or lawyer who has not specialised in a particular field, and many kinds of tradespeople, who build up a clientele by staying in a locality, becoming known, and acquiring business by personal recommendation. "Spiralists" are people who work for large organisations in a technical or managerial capacity. They advance not by staying in one place but by moving round and stepping up as they do so: a man who succeeds as the manager of a small branch of a bank or a chain store moves on to be manager of a larger branch elsewhere, and then to another. An increasing proportion of business in Bermuda — particularly in the international company sector — now depend on an international spiralism. For many top jobs Bermudians should obtain experience overseas, and they should recognise that at this level they must expect to see a few posts occupied by international spiralists.

**5.37.** We have indicated earlier our belief that the proportion of expatriates employed in well-paid positions can be seen as a contributory cause of the disorders. Since disorders of this kind cost Bermuda a lot of money, so the employment of expatriates constitutes a cost; it is a public cost, falling upon the society at large, as opposed to a private cost of the kind borne by a citizen who has to pay for damaging his neighbour's fence. When this public cost is entailed primarily to suit a private employer, it would be only appropriate were this portion of the cost to be transferred to the employer in the form of a higher li-

cence fee (or, in the present terminology, a higher charge for a work permit). The Premier told us in May that a new scale of considerably higher fees was shortly to be brought into effect. We welcome this, though we would add that there is a case for charging a lower fee if the employees' contract provides for him to train a deputy who will take over the position after a specified time, or if the employer is one who comes within the class of persons covered by Government policy with respect to small businesses. There will be problems in this area, since the Bermudians will not necessarily have to give any long period of notice before leaving one employer for another. This was in the mind of a correspondent whose letter was published in *The Royal Gazette* on 11th May, 1978, who expressed concern about the Premier's announcement, referring to the inflationary effect of employers battling for the limited number of trained Bermudians. He asked the Ministry to enquire more deeply into applications for work permits, since some were not justified, and argued that the situation called for improved training rather than a higher taxation of employment.

**5.38.** The Employers' Council told us that Bermudians should look upon the 6,000 positions presently filled by non-Bermudians as a "bank" of jobs to be reallocated in due course to Bermudians. The Council has conducted a survey of 100 employers (81 of whom responded) from which they have concluded that the cost of training programmes in the present year is \$1,000,000, and that this will rise by 10 percent in the next year. They ask for a review of employment tax provisions so that tax relief is more readily available for on-the-job training. We endorse this request and commend it to Government for early attention. The Council told us that 10 percent of the employees in the companies surveyed are involved in training programmes; that 76 percent of the supervisory and management personnel in the companies surveyed have "come up through the ranks" and that the proportion of Bermudians in various kinds of posts was as follows: top management, 79 percent; professional, 52 percent; sales, 97 percent; secretarial and bookkeeping, 88 percent; technical, 87 percent; construction and manufacturing, 89 percent; service, 91 percent. The companies surveyed reported that they spent annually \$975,000 to employ people on grounds of "social obligation" and would be engaging 504 students during the summer vacation. This is a commendable record, especially considering that much of the progress has been relatively recent. For example, in separate testimony, the Bank of N.T. Butterfield reported the following changes in the ethnic composition of their staff at the end of June in each year: 1965 — 15 black, 170 white; 1970 — 129 black, 241 white; 1978 — 170 black, 181

white. In general, the employers' representatives told us that they were moving as fast as they could in the direction of racial integration and equity, but that the objectives were such that they could not possibly be attained in the space of a few years. We hope that the momentum will be maintained in both the public and the private sectors, since we have been made aware of widespread impatience about the speed of Bermudianisation.

**5.39.** A substantial proportion of foreign workers are employed in the hotel industry. The Survey of Employment and Housing of Foreign Workers in the Hotel Industry in Bermuda, April, 1977, reports that there were then 9,018 tourist beds. Fifty-eight workers were employed for every 100 beds; 1,293 or 25 percent of the workers required work permits. Since 1975 the proportion of non-Bermudians in the hotel industry has declined from 34 percent to 25 percent.

**5.40.** At the same time we are anxious that Bermuda's manpower planning should move ahead systematically in drawing upon the "bank accounts" of different kinds of occupation referred to by the Council. Guidelines need to be agreed about the rate at which the country will draw upon these accounts and target dates agreed for complete Bermudianisation. We would accept that in many occupations there will often be a need for overseas workers with special skills or to fill temporary gaps. We would also add a caution concerning reliance on paper qualifications. A university degree or a diploma from a recognised institution may be an important qualification, but enterprise, managerial experience and a knowledge of Bermudian ways can also be important. In a small society the competitive edge of business life can be blunted both by a reliance on paper attainments and by social or ethnic loyalties.

**5.41.** If the manpower planning is to succeed, some changes in wage differentials are essential. We shall argue later, for example, that a substantial increase in police pay is required to maintain the commitment and enthusiasm of the more able youngsters in the junior cadets, and to lift the domestic labour supply to the same level as that from overseas. A similar case, though not quite so strong, can be advanced on behalf of school teachers. Equally, there are certain occupations, such as that of gardener, which Bermudians have not found attractive. We believe that there is a parallel here with domestic service in Europe and parts of North America. Since domestic service is now felt by many people to be a demeaning occupation, prospective employers have to offer extremely favourable rates of pay and conditions of service. Special incentives should be provided to attract Bermudians into those occupations such as gardening and unskilled kitchen help, which they now are loath to enter.

**5.42.** We have received quite astonishing testimony concerning differential earnings in the hotel sector, particularly between occupations which attract extra income from tips and those which do not. The Ministry of Home Affairs told us that in a 1976 earnings enquiry, some assistant maitres d'hotel were found to be earning between \$35,000 and \$40,000 a year. A waiter in a larger hotel would be earning \$500 a week. A more representative figure for waiters of \$207 was also quoted, only \$70 of which would have been the basic wage. The whole situation seems to us to have been mismanaged by the employers in the 1973 wage negotiations when they conceded that a mandatory cent service charge should be added to customers' bills without agreeing in sufficient detail the manner in which the resulting revenue was to be divided, particularly with reference to non-tipped employees. There is an understandable lack of incentive for Bermudians to take non-tipped jobs in the hotel industry. (A few hotels continue to share gratuities among all staff, with the exception of the Manager on an agreed scale. This seems to us a very sensible system.)

**5.43.** The resulting situation was well discussed in a leading article in *The Royal Gazette* on 6th May, 1978. The editor referred to one youth who left school at 16 years and obtained work as a labourer at \$185 per week. Another youth attended the Hotel College and qualified for a post in the management sector earning under \$100 per week; but though a bright and conscientious young man, he could not stand the sight of his former classmates earning so much more than he did, so he gave up his position to become a waiter. He abandoned his plans to acquire experience abroad, and probably deprived his country of a Bermudian hotel manager. So the editor concluded "basically the problem does not rest with these young men, it rests with a system which ignores the need for training and compensates without relation to responsibility." With this verdict no reasonable person can disagree.

**5.44.** Yet when we have attempted to discuss the problem with the witnesses who have appeared before us, one witness after another, ministers, union officials, hotel management representatives and members of the public, have hastened to explain how the situation has arisen while conveying the impression that they felt helpless to do anything about it. We have been concerned by the lack of clear thinking about the problem and dismayed by the apparent lack of willpower to rectify it. The Bermuda Industrial Union President, when appearing before us, recognised the problem and suggested that the best procedure for its resolution would be for the Government to bring proposals to the Labour Advisory Council. We welcome the Union President's suggestion that the Government, employers and



Union should come together and try to find a means of working out some better readjustment over the coming years. The Government should respond forthwith to this very helpful statement.

## CHAPTER 6: HOUSING AND LAND USE

"Welcome, Sir; this cell's my court"

**Prospero, Act 5, Scene 1.**

**6.1.** To discuss Bermuda's housing problems we start with an account of the structure of the housing market. This is related to the three main kinds of dwellings for sale and occupation.

**6.2.** The first category consists of houses with an annual rental value (ARV) of \$8,100 and upwards, together with condominiums with an ARV of \$5,100 and upwards. These dwellings may be owned by Bermudians or non-Bermudians; if a non-Bermudian seeks to buy such a property he has to pay a tax of 10 per cent of the purchase price, 2½ per cent on condominiums on first purchase and to obtain the consent of the Government to the transaction.

**6.3.** The second category consists of dwellings owned by the Bermudian Government or by private Bermudian citizens with an ARV of less than \$8,100. They may be owner-occupied or rented to either Bermudians or non-Bermudians. The rents may be as much as \$1,600 per month for a house occupied, perhaps, by an employee of an international company, or as little as \$350 per month. A rough distinction can be made between the more expensive house, usually rented furnished or unfurnished, in the \$1,600-\$600 per month range, and the less expensive dwellings rented for \$600-\$350 per month either to Bermudians, or, perhaps to an expatriate Government employee working on a contract.

**6.4.** The third category consists of dwellings rented to Bermudians. These may be separate dwellings or apartments in a block, and their rents would usually be below \$200 per month.

**6.5.** Some conception of the proportion of dwellings of different character can be obtained from Tables 6-1, 2 and 3.

(See Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 following)

**6.6.** We found it easier to understand the character of the housing market by taking some account of the history of developments since about 1967 when the demand for housing, and for better quality housing, began to rise as a result of the economic prosperity of the previous period. As was pointed out in Chapter 1, the years 1968-72 saw a major construction boom associated with the expansion of the hotel sector. Demand for residential housing was rising, but there could at this time be no expansion in supply. It was in this situation that, in 1971, the Government brought in the Rent Increases (Domestic Prem-

ises) Control Act to protect tenants' security of tenure and check unjustified rent increases. In the six years since this measure came into effect, the rent index has increased by 24 per cent, although the food index has gone up by 69 per cent and the "all items" retail price index by 60 per cent. In 1978 a Bill was introduced to remove rent control from the top 17 per cent of housing, and to make provision for evicting unsatisfactory tenants. The Premier has told us that it is the Government's policy to phase out rent control but that the process will not be completed until there is an adequate supply of low cost or subsidised housing.

**6.7.** The year 1971 saw the introduction of the Government Housing Areas Act, under which three housing schemes were undertaken. In 1971-72, at North Prospect, 74 units were built, together with 78 units at South Prospect, while a further 15 at Top Square, St. George's, were completed in 1974. The first of these, at North Prospect, comprised terraced houses which seemed to many Bermudians to be of too low a standard. They were sold as leaseholds at purchase prices between \$23,800 and \$28,000, on the basis of a 10 per cent deposit, the balance being payable over 25 years at an interest rate of 7 per cent. These developments were considerably below the cost of comparable housing elsewhere and have proven attractive to purchasers so that they can now be resold on very favourable terms.

**6.8.** In 1974 the Bermuda Housing Corporation was established, and the Government transferred its rights in the three estates just mentioned, together with \$500,000 in capital to the Corporation. In the following year the Corporation raised a further \$3,585,000 on the open stock market at 8 per cent. The functions of the Corporation are set out in the Act, but it is of interest to note that in his first annual report the Chairman (Commander G. H. L. Kitson) stated that "it is in general charged with the responsibility for endeavouring to ensure that all residents of Bermuda are decently housed". The next year he maintained that when opportunity arose the Corporation should purchase sub-standard accommodation, renovate or rebuild it, and then sell it again with mortgage financing. In 1977 he had to report that in spite of some publicity on both television and in the newspapers, the Corporation had received virtually no response to its offer to assist in the upgrading of sub-standard accommodation. He presumed that this was because such accommodation is rented and the owners felt that they would be unable to obtain a sufficient return on the necessary investment. He went on, "in my personal view Government will, at some point in time, have to consider some form of subsidy to owners of substandard accommodation to persuade them to upgrade it." The Chairman asked that all Government housing

should be transferred to the Corporation as was originally intended; he urged the Government to approve some new form of financing for the Corporation.

**6.9.** Since the Corporation has been able to make so little progress with respect to improving sub-standard housing, and since the Commission believes that such housing has been a contributory cause to the civil disorders of December, it is clearly important that the Government should give close and urgent attention to Commander Kitson's representations. We shall add our own more particular recommendations later in this Chapter.

**6.10.** The Bermuda Housing Corporation has been much more successful in its efforts to assist Bermudians to build their own houses, though it should be noted that the Corporation is not in direct competition with banks and other sources of credit. Only a home-builder who has been unable to borrow money from two such sources can be assisted by the Corporation. Plans have to be approved by the Criteria Committee which favours three-bedroom dwellings not exceeding 1,000 f.s. in external floor area. The cost of construction is high because so many materials have to be imported and the land is expensive. Therefore the economies of scale favour the simultaneous construction of two units, or dwellings, on the same site. The home-builder can then rent out the second one and make the whole enterprise economically viable. The Minister of Planning told us that in the Corporation's four years up to February 1978, it had provided funds to enable 83 mortgagors to produce a total of 183 units, for a commitment of \$3,893,740. Thus 100 units have been provided in the rental market and 83 for owner occupation. But the Minister went on:

"It is the opinion of my technical officers that, generally speaking, the rents which are being paid for those rental units do not show a full economic return to the owner on the capital invested in that unit. The cost of construction today is such that it is not possible to build a unit for rent which will show an adequate return on capital invested at a rent which the average wage earner can afford."

**6.11.** This points to the difficulties of generalizing about high and low rents. Fine houses that catch the eye of expatriate financiers may command very high rents. In the area of more modest houses of the kind assisted by the Corporation, supply may exceed effective demand and the rent be low, whereas for really low income families the rents may seem very high.

**6.12.** A quite different area of Government involvement in the housing market has been the purchase from the Church of lands in the Pembroke Glebe. Progress has been very slow, partly because of the need to survey the land and

to sort out questions of title. Government is now selling those properties which are in reasonable condition, with present occupiers having the first option. This is a joint Housing Corporation/Public Works Department project, with loans being provided by the Corporation where required.

**6.13.** Recognizing the importance of housing, the Department of Planning instituted a survey in 1976 in an attempt to project needs through 1990 in relation to the availability of land. They discovered that a significant number of houses were vacant. The Director of Planning told us in testimony that 940 units out of 16,655, or 15 per cent, were unoccupied. It is our understanding that approximately 260 of those were considered uninhabitable because of their poor physical state and a few more were still under construction. There were 633 vacant houses which were capable of occupancy, however, 113 being bedsitters, 173 one-bedroom, 165 two-bedroom, 61 three-bedroom and 16 four-bedroom. It is officially believed that the main need is for three-bedroom houses, although entrepreneurs find these uneconomical to develop. The surplus of smaller units is attributable to the departure of expatriate tenants formerly employed in hotel and construction industries, and partly to the provision of more accommodation on base by the U.S. Navy for its personnel.

**6.14.** We pass now from our review of the housing market to an examination of the policies of the Bermuda Government. We note the Planning Minister's recognition that many social problems find fertile growing ground in sub-standard housing and his intention to rectify this. We also draw attention to what appears to be conflicts between the Government's philosophy of action in this field and the hard economic realities of the market. The Minister spoke to us of the need to regenerate self-esteem among the less fortunate, of "the preservation of the sort of do-it-yourself ethic that is part of our culture", and of his desire to avoid increasing the Government's "landlord role". At the same time it is recognized that there are families which need a three or four-bedroom house but who cannot afford to rent one out of a gross income of \$200 per week. Certain demographic and economic characteristics of local households which are discussed in Chapter 7 have relevance here. The Statistician's Office in reviewing household data from the Consumer Expenditure Survey 1974-75 has shown that a significant proportion of households with a high earning capacity are not potential house owners and a similarly significant proportion of potential home owners have below average earnings. This has important implications for any housing policy which is geared to increasing home ownership. Whether the projected scheme of social assis-

stance discussed in Chapter 7 will be able to help such families remains to be seen.

**6.15.** The Government plan is to increase owner-occupation from 49 per cent to 60 per cent, but it is not clear how far this change is to be achieved by new building and how far they suppose that dwellings presently rented will be sold to owner occupiers. The Minister believes that rent control tends to drive out the private landlord. He may keep a rental unit empty rather than run the risk of giving entry to a bad tenant who will be protected by legislation. Apparently this applies with particular force where the landlord also lives on the premises, and it may be a factor helping to explain the relatively large number of vacant one bedroom and studio apartments. Some difficulty in the interpretation of these statistics turns on whether they are based on total housing stock or upon the housing of Bermudians only. The evidence we received on this was to some extent contradictory and the derivation of the 49 per cent home ownership figure was not made clear to us. It should be noted that on Government's own submission, the operation of the Housing Corporation is adding more units to the rental sector than to that of owner-occupation.

**6.16.** Another way in which the Government is able to encourage home ownership without itself becoming a landlord, is through the formation of housing associations, and we are pleased to note that Government is currently investigating this approach. Home ownership is now denied to a substantial part of the community for reasons of high land and building costs, the need for a deposit of a much larger part of the purchase price than is normal in other countries (as much as 50 per cent in some cases) and the usual requirement that mortgages be amortized over comparatively short periods of time. The housing associations envisaged by Government would provide family housing at a lower cost than anything at present provided by the private sector of the island. The proposal is for an organization related by succession to co-ownership housing in England, and co-operative housing in Canada and Trinidad, and tailored to the Bermuda private enterprise image as far as possible.

**6.17.** A local housing association would involve people banding themselves together to form a group which would become the owner of a housing development. Each member of the association would have an exclusive right to occupy one association house and would, in turn, be liable to the association for that part of the of the costs of the association which related to his home. He would have the right to sell his membership in the association and consequently to sell his house.

**6.18.** A housing association would be a corporate body set up under an Act of Parliament and able to own and mortgage land. The existing Housing

Corporation would provide funds on a long-term mortgage of 30 years or more. It would be reasonable to expect that by pooling resources and having the advantage of Government backing, units provided would cost considerably less than the current market value and, to prevent speculation, there would have to be some control over resale, perhaps extending to five years.

**6.19.** The Housing Corporation has already held an exploratory public meeting which some 60 persons attended, approximately half of whom were both interested and financially capable of forming a housing association. It is our recommendation that the Bermuda Housing Corporation proceed with plans to initiate a housing association in Bermuda.

**6.20.** We note with satisfaction that in the Minister's view more money is now available for an improved housing policy, that some of the banks acknowledge the importance of such a policy to Bermuda's future and would be willing to take up their share in any future issue of stock, and that local insurance companies would be prepared to invest in housing bonds issued by the Housing Corporation.

**6.21.** We note that the Government would be willing to consider proposals for the comprehensive redevelopment of an area where there was a constellation of social problems that private landlords and other bodies were unable to tackle effectively. We also draw attention to the Planning Minister's interest in extending the area of beaches which are open to the public.

**6.22.** We were impressed with the work which the Bermuda Housing Trust has done and is now doing. This Trust was set up by Mr. and Mrs. W. S. Purvis, both now deceased, to provide low-cost accommodation for elderly Bermudians. The Trust is administered by a Committee chaired, energetically, by Mr. R. A. Ferguson. With the co-operation of Government, who provided the land, architectural and engineering skills and services, the Trust built a block of one, and two bedroom apartments in Pembroke in 1965 and rented these for \$60-\$85 per month. A second complex in Devonshire was completed in 1975, again on Government land, and this time with the bulk of the funding coming from private agencies and service clubs. A third block of apartments is now under construction in Sandys parish. The success of the Bermuda Housing Trust demonstrates dramatically what can be achieved by private agencies and Government working together when there is imaginative planning and energetic implementation of the resulting programme.

**6.23.** We now turn to express our concern about several areas where the answers given to us were insufficiently reassuring, and where Government policies may well fall short of Government's



own objectives.

**6.24.** The first of these relates to sub-standard housing. For a country of Bermuda's wealth, this is a small-scale problem. We understand that in 1976 about 240 units or 1.4 per cent were identified as unfit for habitation without upgrading, though the number of sub-standard units may be a little larger since the 1970 Census recorded 4 per cent of households as lacking the use of a flush toilet and 5 per cent as without indoor water supply.

**6.25.** It has been suggested to us that the Government should not condemn sub-standard dwellings because the inhabitants may have nowhere else to go. We reject this argument, which undermines the very principle by which Government gave itself powers to condemn unsanitary and squalid dwellings. It is our view, as we shall go on to explain, that Government has the power to deal with the rehousing problem and that it should take immediate steps to eliminate sub-standard housing. By this we mean any dwelling lacking standard amenities (i.e. fixed tub or shower with hot and cold water supply; wash hand basin with hot and cold water supply; a sink with hot and cold water supply in an adequate kitchen or kitchen area; and a water closet) or that is not in a good state of repair, (i.e. watertight, free from damp, vermin and insect infestation, and with electrical wiring in safe condition). Any dwelling which cannot meet these criteria by the 31st December, 1978, should be forthwith condemned.

**6.26.** Many landlords have the funds needed to undertake such upgrading, though they may wish to increase rents. If the Rent Commissioner approves increases, some tenants will be unable to pay them, but the social assistance should be available to help any people who would otherwise be casualties. Where a landlord cannot meet these obligations the Ministry should be prepared to make a grant of up to 50 per cent of the cost, provided the work meets detailed Ministry specifications. The Minister has told us that he would in certain instances consider the making of outright grants and that "the provision of improvement grants might be the next step". From what we have been told about the economics of housing we believe that Government intervention is essential here and that it would be in accord with the spirit of pragmatism expounded by the Premier. An ideological approach would be out of place. Financially, this is a small problem, but it is at the same time a big blot upon Bermuda's reputation.

**6.27.** Rehousing of existing tenants should not be insurmountable. The Bermuda Housing Corporation could be permitted to utilize some of its income (e.g. from former Army land at Prospect) to assist. The Government has a few dwellings, mostly two to three bedroom units, which could be used even though

they are not conveniently located. The slack is some other parts of the housing market should make it possible to deal with the rehousing problem.

**6.28.** The second of our concerns is that of housing for low-income households. We were told by the United Bermuda Party that a study of housing commissioned by the Premier in 1977 identified "a tiny fraction of Bermuda's housing stock which is not only sub-optimal, not only sub-standard, but which is so inferior as to demean the dignity of its occupants. This fraction serves as an incubator for our most refractory social problems and harbours some of the most alienated, hostile and socially destructive elements in our society." Sub-standard housing is indeed a most important contributory to the failure of children to develop their potential, and to the frustration of adults. It must be speedily dealt with. Therefore we find it perturbing that, ten years after the Wooding Report, Government still has no plan for meeting the need where it is most acute. We repeat our view that this problem requires a pragmatic approach.

**6.29.** The third of our concerns is the absence of any clear commitment to eliminate the squalor of the Pembroke Dump. This is the refuse disposal plant to the north of Hamilton which produces a stench that, when the wind is in certain directions, permeates several neighbourhoods and makes conditions decidedly unpleasant in nearby schools. The Minister for Public Works acknowledged that it created a public nuisance but explained that there had been good reasons for choosing to install a pulverization plant some years ago. On present estimates it is likely to continue in operation for another seven years and the Government is actively considering whether it should be replaced by composting, electricity generation or water production. This, by itself, is very reasonable, but as one of our members said to the Minister, the Commission has to investigate the sort of attitudes that contributed to the December disturbances and in this connection it is important to appreciate that the nuisance created by the pulverization plant is not equally borne by the entire population. It is borne by the more disadvantaged section of the black population, and this suggests to them that the Government does not care about a nuisance that only they have to endure. It has been suggested that if the plant was located upwind from an exclusive residential area, the Government would not need to be stimulated into speedy action. Until the Government takes decisive steps to remedy this particular grievance it is bound to appear as insensitive to a very definite inequity that has to be borne by those least able to influence the processes of Government.

**6.30.** Therefore we recommend that Government immediately establish a committee to make recommendations

to deal with this problem, which will have amongst its members respected and influential citizens from this area. The mandate of this committee should include a requirement for a Progress Report which would be tabled and publicized within three months of its appointment.

## CHAPTER 7: THE FAMILY AND SOCIAL SERVICES

"Thy mother was a piece of virtue, and she said thou wast my daughter"

**Prospero, Act 1, Scene 2.**

**7.1** In our first chapter we maintained that Bermuda's problems are those of a society in transition from a low-growth, isolated, and partly agricultural society, to one characterized by high growth, close communication within the islands and between Bermuda and the outside world, and a more complex social organization in which the various component parts are much more interdependent. In this chapter we will discuss the way in which the transition has affected the Bermudian family and how problems within the family relate to Bermuda's present situation. In the next chapter we will utilize a similar approach in discussing the problems of education.

**7.2.** To explain the nature of the transition we need to make reference to the kind of society which may have its parallels in the first two or three decades of the present century in Bermuda. Some oversimplification is justifiable, though we must beware of the danger of presenting a romantic image of what some people, at least with regard to family life, regard as "the good old days". We must also recognize that the family experiences of Bermudians will have been very varied. Nevertheless, we can safely assert that in an agricultural society the crucial determinant of social organization is the ownership of land. The structure of land-owning families is based upon this. Marriages are arranged with a view to the land rights or potential inheritance of land. Divorce is infrequent and the notion of romantic love is often absent. In landless families these constraints may not be present, but it is often the case that a very large proportion of families have some land rights and are seeking to extend them, so that they conform to the pattern outlined.

**7.3.** In societies like Bermuda's the pattern began to change towards the end of the last century as education came to offer a new avenue of social advance. Educational qualifications were prized accordingly. Teachers were highly respected but badly paid. But education was often expensive: school fees may have been small but many families were poor and the children had to be properly clothed and equipped. Many

families could bring themselves to pay for the continued education of one of their boys only if he was doing very well and there was a prospect of his qualifying for a well remunerated post, or if one of his brothers could obtain work and contribute his earnings to the family budget. Girls could not earn so much, since the main opening for them was in domestic service in which wages were low. Families that aspired to better themselves felt that few things could damage their image more seriously than having one of their girls give birth to an illegitimate child. So girls were shielded and encouraged to pursue their schooling because this enhanced their claims to gentility. In this manner was built up the female value system of respectability centred on family and household. As Frank E. Manning (1978:202) summarizes it, "this pattern emphasizes monogamous marriage, bourgeois sexual morality, strict child rearing practices, conformity to law and established social norms, and the virtues of sobriety, discretion, responsibility and self-improvement. Men could live up to these ideals only if they had a good income, but the educational situation could offer that prospect to only a small proportion of males."

7.4. The family pattern we have been outlining was one which generated little demand for state-maintained social services, and the tax base was such that little money was available for the provision of such services. Deviants were often repressed harshly, but the demands made upon individuals were not so great that people wanted to put their mentally subnormal children or relatives into special institutions. The simpleton was not a danger to himself or others, for there was no fast-moving traffic or delicate or dangerous equipment about. There was relatively little evidence of those two institutions which stand as a criticism of modern families: the orphanage for unwanted children and the old people's home for people from families which are unable to look after their senior members.

7.5. The most important characteristic for the family of the transition from an agricultural to an industrial society is the appearance of a whole series of new sources of income, new occupations, and new requirements of people seeking the posts that will enable them to draw upon the opportunities. For Bermuda, one of the most important of these has been the way women have been drawn into wage-earning employment.

7.6. The rise of female participation in economic activity was described in the 1970 Census as "nothing short of spectacular" increasing by 55 per cent during the period 1960-70 — twice the rate of growth of women aged 14 or over in the population during the same period. In 1970, 58 per cent of all women aged 14 or over were economically ac-

tive compared with 48 per cent in 1960. (See Table 7.1 following)

By comparison, 43 per cent of American women aged 16 or over were economically active in 1970 and projections for 1980 show little anticipated change. Caribbean countries also record a far smaller percentage of women in their work force than Bermuda with Barbados reporting 47.7 per cent, Jamaica 41.3 per cent, Trinidad 27.3 per cent and Guyana 20 per cent.

7.7. A second important aspect of the transition is that a much greater amount of social mobility is possible in an industrial society. A young man can make his own way in the world to a much greater extent. His prospects are much less dependent upon what he may inherit; he can marry whom he pleases and he can disregard his father's instructions or advice. Yet this generalization is subject to some very important qualifications. Appointment to many of the top positions still depends very much upon family connections, not in the sense that family connections are a sufficient cause for success but rather that they are to some extent a necessary condition. Only a relatively successful man can afford to provide his son with an education at the most exclusive schools. Many studies have shown that a disproportionate number of people in the highest positions have attended such schools. Attendance does not guarantee social advance, but candidates for the most privileged posts tend to be recruited from those who are already within the charmed circle. A similar principle applies in respect of the ability to take advantage of education. It has been observed of many immigrant groups into the United States that it takes three generations for their people to climb out of the slums in which the original settlers find shelter. The only groups that have managed in two generations have been those which, like the Jews and the Japanese, have already been adapted to urban living before they came to America. As the American economist Thomas Sowell (1975:212) has observed, "upward social mobility is not like a race in which all the runners start together; it is more like an inter-generational relay race. The winners are those who get the batons passed on to them by their parents ahead of the rest of the field. So in industrial society children are still to a significant degree dependent upon their parents for the kind of start in life that they receive, but they are not aware of this dependency; they take their start for granted; and though parents contribute to their children's future they do not have the power over them that they would have in an agricultural society."

7.8. A third aspect is that of individualism. An agricultural society is composed of family units, whereas an industrial society is made up of individuals. The change is illustrated by attitudes towards illegitimacy. In the agri-

cultural society an illegitimate child was disinherited and stigmatized because of actions for which he was not responsible. Today that is held to be wrong. The dilemma with which our generation is faced comes to a head in the question of whether birth control clinics should supply contraceptive services to girls under sixteen years of age. If these services are not supplied, so the argument goes, then a lot of unwanted children will be born; but to supply them may seem to be an indication to school girls that fornication is an acceptable practice. Industrial society attempts to pin the responsibility upon the individual but it cannot always succeed because the society is also concerned for the welfare of individuals who suffer when people fail to act responsibly.

7.9. Our generation's concern for the welfare of young people is by no means entirely altruistic, for everyone recognises that if young people generally believe that they are getting a raw deal they fight back in many uncomfortable and expensive ways. That is one way of looking at the problem of civil disorders and it is not so distinct from the problem of vandalism. As we noted in Chapter 4 there is no reason to believe that those young men who participated in the disturbances of December 1977 were drawn disproportionately from socially inadequate families. Many of them came from good homes and their parents were astonished to learn what their sons had been up to. It is often the same with vandalism.

7.10. Discipline was a feature of the family unit in the agricultural society which persisted in Bermuda well into this century. This discipline was especially important in black families for in many instances it was only through the observance of strict forms of discipline that such families were able to cope with social inequities of the day. We have been told of a common standard of discipline and integrity that was a part of the neighbourhood in earlier times. Punishment for wrongdoing was as readily dispensed to children by neighbours as by parents and there was scant hope of sympathy at home if the punishment was warranted. There was little opportunity for black children to question parental decisions and little reason for the more advantaged white children to do so. Black families credited whatever advances they achieved in the white dominated society to the virtues of discipline and integrity and elderly blacks even now worry whether future generations of blacks will be able to build upon their success unless they too show these same virtues.

7.11. We have heard evidence from many witnesses, black and white, young and old, which indicates that discipline in the family and society has declined drastically in recent years. While this is a problem shared with many contemporary societies, a breakdown in dis-

cipline is far more striking in a small community such as Bermuda than in larger communities abroad. It is especially important, therefore, that the factors which work against discipline and stability in the family and community be understood and counteracted in Bermuda.

7.12. Motivation in employment and in the area of family responsibility has been of concern to us. At least 45 per cent of the working population in Bermuda in 1970 was engaged in service industries. The Premier told us that 7,000 people now work in the tourist industry and virtually everyone in the island has some dependency upon tourism. Bermudians are regularly exhorted by Government, hotels and many other agencies and individuals to be "nice" to the tourists, who, it is suggested, now have many attractive options to Bermuda for a holiday. It is obviously in the interest of all Bermudians to heed this advice, and the great majority do. Nevertheless, evidence we have taken suggests that this concern for the tourist sometimes appears to those in disadvantaged positions in the society to be at their expense. It also suggests that the service society to which Bermuda is now committed often places stress on the family unit.

7.13. We have already mentioned in Chapter 4 the question of differential job motivation between females and males. Most witnesses questioned on this admitted to never having given the matter much thought. However, criticism by several male witnesses of the emphasis placed upon the needs of the tourist as opposed to those of the resident population and evidence received on the differential impact of a service economy on men and women suggest some dissatisfaction with the service role played by the Bermudian male.

7.14. We were told by a mother of eight, who has lived in Jamaica and New York as well as in Bermuda, that it was more difficult for boys to grow up on Bermuda than for girls. She said: "they (boys) have no image or sense of direction when going to school . . . it is really a complete moral decay for the young men in Bermuda unless the parents and a few dedicated teachers are able to give them a sense of perspective."

7.15. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1965:16) once remarked that "it is the essence of the male animal, from the bantam rooster to the four star general, to strut." Lacking job motivation and experiencing job-related frustrations, some male Bermudians, particularly young black males who comprise the majority in the service group, might be expected to express dissatisfaction with a system which denies them the chance to 'strut' by engaging in anti-social behaviour.

7.16. There was nothing in the evidence to suggest a lack of job motivation among Bermudian women. Long fa-

miliar with the service ethic so important in child rearing and family life, Bermudian women seem adjusted to their roles in the service industry. Women in general, and black women in particular are rapidly moving into jobs of more responsibility in the public and private sector, and women were looked upon by one witness as an important reservoir of untapped talent upon which the community could call to fill many managerial jobs now assigned to expatriates.

7.17. While accepting that there is an increasingly important role for both black and white women to play in the economic development of the island, we were disturbed to learn of the disproportionate share of the responsibility for family care and direction which appears to fall on the female in Bermuda. In the words of one witness who gave evidence before us: "progress has played a dirty trick on the Bermudian woman". All too frequently we heard evidence of, or noticed while on visits, the absence of male influence in Bermudian families — especially, but by no means entirely, in the black families of the lower and middle income brackets, where the stress of daily living bears most heavily.

7.18. We were told by a Sea Cadet Officer that: "there are far too many fathers who seem to take no interest whatever in their youngsters . . . their interest is abysmal."

7.19. This lack of interest in children was reinforced by a witness who said: "everybody is doing too much (to have time) to look after their own kids properly. I feel that our youngsters are being neglected. This is part of the reason for our problem."

7.20. Frank Manning in his *Black Clubs in Bermuda* depicts the black Bermudian life as balanced between the masculine world centred in the clubs and the feminine world in the Church. While this may be an oversimplification there is strong evidence that the opportunistic, care-free club member as depicted by Manning attaches little importance to the generally accepted role of the male as the head of the family, leaving this instead to be filled by the more disciplined, church-oriented female parent. We are led to believe that this is a situation which exists in a great many Bermudian homes, and this view is supported by the evidence of a member of the Bermuda Youth Parliament. She said:

"It seems to me that even now when we look at the situation (she was referring to problems of the family) we cannot only blame the education system, we cannot only blame the schools. The point I am going to make is that the initial motivation for any child to do well anywhere has to come from the home, has to be instilled by the parents; the parents have to be that much interested in the child that they are going to care whether the

child does well or not. However, with our social conditions, for instance working mothers and "club fathers", who don't give the children the incentive and then wonder why they are delinquents (this) means that the schools have to do more."

7.21. We have heard from several witnesses of the disruptive effect of alcoholism on family life in Bermuda, and we have no doubt that this is a serious problem. We were pleased to hear from the Minister of Health and Social Services and the Bermuda Hospitals Board that work is in progress to provide a special unit in the hospital for the treatment and care of alcoholics. We recommend that this programme be pursued vigorously. At the same time we wish to commend the Council on Alcoholism and the Salvation Army for the work they are already doing in this area.

7.22. Alcoholism is recognised as a major contributing factor to divorce. There has been a dramatic increase (in fact a doubling) in the rate of divorce in Bermuda since 1970, rising from slightly less than 10 per 1,000 existing marriages to approximately 20 per 1,000 existing marriages in the years 1975 through 1977. This rate of divorce is very similar to that of the United States, but has been higher since 1974, because before that date, divorce was only available on more restricted grounds. Divorce must be looked upon as a major producer of single-parent households which in turn have their own special economic and sociological problems.

7.23. Family life is strongly influenced by the social services in the community and for this reason we have taken care to review, through evidence, Bermuda's social welfare programmes, present and planned. Before considering these programmes, it is necessary to know something of the demographic and economic characteristics of local families and households.

7.24. A comparison of data from the 1970 Census with those from the Consumer Expenditure Survey of 1974/75 reproduced in Table 7.2 shows a decline of 6 per cent in the average number of persons per household, reflecting a rise in the number of two person households and a sharp decline in households with six or more persons. This continues a trend begun in the 1960's.

(See table 7.2 following)

7.25. The distribution of weekly household income from a sample of 588 households where complete income data was obtained (all income from all income earners in the household) is given in Table 7.3. The average weekly household income was \$265 or \$13,780 per year. These same households had an average weekly expenditure of \$215 or \$11,180 per year.

(See Table 7.3 following)

7.26. Preliminary considerations

by the Statistician's Office of data from a small sample of co-operating households in the 1974/75 Consumer Expenditure Survey indicate that black households are on average larger than white households (3.5 to 2.6, with these figures being consistent with the 1970 Census), and that households of six or more persons are three times as likely to be black as white. Black households in this sample on average earn less than white households (\$10,000 annual income for black households compared with \$12,300 for white households) but in cases where the households were owner-occupied, there was no difference in household income when considered on the basis of race.

7.27. The Consumer Expenditure Survey data indicate that approximately 75 per cent of all households can be classified as "family households" comprising a mother and/or father and their children, the basic family unit, and extensions of that unit to include grandparents, brothers, sisters, etc. of the head of the household. Included in these family households are, of course, one-parent families, which according to the 1974/75 CES comprise 14.6 per cent of all households.

7.28. A further analysis of the one-parent household as a proportion of all households and considering the sex of the head is provided in Table 7.4. One-parent households are defined as those where the head of the home is a parent (of either sex) without a spouse or partner, and at least one of the household members is a child of any age of that parent. The 1970 Census showed 23 per cent of all households to be headed by females and this was confirmed in the smaller CES sample where the figure was 25 per cent. Slightly more than 50 per cent of all households headed by females are in fact one-parent households compared with only 2.4 per cent where the head of the household is a male. Comparative characteristics of one-parent households with all households are given in Table 7.5

(See Tables 7.4 7.5 following)

7.29. It will be observed from these data that one-parent households are predominantly headed by females with a female headship of 87.5 per cent compared with 24.9 per cent female headship for all households. One-parent households are larger than average, with 3.8 persons per household, compared with 3.1 persons for all households combined. The data further suggest that the average number of children under 16 per household is almost twice as great in single-parent households as that for all households, while data consulted but not included in these tables show that 38.3 per cent of all members of one-parent households are under 16 compared with 27.7 per cent for all households. All of the above data indicate a heavy responsibility for female parents in Bermudian families, particularly the female

heads of one-parent households. Such households can easily slip into the poverty cycle.

7.30. Transmitted deprivation, the cycle by which social ills of one generation are passed to the next, is a cause of serious concern in a great many contemporary societies. A suggestion was put by the Commission to the Youth Health Education Department when they appeared before us that young men and women in Bermuda are on a 'treadmill' insofar as single-parent family life is concerned — on the one hand the young woman who has never had the benefit of a father image and who has a mother working all the time to support her looks to out-of-wedlock child-bearing to provide a love relationship; on the other hand, the young man from a similar environment attempts to compensate for his lack of father image by fathering as many children as he can. This suggestion was contested by YHED on the grounds that something in the order of 55 per cent of the unwed young mothers come from two-parent families, and these words were echoed by Dr. Clark who warned against "blaming the victim." But a witness from YHED confirmed the cyclical pattern of deprivation when he said:

"What we are saying is that the single-parent families or these young mothers who experience unscheduled pregnancies come from a distinct set of standards, ideas, belief and social mores, which they inherited at a very early stage. And so consequently I am saying that the social problems that come out of the single-parent families are not a result of the single-parent families, but the cause of single-parent families, so we go back to the 'treadmill'."

7.31. The Youth Health Education Development Teen Service considered out-of-wedlock parents as a symptom of wider problems affecting the entire community including lack of housing, the inadequacy of sex education and the decline in the emphasis on family life, all of which YHED considered to be contributory factors to the December disturbances. Lack of adequate housing was in the opinion of the YHED the most important reason for the large number of unwed mothers. We also have identified these same factors as contributory causes to the 1977 disturbances and have made recommendations for improving housing. However, we suggest that better sex education must be looked upon as the most important approach to reducing the number of out-of-wedlock babies. We therefore recommend that sex education programmes be strengthened in schools and in the community in general.

7.32. We were told by the Minister of Health and Social Services that his Ministry will be relying heavily upon two new programmes to improve family

welfare and to provide an escape for those who are caught in the poverty cycle. The first of these is the child care project and the second a social assistance programme modelled after a scheme currently operating in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

7.33. The child development project will be aimed at promoting the mental health and intellectual development of Bermuda's children and youth and is a joint project of the Ministries of Education and Health and Social Services. The project will identify factors impeding childhood development and remedy or alleviate them by the provision of special nurturing programmes as well as other appropriate help. Through special assistance to pre-school children, the Ministry of Health and Social Services expects, in the long term, to decrease the number of children who begin handicapped and leave ill-equipped "to cope with living in today's world".

7.34. The responsibility for providing financial assistance to the needy was, until 1971, delegated to Parish Vestries. The Parish Councils Act, 1971, transferred this responsibility to the Parish Councils, Government appointed bodies which superseded the vestries. Under the authority of the Parish Assistance Act, 1968, and drawing upon funds made available by the Ministry of Health and Social Services, Parish Councils have in an ad hoc manner helped those deemed needy "with the necessities of life." Councils have seldom, if ever, assumed responsibility for the short-fall between the amount required for basic necessities and the needy person's own resources. We were told by the Minister of Health and Social Services that this is now to change. Using the Halifax model, eligibility and assistance guidelines are being established by the Ministry in consultation with Parish Councils. The main objective of the guidelines will be to provide assistance to persons in an amount sufficient to provide a standard of living consistent with at least the minimal requirements for the health and well-being of that person and his family. The eligibility for such assistance will be determined by using a budget deficit calculation — that is to say, the amount by which the total allowable cost of regularly recurring basic needs exceeds the income of the person in need. In keeping with the Government's philosophy that dependent persons should be encouraged to become as self-sufficient as possible, social assistance policies and guidelines established will encourage and aid unemployed applicants to obtain work. Staff of the Department of Social Services will be responsible for interviewing applicants to determine the level of assistance required but the Parish Councils will continue to make the actual assistance payments.

7.35. The Minister of Health and Social Services said that the social assis-

tance programme will be designed and operated to benefit the traditional family unit in need, the single-parent family, the aged and the unemployed. The intended help to the unemployed under this scheme was described by the Minister as unemployment assurance rather than insurance since there would still be the requirement to establish need before the unemployed received benefit. The Minister and several other witnesses, including the Premier, indicated that the question of unemployment insurance was scheduled for discussion by the Economic Forum on which the Bermuda Industrial Union, the Bermuda Employers' Council and Government are represented. We trust that these discussions will have taken place before the publication of this Report.

7.36. The Commission consider the child development project and the social assistance programme, as described by the Minister and his Permanent Secretary, to be commendable schemes which, if promptly implemented, effectively administered and adequately financed, will go a long way towards improving the social and ultimately the economic standard of those who are now disadvantaged. However, we do have reservations about the ability of the social assistance programme to effectively cope with needy, single-parent families. The Minister told us in evidence:

"It may be that when our guidelines for social assistance have been implemented, the assistance for single-parents, especially those with pre-school children, should permit the single parent to manage with one job."

This, in our view, does not go nearly far enough. We were told by the Youth Health Education Development Teen Service and the Bermuda Association of Social Workers that in some circumstances the single parents of young children should not be expected to seek paid employment. It is essential that the social assistance scheme allows for such cases. In a larger number of cases the single parent with a child of pre-school age should not be expected to undertake paid employment on more than a part-time basis.

7.37. The procedure which must now be followed by unwed mothers to collect maintenance funds from putative fathers has been described to us by a number of witnesses as a frustrating, alienating and, all too frequently, a financially unproductive exercise.

7.38. We have been told that the serving of summonses by the courts for overdue debts may be delayed by as much as two years. If this is the case it indicates scandalous inefficiency. We are not satisfied that these problems of the unwed mother will materially change under the social assistance scheme. Therefore, we recommend that maintenance awarded by the courts to

the unwed mother be guaranteed to them by Government, who will then assume responsibility for collection from the putative father.

7.39. In the case of children born to unwed mothers we recommend a review of the present arrangements regarding the position of the putative father. It is the mother who has the responsibility of registering the child's name and only with her consent can the father's name appear on the certificate. There is no ruling to prevent the child taking the father's name if so wished (Section 9 of Registration (Births and Deaths) Act of 1949). We believe that steps should be taken to give more recognition to the position, rights and responsibilities of the putative father. He should have a right of access to his child unless he has forfeited this by misconduct or failure to meet his obligations.

7.40. The general health of Bermudians appears to be of a very high standard. Prior to the Hospital Insurance Act, 1971, health insurance was on a purely voluntary basis. Under this arrangement, approximately 70 per cent of the population was insured with many employers, including Government, meeting half the cost of premiums in group plans. Passage of the Act brought substantial changes in the structure of health insurance resulting in an unusual arrangement in which the Government, through the Hospital Insurance Commission, controls the cost of insurance and sets the benefits to be paid to the public, while allowing competing private insurance companies to share with Government the health insurance risks. This system seems to work very effectively and coupled with free hospital care for children up to school leaving age, and 80 per cent subsidy for hospital costs for Bermudian residents over 65 years of age, provides very good health care at reasonable cost to the public.

7.41. Professor G.W. Roberts (Provisional Estimates of Population Movements in Bermuda to 1990) predicts that by 1990 the number of people in the population over 65 will have increased by 65 per cent compared with the 1970 figures. This will increase the need for social services catering for the elderly. A number of witnesses, including youthful ones, were concerned about the needs of the elderly which several witnesses considered were more pressing than those of the youth. Welfare programmes designed to assist the elderly must ensure the dignity of the client and recognize the social advantages of home care as opposed to institutionalized care, when the former is at all possible. We are optimistic that the social assistance programme planned by the Ministry of Health and Social Services will prove effective in meeting the needs of the elderly.

7.42. We have already drawn attention to the urgency of removing substandard housing, which we consider a

contributory cause to the 1977 disturbances. Provision of adequate housing has to be considered an integral part of any overall welfare programme.

7.43. Some mention should be made at this point of prisons and the rehabilitation of offenders. It is our impression that the local prisons are fairly well run considering the physical constraints, and that the programme of Bermudianization of prison staff has been highly successful. But there is clearly a need for greater effort in the field of rehabilitation. There are obvious deficiencies in the prisons themselves, however, and we note with satisfaction the plan which Government has to replace Casemates Prison with a modern purpose-built structure which will also provide accommodation for what is now the Prison Farm. The Minister of Health and Social Services has described the Female Prison and the Senior Training School as "entirely inadequate" and we agree completely with this assessment. We found the Female Prison especially depressing and recommend that alternative accommodation be found for women prisoners before January 1st, 1980.

7.44. The Probation Service currently comprises seven officers. There is, surprisingly, no provision for an officer to work full time in the prisons, although we are advised that the Prison Service does have at least one staff member at each Institution whose primary responsibility is rehabilitation of prisoners. We consider it essential that the Probation Service be expanded to permit at least one officer to work exclusively in the prisons and recommend that this be effected in the coming financial year. Serious consideration should be given to the question of additional training for Probation Officers as well as a further increase in their numbers. There would also appear to be a need for a hostel or "halfway house" for those on probation or young men leaving the Junior or Senior Training School whose home environment would militate against their having a reasonable chance to make a fresh start. An alternative suggestion would be for social workers or probation officers to counsel the parents of young offenders in order to improve the home environment into which the offender will return. Both approaches are worthy of Government consideration.

7.45. There is a serious problem in the probation and other social services. Evidence submitted to us on different occasions by the probation officers, the Bermuda Association of Social Workers and the Minister and Permanent Secretary for Health and Social Services, profiles a situation which conflicts with the commitment of the Ministry to Bermudianization. From the Probation Department comes evidence that there are Bermudians with up to 15 years' experience, who wished to improve their professional qualifications but were told that their jobs could not be



kept open while they were away. The Bermuda Association of Social Workers addressed themselves to the situation by asking for the recognition of two principles:

"Recognition of the likelihood that lasting solutions to Bermuda's social problems will move forth quicker if they come from Bermudians who have a personal stake in their home, rather than from non-Bermudians, however well technically prepared or trained. The recognition that the existing unofficial policy that if a non-degree social worker wishes to pursue that degree abroad his job tenure is in peril, is untenable."

We sympathize with both these principles. A social worker who belongs and is known to belong in the community has great advantages, and he or she should be encouraged to improve his or her professional qualifications.

**7.46.** We now wish to raise again the importance of setting deadlines for implementation of the many promising community and social service programmes which are in various stages of planning, particularly the social assistance programme and the child development project. We recommend as objectives:

(a) the elimination of transmitted deprivation for all children born in 1979 and subsequently;

(b) the reduction of its effects on Bermudians born before 1979 by

(1) the child development programme of the Ministry of Health & Social Services,

(2) the elimination of sub-standard housing by 1981 — see Chapter 6.

(3) the introduction by the end of 1979 of plans for low-cost rental housing,

(4) the Community Affairs Ministry giving assistance to non-Governmental organizations concerned with sports and recreation by providing special facilities and programmes in neighbourhoods affected by transmitted deprivation. The programme suggested above should be the subject of an independent review in 1985.

**7.47.** It remains now to consider whether economic demands are placing too great a strain upon social relations in Bermuda, particularly those associated with family structure. Studies in the United States of the Nation of Islam ("Black Muslims") indicate that the appeal of this movement derived in significant measure from the way it addressed itself to the degradation of the black adult male role in the northern cities of the United States. The Muslims were told by their leaders to be dignified and reserved; to abstain from alcohol and pork; to protect their womenfolk and to take their places as the heads of their households. The faith demanded a lot of

its male followers but it promised respect and a new sense of identity to those who responded. In the last few years Bermuda, like parts of the Caribbean, has seen the spread of a Jamaican cult, the Rastafarians, who seem in part to be addressing themselves to similar problems. Like the Muslims, their movement embodies a critique of contemporary society and of the contemporary family. We understand that, like other religions, it asserts that the human family is riven by conflict, because it fails to conform to the divine model in which a benign and understanding male occupies the chief place. In Bermuda the Rastafarians are assailed as a movement which tries to legitimize the use of an illegal drug, but we believe that their doctrines should be studied with sympathy to determine what they say about the ills of contemporary society and about possible lines of remedy.

**7.48.** This chapter has been leading towards a politically unpopular conclusion. It is that the economic advances of recent years have weakened the family structure. There have been many adaptations within the family to come to terms with new patterns, such as that of the wage-earning mother, but they may not go far enough. We sympathize with the views of those witnesses who have told us that in most cases the mother of a pre-school child should be at home during the day and that the mother of a child of primary school age should be at home when the child returns from school. We sympathize, but we do not agree. In our view there should be a parent at home but it does not necessarily have to be the mother. If the family is to adapt fully to the transition to a social order dependent on female wage-earning, then there are two requirements:

(a) for an enlargement of the shared understanding about the duties of the male;

(b) better inducements, such as financial incentives, to ensure that the parents of young children are more sensitive to the needs of their children for adult company. One of the strongest arguments for the introduction of income tax in Bermuda is that by a system of allowances against tax it could furnish these inducements.

while "the reluctance of Bermudians to enter the teaching profession (was) one of the most worrying features." Two other judgements of Mr. Houghton stand out: "It is difficult to over-estimate the harmful effects on Bermuda's education system of the present practice of separating children according to the colour of their skin"; and

"Under present conditions in Bermuda, it is so easy for a youngster to earn good money with little education or training that it is not surprising to find that many of the youngsters themselves are not disposed to take education too seriously, and that many of their parents are less concerned than they might be with the education of their children. It is not easy to imagine a community in which it would be harder to secure understanding of the need for education and training for every young person if the country's economic success is to continue . . ."

**8.2.** Today there is a lively awareness of the need for education and training. Parents and employers expect more of the education system than it can deliver and most of the weaknesses of Bermuda's social structure are reflected, perhaps sometimes magnified, in the schools. A competitive social order in which the competitors do not start equal, produces a school system that at the very least maintains many of those inequalities. Some progress in reducing school segregation has been recorded since 1971 by the amalgamation of some black and white schools, but this had the effect of persuading some white parents to move their children to largely white private schools. Most black adults believe that amalgamation has done more good than harm, but white opinion on this issue is very uncertain (Manning, 1978: 178-81). There is still too much separation according to the colour of a child's skin, even if it is now coming about by less formal means. We also note that 90 per cent of the black and 88 per cent of the whites questioned in Professor Manning's survey (1978: 197) agreed that "the breakdown of discipline in the schools has become a critical problem and needs to be dealt with more forcefully than at present". The schools are not responsible for this weakness in discipline: it is a problem generated in the wider society and brought into the schools. Nevertheless, it seems clear that all is far from well in Bermuda's schools, and we were impressed by the sincerity of a group of secondary school teachers who, after detailing what they thought wrong with their school, wrote that they felt that these schools were "turning out young men and women who cannot cope with simple everyday tasks, who feel cheated, and who despise authority. These young people emerge from school to jump on

## CHAPTER 8: EDUCATION

"Remember first to possess his books; for without them he's but a sot"

*Caliban, Act 3, Scene 2.*

**8.1.** Bermuda's school system has come a long way in the past thirteen years. In an official study by Mr. Harold Houghton in 1965 the then system was described as "a pretty fair hotch-potch"; there was not then "what could be regarded as a good grammar school";



the bandwagon of the powerless lot who are only able to make an impression on this society, it would seem, through the use of violence. We, in effect, cultivate rioters".

**8.3.** A former headmaster of Robert Crawford school also gave us a pessimistic view of the secondary school system and the consequences for the youngsters of the system of selection for secondary education. Those who had performed well in their examination were rewarded, but how did the others cope with the official stamp of failure? How did they salvage their self esteem?

"You can tell a guy he is ugly, but you cannot tell him he is stupid. Somehow or other he will prove to you he is not ... How would you do it? You would say 'I don't want to go to the damn school anyway. It's a stupid school. I don't like the teachers' . . . They are going to reject the system because the system has rejected them. (This has led to the point where) learning has virtually ceased in a number of these schools . . . three kids in a class of thirty can write that class off . . . so you have got the state of mind of these youngsters, poor homes, poor education. Now you have got poor job opportunities because they weren't learning at school. They are not even educated to escape boredom. What have these kids got to do now? Sex, grass, booze, wheels and football for a few".

This witness's comment was that "segregation is damn expensive" and his remedy, that schooling should start at the age of three.

**8.4.** He stated the problem for us quite starkly. Bermuda needs to provide the incentives that will encourage all pupils to give of their best, but an incentive which stimulates the best endowed may be beyond the reach of the least endowed and cause him to react against the system that is geared to what is, for him, an inappropriate kind of incentive. This is one of Bermuda's most acute problems. It arises in the wider social system and is then given to the school system which, not surprisingly, cannot solve it.

**8.5.** The most evident symptom of the underlying disorder is that of low self-esteem among pupils. The Education Philosophy Statement of 1978 gives some prominence to the importance of self-esteem in education. It states that the school system must meet Bermuda's needs and that, to this end, children must be rewarded for learning, but it says nothing about children who do not respond to the incentives. The Ministry's Psychologist told us "too many students feel a sense of negative self-worth". The same may be said of schoolchildren elsewhere, but it is ominous in Bermuda because of the small size of the society, the depth of the social divisions within it, and the precarious balance of the

economy. We think back to the former headmaster's question: "What would you do if, in a competitive system, you ended up at the bottom?" We would expect such youngsters to get their emotional rewards from a peer group of the same sex and ethnic background. Members of this group would reassure one another that the school was indeed stupid; that the teachers' judgments were misconceived, and that book learning was no passport to success or enjoyment. The formation of an adolescent counter-culture is nothing new, but in a racially divided society it can reinforce group hostilities. If the school failure rate is higher amongst boys, the masculine assertiveness of a culture like this will not promote stable relations between such young men and their girl friends or wives, and will therefore be harmful to family life. We believe that the response should be to bolster the rights of fathers and to set a higher level of expectation of the adult male role. The Education Philosophy Statement says that "parents should think of themselves as principals in the education process in partnership with the school." We call upon them to make this a genuine partnership and recommend that they consult with community groups that can represent the view of fathers, including, for example, the Bermuda Clubs Association, the Vasco da Gama Club and the service clubs, concerning the steps that would make it so.

**8.6.** We have outlined one of the most general problems. We now consider some of the more important changes and achievements, beginning with the Wooding Commission's reference to the impact on local education of the proximity of the USA and Canada. This trend has understandably continued, to the point where British tradition can be said to influence but not dominate the education system. The GCE 'O' level syllabus continues to be taught but the majority of students pursuing higher education now seek this in Canada and the USA. Primary and secondary school education to the age of 16 is compulsory and is free in Government-maintained and aided schools. Four privately-owned schools, each with primary and secondary departments, continue to operate in the island at which fees are charged. Those who continue their studies beyond the 'O' level at the Bermuda College pay fees, but assistance is available for students of modest means.

**8.7.** Government nursery school places are available to approximately 40 per cent of the island's four-year-olds. In 1975-76, 120 children who sought admission had to be turned away. Admission is on the basis of zoning, the requirement being residence in the parish. The Education Department is clearly achieving good results in this

area and it is to be hoped that there can be an improvement on the number of available places beyond the 56 per cent target envisaged in the immediate future.

**8.8.** The primary school attended by a child depends upon its place of residence. This means that there are some virtually all black schools and other almost totally white schools, reflecting the residential pattern that has prevailed between black and white in the different areas of the island. No suggestion was made to the Commission that predominantly white primary schools are better equipped in the way of facilities or in the quality of the teaching staff. However, it is a matter of concern that a certain number of children appear to be going through primary school without achieving the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. We have noted that it is intended in the future that there should be periodic reviews in the primary schools which will lead, where necessary, to the year being repeated, and if that fails, movement to a remedial class. On the other hand if this development will prevent children from leaving secondary schools with the recently introduced Bermuda School Certificate but without having acquired those basic skills, it should be welcomed and implemented without delay. In particular we recommend that steps be taken to monitor compensatory education at the primary school level with a view to seeing that pupils enter into selection for secondary education on a basis that is as near equal as possible.

**8.9.** Secondary education has been an area of particular concern to the Commission, and we have addressed considerable time and effort to this matter. A system which requires that a child leaving primary school should indicate the order of preference for secondary school from 1 to 6, in the knowledge that the schools themselves are rated in this order and that their achievements reflect this standard, can only result in a negative approach from those who are selected to attend schools which are found at the bottom of such a league table. This is no way to motivate a young person, or to prevent the parent from feeling disappointed. We are satisfied from our own observations when visiting schools and by the evidence that has been presented to us, that the system of secondary school selection must be re-formed while at the same time giving attention to upgrading, through compensatory assistance where necessary, those secondary schools not up to standard. These tasks must receive top priority. This is not an area where further outside expert advice is needed. The report submitted by Dr. Saul in 1973 provides an excellent basis upon which to act. What is now required is that Government should take up this challenge and enter the arena of

decision-making.

**8.10.** It is important that a Bermuda School Certificate tuition in civics should devote sufficient attention to the study of race relations and that other subjects (e.g. History and Biology) should be taught in a way that relates to contemporary concerns about race relations. This is a matter for careful examination in collaboration with the Bermuda Race Relations Council with stronger powers. The same considerations apply equally to the study of the machinery of Government under the sponsorship of both political parties.

**8.11.** Since secondary schools in Bermuda provide education only to the equivalent of 'O' level, children are faced with a break in their schooling at age 16, which requires a conscious decision on their part, at a critical age, to continue their education. Currently 130 pupils per annum are achieving four or more 'O' level passes, representing approximately 13 per cent of the school leavers. No accurate statistics are available to indicate how many of these seek immediate employment and how many continue with higher education, as opposed to further education. We suggest that a country that needs to employ more than 6,000 overseas workers on a work permit basis can ill afford not to further the education of the 130 pupils who are capable of benefiting from such education. What may be more important is the future of the 87 per cent of such pupils who do not achieve this standard. The Plowman Report in 1963 discussed this matter and made recommendations about it. It should be the aim of Government to monitor the progress of these students, and in particular we emphasize the need to keep separate records of male and female pupils. We fear that the social pressures referred to by Mr. Houghton (paragraph 8.1) bear harder upon male than female pupils. We recommend that the Ministry of Education include in its Annual Report a table reporting on the percentage of one, two and three or more GCE 'A' level passes; 1 or more GCE 'O' level passes, together with comparable percentages from England and Wales; this should be supplemented by a table comparing percentage passes in the Bermuda School Certificate with passes in the CSE by school leavers in England and Wales.

**8.12.** We are disturbed that some of these students are falling by the way-side because their parents are unable to finance their higher education. This is especially true of those who would otherwise follow a degree course abroad. The allowance currently available from the Government to students who qualify for assistance is, in our view, totally inadequate. This has recently been highlighted by the scholarships offered by the two largest banks, each valued at \$5,500 per annum (\$2,000 more than the most generous Government scholarships) where it is clearly stated that it is

recognized that the sum offered will not cover all the educational costs. It is the duty of Government to ensure that further education is available to all Bermudians. This is clearly not so at the present time, and is a source of frustration created in the less well off sector of the community which was in our view a contributory cause to the 1977 disturbances. We recommend that Government should continue to invite applications for scholarships and other financial assistance as at present, but that the total sum available for each student should be set at a realistic rate. This should then be reduced, where applicable, by parental contribution on the basis of ability to pay or by other non-Government scholarship support. We recommend this parental income test along the lines currently employed in the United Kingdom, be used as a model in Bermuda.

**8.13.** The Bermuda College provides three basic types of further education after the completion of secondary school.

- (a) Technical courses leading to employment.
- (b) Business courses leading to employment.
- (c) Department of Academic Studies providing preparation for degree courses of study abroad.

In addition to these programmes, adult evening courses are also available, though many prospective adult students find the fees very high. We recommend the remission of fees in certain cases, particularly for those students for whom these courses represent a second chance to obtain a qualification. These courses and the arrangements for the remission of fees should be given the widest publicity.

**8.14.** We have listened to much criticism of the Bermuda College and while we believe that there is indeed room for improvement (especially, we suspect, in the Library) we are encouraged by the progress which is being made and would defer judgment until the experiment has been given more time to be tested.

**8.15.** Some students are able to obtain direct entry to university and other institutions abroad with 'O' levels. We see no reason to interfere with the parental choice that is being exercised in this area, but we do not consider that it is incumbent upon Government to give financial assistance to those who have not completed an 'A' level or freshman year programme when suitable courses are available in Bermuda. We emphasize the importance of encouraging students to work for qualifications which are externally assessed. We also recommend that Government should draw up a list of those institutions abroad which it can assess as offering a good degree course, and that these be widely publicized. Students and their parents should be made well aware of the difference between

junior college and an institution offering a recognized degree course, and additional use might well be made of the American Scholastic Aptitude Test or similar national educational assessment tests in identifying students worthy of scholarship assistance.

**8.16.** Manpower surveys should be implemented to identify those areas where Bermudians with higher qualifications will be required in the future and preference for Government financial assistance should be extended in those areas where it can be shown that there is a need for a particular skill to be acquired. Bermuda has a great need for people with professional skills in many fields, but the country must avoid the prospect of having too many Bermudians trained in one area chasing too few jobs while there are shortages in other fields.

**8.17.** Expatriate teachers are employed in the profession to meet the shortfall in qualified Bermudian teachers. Most expatriates complete three years in Bermuda and then tend to move on. No career structure is offered to expatriates but the Bermudians who qualify in teacher-training abroad are guaranteed employment upon their return to the island. Incidentally we have learned that some teachers' common rooms tend to be divided into groupings of Bermudians and of non-Bermudians. We express our consternation that in an island where there is a great need for the development of good human relations, there should be such bad examples shown by professional people having Bermudian children in their charge. Those responsible for recruitment must ensure that teachers are emotionally mature and equipped to cope with the problems likely to arise in school situations by reason of close association on the job of people of different backgrounds. Bermudians as well as teachers from overseas must be responsible for exhibiting good human relations which may be passed on to Bermudian children through their observation of the example set by supposedly mature adults; Bermudians have a responsibility not to regard expatriate teachers as fun-loving extractors of all they can get for themselves and the expatriate teachers should not attempt to live up that sort of stereotyping.

**8.18.** It has been suggested that the problems surrounding teacher recruitment are such that a teacher-training college would be a viable proposition in Bermuda. But we are convinced that the exposure that teachers are currently getting by training abroad plays an important part in their education, and that this will become more important as Bermudianization gathers further momentum. We agree with the approach of the Minister of Education in this matter.

**8.19.** On the basis of the evidence presented to us we have been forced to the conclusion that the morale of the teaching profession could be higher.

We are not satisfied with the relations that exist between schools and the Ministry of Education. Having heard the Ministry at some length we regret to have to record that we find a certain inflexibility in approach on their part. We should like to see more authority delegated to head teachers in matters of administration as opposed to educational policy. For example the amount of contention which may arise over some minor administrative matter such as whether a teacher should be allowed leave to represent his country in a cricket match against an Australian team, would not arise and create an unsatisfactory relationship between the School and the Ministry of Education, if such detail were left to the ordinary administrative direction of the head teacher.

**8.20.** A number of the schools we visited required improvement to the physical plant. Library facilities were often inadequate. We suggest that the provision of swimming pools at strategically situated schools be considered, and that these might be made available after hours at a small charge to the general community. We came to the conclusion that was arrived at by the Wooding Commission in 1968, that the sums being spent on schools were not always utilized to best advantage to meet well-programmed needs, neither was there evidence of compensatory expenditure to upgrade below-standard schools.

**8.21** Modern teaching methods which reflect the changes that have been seen in education in the Western world in recent years are not always understood by parents. They do not see results being obtained, perhaps because it was easier to measure achievement in the past. Parents are particularly concerned about the need to maintain standards but in stating their views they are to some extent guilty of placing upon schools the responsibility to provide a child with the proper motivation that more properly lies within the home environment.

**8.22.** A number of the parents who appeared before the Commission complained of a lack of discipline in the schools. This is an area that requires careful study and one that could not be researched by the Commission. But if the situation is to be improved there is a need for a very much greater level of activity in the field of parent-teacher associations. Counselling in schools should be given greater emphasis than at present by increasing the numbers of counsellors where necessary.

**8.23.** In 1973 Dr. Saul wrote an excellent survey of the Bermuda educational system. A great deal of what is contained in that report is pertinent today and requires action. We particularly urge upon the Government the immediate implementation of the recommendations at 16.1, providing for secondary school placement, at 17.2, for a means test, and 17.3, for the updating of awards.

## CHAPTER 9: SOCIAL INTEGRATION

"This is a most majestic vision, and Harmonious charmingly"

**Ferdinand**, Act 4, Scene 1.

**9.1.** The Premier told us that his Government was dedicated to building a "totally integrated society." This is relatively new language for Bermuda, and we doubt if the Government has yet worked out in any detail what it means by integration, how Bermuda might move towards it, and what the main obstacles are. It is surely part of our duty to offer what assistance we can.

**9.2.** "Integration" is an expression which became more popular in the 1950's as an alternative to the idea of assimilation; this was a concept which did not allow for any desire of immigrant groups to preserve a distinct identity. The idea of integration allowed them that. In Britain the contrast was evidenced in a statement by Mr. Roy Jenkins, the Home Secretary. He looked towards integration "not as a flattening process of assimilation but as equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance." The ideal of integration allows those who wish to identify themselves with culturally distinctive groups without thereby putting themselves at a disadvantage. It depends upon an implicit agreement about the sorts of social situation in which ethnic identification is appropriate and those in which it is improper. Everyone has the same rights and obligations as citizens, so it is wrong to have regard to ethnicity when considering, for example, liability to taxation or conscription. It is appropriate to have regard to it when considering food tastes, dance, religion, and matters relating to a citizen's private life.

**9.3.** A discussion of integration can therefore begin by distinguishing the fields of work, of leisure, and of politics. The field of work relations is supposed to be dominated by the ideal of equal opportunity; only in some specialised occupations, like the operation of ethnic restaurants, is cultural identification legitimate. In the field of leisure there is less concern about separation provided it is voluntary on all sides. But in politics racial and ethnic identifications are crucial, for politics deals with the struggle to command limited resources: if one group gets more, another gets less. Differences of colour are so obvious to the eye, and, because of recent history, so laden with emotion and associated with privilege, that people easily identify with those of like appearance to themselves. Race, or colour, matters — and matters a great deal — because it is used as a sign of other kinds of social distinction. When a society is politically divided into just two categories, blacks and whites, there is almost always a continuing struggle over advantage. If the minority group is very small, a possible outcome

is for the minority to have the economic power and the majority the political power: a kind of balance can be struck. But where, as in Bermuda, the two categories are fairly evenly matched they are committed to strife unless the colour line is softened. This gives urgency to the problem. Generally speaking the black and white communities exist together but they do not live together and the hope for the future cannot be found in the past and how it used to be, for as observed by the Clark Report:

"A decisive percentage of black Bermudians have torn away the mask of passivity and acceptance of the past, and are now expressing an assertive demand for change. As a distinguished white member of the present Bermuda Cabinet said in an interview two weeks after the disturbances: 'Probably the key problem which you and your staff will face in fulfilling your commitment to the people and the Bermuda Government is that of helping us to educate the white people in Bermuda to understand that the days of unquestioned white supremacy have passed — not only in Africa, but also in Bermuda.'"

**9.4.** Most inter-racial contact occurs at places of work, but when the office closes the white employee and the black employee go down in the same elevator only to turn in opposite directions and not meet again until the office re-opens. There is a smaller but significant frequency of interaction in voluntary associations, like clubs and societies, and a yet smaller amount of interaction in the less structured relationships of contacts in the streets or at house parties. Political attitudes tend to reflect and summarise the experience that blacks and whites have of one another at work and in leisure, but they also influence the expectations that people have of inter-racial relations. Political attitudes can be influenced by party groups which persuade their members to contemplate the options, decide which outcome they wish to achieve, and then contend that it will be necessary to cultivate particular attitudes if the objective is to be attained. But though political attitudes can be influenced, they cannot be fashioned in the way a potter moulds his clay. Political attitudes are always themselves influenced by the underlying structure of interests and customs. This problem was recognised in the submission of the United Bermuda Party when they expressed alarm about the absence of any peer-group pressure in either the white community or the black community which recognises social separation as "less than healthy for our development as an island nation."

**9.5.** While not necessarily disagreeing with this view of the problem at the inter-personal level, the Progressive Labour Party in their submission took a longer and broader view in presenting

racism as something which many people believe is a contributory cause at the root of Bermuda's recurring riots. They wrote:

"Racism is total estrangement. It separates not only bodies, but minds and spirits. Inevitably, it results in the infliction of spiritual and physical damage to the group thought to be inferior.

"Historically, the roots of racism are very deep in Bermuda . . . It is yet unrecognised by most white people as a problem which the community must solve if it is to go forward peacefully and needs immediate attention of the white community."

They told us that racial distinctions had been used for economic ends and that the way to overcome it was by concentrating upon the creation of a just society. We have had other evidence which has indicated the trauma experienced by some whites who are taught racial prejudice much against their natural inclinations, and how "terribly stricken with guilt" the more sensitive whites can be and how bitterly they can resent their upbringing and the sort of self-examination they are obliged to undergo as a result.

9.6. Foremost among the influences upon racial attitudes are the economic rewards and sanctions of jobs, credit, mortgages and so on. We heard considerable evidence from blacks and from whites claiming that they had been victimised for taking stands unwelcome to powerful sections of white opinion. For example, one witness told us:

"I ran as a white candidate for the P.L.P. and I can remember talking to an old black man in Paget. When he was asked if he would put his name to the form proposing me as a candidate, he told me: 'I am heart and soul P.L.P. but it is as much as my life is worth to put my name on that paper; they have got me right here and I am too old to lose everything and start again'. I thought he was being over-dramatic. I found later he was speaking the truth."

Doubtless, some of the fears of victimisation have no basis in reality, but we have heard sufficient to believe that many of them are well-founded.

9.7. Witnesses appearing before us, including the U.B.P., condemned victimisation on any grounds. But in view of the damage that such actions can do to Bermuda's future we are doubtful if condemnation by itself is sufficient. If we were to try and compare the damage done to Bermuda's social fabric by the 1977 disorders and that done by the people who indulge in the victimisation of persons with whose political actions they disagree, we would have to conclude that since the disorders were a warning to the whites about the importance of moving more rapidly towards

integration, and since the effect of victimisation is to reduce black commitment to integration, then from this standpoint, victimisation is the more damaging. There is also the responsibility that falls on blacks in respect of recognising progress made by fellow blacks, and not to let it become fashionable to represent those who are successful as renegades.

9.8. Any policy for promoting integration should therefore seek to prevent the use of economic power to sanction actions that pertain to a person's private life. It should also seek to remove the fears of victimisation (for often it is the timid who are most likely to be victimised whereas the bold may be able to face it down). Such a policy must protect whites who identify with the P.L.P. (particularly those who are vulnerable for lack of Bermudian status) and blacks who identify with the U.B.P. The policy should also promote integration in voluntary associations in which all members, black and white, subscribe to an overriding objective (e.g. churches, clubs, scout troops, sports). One witness said:

"In addition we must also realise that improvement in race relations cannot come about by Government action solely. We must recognise that it is an individual affair. We must recognise that certain individuals of both races will never change . . . the integration of the races, which is also an issue that has been talked about, has to be based on genuine mutual interest . . . I prefer people to be involved in organisations simply because they have a basic interest. I mean, blacks, for example, who are interested in animals should join the S.P.C.A., whites must join the cricket club if they like cricket . . . unfortunately most blacks and most whites do not recognise what we have in common."

9.9. The high level of community participation in this year's marathon on 24th May should be noted for a very important reason; while it may have been gratifying in itself to see so large a number from so many sections of the population both as participants and spectators it should be appreciated that the purpose for which the participants came together was to take part in an event in which they all had an interest. This shows the importance of working together for a common objective. If Bermudians came together more frequently in pursuit of shared interests in other areas of social and political life, this, in our opinion, would quickly move Bermuda towards a harmonious society and more rapidly resolve its social problems. In the same spirit we suggest that the Minister of Community Affairs should consider the possibility of some annual festival which is specifically Bermudian, perhaps with some Government financial support.

9.10. One of the major obstacles

to integration in the leisure sphere is the way Bermudian society is fragmented into small social coteries. The U.B.P. submission deplored the "lack of expanding social contact." A witness listed some of the various divisions within the white population and within the black population, remarking "each group has little communication with other groups and this applies in the areas of ethnic, social and often religious life." These divisions prevent black people from meeting liberal whites and sometimes bolster false impressions of the true state of opinion on the other side of the colour line. They allow whites to remain isolated and to feel that any advance made by blacks must be at their expense.

9.11. The same witness stressed the salience of the black-white division, adding that:

"although the Bermuda Portuguese regard themselves as white, they are regarded by most black Bermudians as separate from the whites. As, for instance, when the Chief Justice, a black Bermudian, in his acceptance speech referred to the fact that he had black, white and Portuguese blood in his veins. This could stem from the fact that for many years Portuguese people in this country were treated as second class citizens, neither white nor black."

She told us that, whereas an older generation of black Bermudians fought for desegregation, their successors want something else. "They don't hate whiteness, they just don't trust him, and their collective experience would tend to confirm their mistrust." Referring to the riots, she stated:

"It is my belief that a very large percentage of the black population, solid, responsible citizens, were on the sidelines cheering silently. It is also my belief that there is a white minority in this community who would not hesitate, if pushed, to shoot and kill any blacks they saw as a threat to their way of life."

In her view, the only hope for a settled, peaceful and prosperous Bermuda is that all the people of the country undertake an honest appraisal of their innermost feelings:

"We must air our prejudices without over-reacting; we must recognise our differences, we must learn to respect each other as human beings. We cannot do this under a system which perpetuates disharmony, hypocrisy and distrust."

9.12. The social separation between blacks and whites has had serious consequences for racial attitudes. The research officer of the Bermuda Industrial Union, told us that the majority of white people in Bermuda are either afraid of black people to start with, or are made to feel afraid. She said:

"I know this from my personal experiences as I was growing up, being as I was born here, and I never left here until I was 18 years and went to medical school. We are made to feel afraid. We are made to feel that if you give these black people one inch they will take two miles. If you give them enough education you will find that they will be your competitors. If you give these black people money to do things you will find that they will want everything, and that they are going to push all the white people out of the island."

**9.13.** We received other evidence, some of it confidential, that supports this account. It suggests how, when youngsters are brought up separately, many forms and degrees of prejudice are encouraged until it suffuses people's outlooks, assumptions and modes of expression. When people have experienced a segregated upbringing it is possible to help them individually to unlearn their group biases only if they themselves wish to make the change. Since shared attitudes are developed by the social structure, it is possible to change the attitudes of groups only by modifying the structure.

**9.14.** We suspect that the introduction of white workers from overseas may have compounded Bermuda's racial problems. A witness remarked that "Bermudians are becoming ever increasingly not anti-British or anti-English but anti-English expatriates." Immigrant whites often lack a secure position in society and are under pressure to conform to the prejudices of the established group. They may be the more inclined to put themselves at a distance from blacks while at the same time fearing black advancement.

**9.15.** We emphasise that the gap between the racial groups is dangerously deep. Quite a lot of black people do not believe that Burrows killed the Governor, his A.D.C., and the Police Commissioner. This disbelief may be in part a consequence of this gap; it suggests that the credibility of Bermuda's criminal justice system is weaker whenever the racial dimension is invoked, and that the very foundation of the society is insecure at an important point. If the gap is to be reduced, then the white section, being the more powerful, needs to make the greater effort.

**9.16.** In most countries there is a social separation between rich and poor, but it is more dangerous when compounded with the separation between white and black. One aspect of this which struck us is the relative prevalence among sections of the white population of a belief that drastic forms of corporal punishment could reduce the incidence of crime. People who display considerable acumen in the analysis of some of Bermuda's problems could show a striking lack of realism in their

advocacy of a return to the birch or even the cat o' nine tails. They seemed unaware of how such punishment has in the past confirmed many offenders in anti-social behaviour. But they were unrealistic in failing to see that the corporal punishment of black offenders by what is seen as a white establishment could not but undo the Government's attempt to promote social integration. It is unusual to hear such advocacy from community leaders in Britain and this may be in part because many of them are involved, as Justices of the Peace, in the punishment of offenders. When they come to consider what should be done with particular offenders, in the light of social enquiry reports on their history and background, magistrates often conclude that drastic punishments would be counter-productive.

**9.17.** In any programme to promote integration, the Race Relations Council should play a leading part, but their influence so far has been most disappointing. Equally disappointing has been the failure of the Government to make use of the institution it has itself created (e.g. by officially referring matters to it) or to give it sufficient resources to carry out its very considerable responsibilities. We understand that the Council's Legal Committee will be submitting specific recommendations for the revision of the Race Relations Acts of 1969 and 1970 during the period when we will be finalising our own report. We welcome and call upon Government to act with vigour and despatch on this. At the same time we express our regret that the Council has not done more in other fields to promote "harmonious race relations". It appears to us that the Council has not been sufficiently courageous in its plans to combat racial prejudice. It is the sort of body which, in the contemporary jargon, should assume a "high profile", and the Government should appoint to it people who are willing to be more aggressive in promoting national ideals and who have the fortitude to stand up to the knocks that will surely follow. We recommend that by the end of 1978 the Council should submit to the Minister for Community Affairs a programme of the activities it will undertake during 1979 and 1980. At the end of 1980 the Cabinet should assess the Council's effectiveness. Unless its record is substantially more impressive than it has been so far, the Council should be relieved of responsibility for everything except the investigation of complaints of alleged unlawful discrimination, and its more general responsibilities should be transferred to the Minister for Community Affairs who should be held accountable to the legislature for his discharge of these duties. The momentum of activity in this field must be increased by local people and if the Council cannot measure up to the demands of the situation, then the cause must be found a more energetic champion.

**9.18.** We do not believe that the problems of promoting integration can be resolved simply. It requires continual pressure on many fronts and attention to detail as well as broad strategy. The Council must press ahead in its discussions with the Ministry of Education to see that all school subjects are taught in such a way that any relevance they may have to problems of race relations is not neglected. They should take a particular interest in the development of teaching in the field of civics.

**9.19.** Many Bermudians will remember the slogan that was publicised in Britain during World War Two: "Careless talk costs lives." Bermudians must have the courage to enter into and persevere in a similar campaign which will remove the hostile attitudes generated by the sort of remarks which add to the problems rather than assist in resolving them. The U.B.P. put to us "the burning central question: if our current practice of racially separated lives is so pernicious to our collective long-term interests, how can we generate effective peer-group pressure which will nudge us along the path of genuine, effective and broadly-based integration?" To this question we answer that such pressure can be generated by using every opportunity to educate people and persuade them to challenge bigotry. Bermuda is too small and too complicated for separation to be a viable alternative to integration. People need to be provided with forums in which they can discuss the problems of integration and ways of solving them. We hope that the U.B.P. will help answer its own question by taking action in this field.

**9.20.** This leads us on to the question of the words people employ when they discuss matters of this kind. It is perhaps not out of place to recall that the expression "racial prejudice" acquired its modern connotation only in the 1930's; "discrimination" as something distinct from prejudice passed into common usage only in the 1950's and '60's. "Racism" came to be used in its present elastic manner only in the late 1960's. Our vocabulary for discussing these matters is still developing and is as yet far from satisfactory. Words which social scientists try to use as concepts get bandied about in the mass media as if they were epithets. They are used by the politically motivated as devices with which to proclaim the iniquity of their antagonists. We shall have something to say later about the conduct of political opposition, but for the moment we would remark that it is dangerous for either political party in Bermuda to label the other as "racist." The P.L.P. recognises that it has been less successful in attracting white supporters than has the U.B.P. in attracting black ones. This is scarcely surprising, given both the association between whiteness and socio-economic privilege on the one hand, and on the other, the pressures which



whites have brought to bear on those of their number who have identified themselves with the P.L.P. The use of racial epithets in exchanges between political parties, carrying as it does obvious dangers, is to be deplored.

**9.21.** In a little country like Bermuda, small differences can easily be exaggerated. People whose arguments stand out from the mass opinion can easily be dubbed as "radicals". Yet to judge from international experience, Bermuda has no "radicals" as these are identified in other countries. The political differences between Bermudians are not so very substantial and there is a general recognition of belonging together that needs to be cultivated.

**9.22.** There are very few possible outcomes for a pattern of race relations like Bermuda's. One is for an increasing reinforcement of race as a sign of political and social identity, leading to confrontation and a radical transformation of the whole structure of the island's society and economy, and eventual chaos. Another is for a progressive weakening of the association between race and socio-economic status. Because of the peculiar character of Bermuda's present economy, with its sensitivity to the interests of non-Bermudian visitors and businessmen, and its neglect of the legitimate interest of a large number of Bermudians, that association cannot quickly be broken. Those who suffer from it will become increasingly impatient. An effective policy must contemplate a programme of change which is inspired by a sense of urgency. Whether there is a commitment to such a policy may decide whether Bermuda experiences further civil disorder.

**9.23.** There are two other areas which we should like to mention in this chapter; they concern the distribution of wealth and the provision of sports and recreational facilities as aids to social integration.

**9.24.** Earlier in this chapter we asserted that "race" matters when it is used as a sign of other differences, such as those of wealth. This is of profound importance to any discussion of social integration in Bermuda. So long as there is a general tendency for whites to be richer than blacks, there will also be a tendency to identify whiteness with wealth. The association may well be weakened by the success of blacks in climbing the economic ladder, but the outsiders who come in and buy the houses with an ARV greater than \$8,100 will almost all be whites, and so will be most of the managers of international companies. Some of the world's richest whites will be continually entering at the top of the scale to reinforce the association.

**9.25.** In every society there are inequalities. Some people are rewarded more than others. Every society has its means of legitimating these differences. It may be suggested that the people who have been most successful in fair com-

petition should be paid more; or people who undertake the least attractive work, and so on. Bermuda has a bigger task than most societies in legitimating inequalities because of the wealth of the incomers, whether visitors or holders of residence or work permits, and the virtual absence of any taxation of inheritance. The problem is the greater because of the way wealth is associated with racial differences. Although Bermuda does not display the outward signs of poverty of a kind depressingly familiar in many parts of the world, there are many households, often with a female head, who have to manage on a very small income. The Bermuda Association of Social Workers gave us details of ten cases taken from current case loads to show the relation between low income, rent, and housing. Perhaps the most representative case was that of the unmarried woman with two children (aged 12 and 18 years) who was employed as a domestic servant, with an income of \$66 per week, who was paying a rent of \$175 per month for a two-bedroom dwelling. There is a significant number of people, mostly black, some of them sick or alcoholic, who live at a level any Bermudian would certainly consider well below the poverty line. There is, therefore, a very substantial difference between the people at the top and the bottom. As the years pass, such differences are becoming increasingly difficult to defend, particularly with respect to the children. There may be reasons for the differences which are regarded as satisfactory by many people — such as the argument that the rich people have earned their good fortune by hard work. But the popular tolerance of wide social differences has been steadily narrowing during the present century. People at the bottom of the scale no longer take economic and social inequalities for granted in the way they have done in the past. Of course, everyone will have his or her own opinion about what degrees of difference are fair in what circumstances. We are not arguing about that. We are simply observing that as a matter of fact the whole framework within which people in Bermuda compare themselves with others has altered, and that any programme for promoting social integration must take account of these changing expectations.

**9.26.** The Government of Bermuda has already taken an important step in this direction. Well before the 1977 disorders it commissioned the New York firm of Clark, Phipps, Clark & Harris Inc. to work with appropriate Government officials and civic leaders to assist Bermuda to "achieve a more meaningful integration of the races and more equitable distribution of the wealth of the community." A preliminary report concerning "emerging issues, findings, problem areas and recommendations for amelioration and further activities" has been published and a further commis-

sion agreed. The interim Clark Report contains recommendations for further study of the degree of racial discrimination; assistance for small business, including a business development bank (something on which the Government had already decided); measures to increase black representation on boards of directors; strengthening of the present programme for advancing black Bermudians in the police force; upgrading of programmes in the schools and at the Bermuda College; establishing a programme of public housing; operating a more comprehensive programme of youth development; and reorganising the Race Relations Council.

**9.27.** We do not wish to criticise an interim report, but we believe that for the long run, Bermuda will have to conceive of social and economic equity in broader terms. The emphasis of the interim report is on assisting black Bermudians to get into a position such that they can compete with whites on equal terms. This is necessary, but Bermuda has also to surmount the black-white distinction and to avoid the self-reinforcing effect of stressing this distinction at the expense of all others. There are many important distinctions within the white population and within the black population. In the long run it is impossible to promote equity between these groups without also promoting it within these groups, for it is individuals who get jobs, receive dividends and pay tax.

**9.28.** It would appear that a majority of the adult population believe that the present structure of taxation is not equitable. Professor Frank E. Manning (1978: 110-112) drew a representative sample of 310 Bermudians and put to them a variety of propositions, one of which read, "Bermuda's tax structure should be changed in order to put the greatest burden on those who are most able to pay." The percentages expressing agreement with this were 73 among white supporters of the U.B.P., 88 among black U.B.P. supporters and 94 among black P.L.P. supporters.

**9.29.** It has been suggested to us that even a simple form of income tax would be inappropriate in Bermuda since:

- (a) sufficient revenue can be raised in other ways, and
- (b) the costs of collection would be disproportionately high.

We do not accept these arguments and recall the statement of Mr. Arthur Creech Jones in his despatch of 20th March, 1947, commenting on the Petition of the Bermuda Workers Association, when he said in paragraph 6:

"The time has come for the introduction of direct taxation. I share the view which has been expressed by my predecessors that direct taxation is essential not only to enable import duties to be reduced with a corresponding reduction in the cost of living for the



general community but also to provide the necessary funds for social developments on modern lines. This is a matter in which I am convinced that further delay would be politically unwise."

While recognising that this is a matter for the House of Assembly and the electorate, we express our opinion that income tax can contribute to the promotion of equity and could be a useful source of additional revenue.

**9.30.** We also assert that any programme for promoting fair competition and a "more equitable distribution of the wealth of the community" must, in addition, find some means of promoting equity in successive generations. There will, doubtless, be wide agreement that a man who works hard and is successful in his occupation should be able to use some of his earnings for the benefit of his children. He may well give them a flying start in life. But others who have to compete with those children will justifiably complain if the advantage is so great, that fair competition is impossible. A distinction may be drawn between the assistance parents give their children during their own lifetime and the transmission of wealth from one generation to another so that it is enjoyed by people who have done nothing to earn it. The Premier, who introduced the present stamp duty of 3 percent said that he was willing to consider an increase in the rate so that this would become a proper tax upon inherited wealth. He told us that so long as the Bahamas and Cayman Islands had no such tax there would be a danger that the 3,000 or so foreign trusts located in Bermuda would move away and Bermuda would suffer a net loss. We can well understand that any legislation on this subject will have to be very carefully considered and exceptions made in certain circumstances. But in our view if the Government continues to profess a concern for equity but does not find a way of introducing an inheritance tax for Bermudian residents its protestations will not deserve to be taken seriously. We propose that the present stamp duty be complemented by an inheritance tax to be levied on all estates valued at over \$150,000.

**9.31.** We would also add that we expect well-to-do Bermudians to agree with us about this. They will have an interest in a tranquil life, and their own beliefs about the nature of a good society. If they have worked hard to accumulate their own fortunes, they will want their children to display some of the industry as that which has underlain their own success. They will know that many young people have been corrupted by the expectation that they will inherit wealth and the belief that they need not work for it.

**9.32.** A programme for promoting equity does not have to limit itself to the top and bottom of the social scale. There are many anomalies in the middle too.

We have already commented in Chapter 5 (p. 12) about some of the unjustifiable differences in pay between occupations, and would simply add the reminder that these differences are part of the problem of equity as well as part of the problem of wage determination.

**9.33.** Another example was drawn to our notice by the Minister of Community Affairs when he referred to the resentment aroused because so much of the local business generated by the international companies

"is shared between the two large banks in the main and the two large law firms, and while these people might have been instrumental in encouraging and creating this business in the first place, it was the people of this community who provided the environment for these types of businesses to thrive and they should be given an opportunity for some of the rewards of this to get down to their level."

The United Bermuda Party in their submission to us likewise referred to "a small handful of lawyers and accountants who have benefited way out of proportion to their efforts and talents in generating this new wealth." We imagine that the present Government would not wish to enter the next election with this reproach outstanding, but we recommend nevertheless that the Minister for Community Affairs discuss with interested parties the whole question of the equitable distribution of business arising from the international companies and that he report on the outcome of these discussions at the same time as he announces his evaluation of the Race Relations Council's progress. There is also an urgent need for programmes aimed at increasing the spread of Bermuda's wealth. The Business Development Bank, if equipped and staffed in a way that will enable it to help small businesses not only with finance but with expertise, will help in this direction. But there are other instruments which can also be used simultaneously. We refer to the Co-operatives, Credit Unions, and increased employee participation in the equity of the firms in which they are employed. We recommend that Government give active support to all these movements, as part of its programme of social integration.

**9.34.** The need for additional sport and recreational facilities and consumer protection was raised in evidence by several witnesses and the Minister of Community Relations outlined Government's thinking in these areas. This Ministry has only recently been revamped and given broader responsibilities and we accept that time will be required for policies to be developed and staffing arranged. But there are pressing problems to be dealt with and a pragmatic, goal-oriented approach will be required if solutions are to be found. There is a dis-

turbing polarisation of races within sporting activities in Bermuda which seems to be increasing rather than declining. Sport is properly considered one area of community involvement where racial and social differences can be put aside and meaningful friendships can be forged. We consider it extremely important, therefore, that Bermuda has a national sports policy, including within its framework provision for staged development of a national sports complex which will encourage broad participation by the public in both competitive and recreational sport while commanding the full support of both races.

**9.35.** We are satisfied that there is a need for more well managed multi-purpose recreational facilities in Bermuda, especially in densely populated sections of the island. Before launching into expensive programmes of capital development we advise that a review be made of existing facilities both public and private and of their use to determine whether they can in fact serve the community more effectively. Evidence we have heard suggests that adult involvement in leadership roles in existing organisations is sadly lacking at present. Under these circumstances the mere provision of an additional sport and recreational facility for youth, without at the same time making available competent supervisory staff capable of relating to the youth, will have little, if any, impact. The approach then, in our view, must be one of pragmatism and self-help with emphasis on community involvement in both the development and management of recreational facilities for youth, and the provision of trained, detached youth workers.

## CHAPTER 10: CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND INTERNAL SECURITY

"All things in common nature should produce without sweat or endeavour: treason, felony, sword, pike, knife, gun or need of any engine, would I not have . . ."

**Gonzalo Act 2, Scene 1.**

**10.1.** The police anticipated the course of the disorders in Hamilton with precision. Their discipline was well maintained and they performed their duties very creditably. Yet, paradoxically, our hearings became a setting for the voicing of many complaints about them. Perhaps this is characteristic of the position of the police in contemporary society: whatever they do someone is dissatisfied. We believe that this state of affairs should not be too readily taken for granted and some of the evidence we received suggests that more thought needs to be given to the use of the police. If they are used simply as an arm of government and are obliged to enforce unpopular laws, then they will attract extra public hostility. This will

affect police morale and police conceptions of their role. They will become more isolated, more inclined to support their colleagues irrespective of right and wrong, and hence more oppressive. Police officers are themselves members of society and it is important not to ask too much of them.

**10.2.** The Bermuda Police have been fashioned in the British tradition. There are some features of that tradition which we believe worth recalling. The first is that stated in an often misquoted passage in the original Instruction Book of the Metropolitan Police, dating from their formation in 1829.

"It should be understood, at the outset, that the principal object to be attained is the Prevention of Crime. To this great end every effort of the Police is to be directed. The security of person and property, the preservation of the public tranquility, and all other objects of a Police Establishment, will thus be better effected, than by the detection and punishment of the offender, after he has succeeded in committing the crime. This should constantly be kept in mind by every member of the Police Force, as the guide for his own conduct . . . The absence of crime will be considered the best proof of the complete efficiency of the Police" (Hilton, 1977: 24)

**10.3.** The "new police" were introduced in the face of considerable public suspicion and hostility but they quickly won the support and even the affection of Londoners. A major factor in their success was the unwillingness of the first Commissioners to have their men used to enforce generally unpopular laws lest this distract from their overall efficacy. In 1834 the Commissioners found that it was "necessary to be cautious and not to do more than public opinion would support". Then in 1850 Sir Richard Mayne believed it "necessary to restrict the use of police to instances in which I thought it desirable that they should interfere" (Miller, 1977 : 133). The Commissioners' policy was to concentrate upon the main functions of the police and to ensure that their performance in this field was not diminished by hostility resulting from heavy-handedness in less important areas in which public opinion was sensitive.

**10.4.** We believe that there are dangers in seeing the police as servants of the government; if, instead, they are seen as servants of the Crown (or head of state) this is a reminder that there may before long be other governments with other policies, for the Crown abides, representing the continuity of collective life. A duty to the Crown is a duty to the whole people. The problem then becomes that of arranging a method for

regulating the police that reflects the complexity of their relations with the government, the law, and the Crown.

**10.5.** In Britain (outside London) the solution to this problem has been for the chief constable to be independent in respect of his executive authority under the law, to be subject to annual inspection by an independent agency maintained by the government, and to be obliged to consult with a locally-appointed body known as the Police Authority. The Royal Commission on the Police of 1962 accepted that in quasi-judicial matters the Chief Constable "should be free from the conventional processes of democratic control and influence", but were concerned that he was accountable to no one for the way in which "he settles his general policies in regard to law enforcement over the area covered by his force, the disposition of his force, the concentration of his resources on any particular crime or area, the manner in which he handles political demonstrations or processions and allocates or instructs his men when preventing breaches of the peace arising from industrial disputes, the methods he employs in dealing with an outbreak of violence or of passive resistance to authority, his policy in enforcing the traffic laws and in dealing with parked vehicles and so on" (para. 89). To make chief constables accountable in respect of their general policies, the Commission recommended that police authorities be given power to call for reports. In this way the chief constable would be "exposed to advice and guidance of which he would be expected to take heed. If he persistently disregarded and flouted such advice his fitness for office would be in question" (para. 93). The police authorities were given this power by Section 12 (2) of the Police Act, 1964.

**10.6.** For similar reasons we recommend the establishment of a Bermuda Police Authority. It should consist of fifteen members who should be appointed by the Governor and serve during the period of office of any one government. After every general election the membership should be reviewed and new appointments made. Of the members, eight should be nominated by the Premier in consultation with the Leader of the Opposition and should reflect the strength of the parties in the legislature. Seven should be appointed directly by the Governor and should include persons drawn from such bodies as the magistracy, the Bermuda Police Association, the Bermuda Industrial Union, the Amalgamated Bermuda Union of Teachers, the Chamber of Commerce, the Employers' Council, the youth services and the private security agencies. The Governor should normally appoint as Chairman of this Police Authority a member of the government party in the legislature.

**10.7.** The Bermuda Police Authority should advise the Public

Service Commission on the appointment of the Commissioner of Police.

**10.8.** It should advise the Minister of Home Affairs concerning the establishment of the force, its premises, vehicles, equipment, clothing and other services necessary for the maintenance of an adequate and efficient police force.

**10.9.** It is our view that responsibility for training, general organisation and community relations should lie with the Commissioner of Police and not with the Minister as envisaged in Government Notice 429 of 3rd November 1977.

**10.10.** The Bermuda Police Authority should, in consultation with the Commissioner, formulate guidelines to expedite the Bermudianization of the Police. This is a subject to which we shall return later in this chapter.

**10.11.** The Commissioner of Police should consult with the Police Authority concerning his general policies but should not be bound to accept their advice. We emphasize also that he should be completely independent with respect to all operational matters. Any attempt by a member of the Authority to interfere with that independence or with any decision of the Commissioners concerning the prosecution of an offender should call into immediate question that member's fitness to continue as a member of the Authority. It is not possible to draw a sharp line separating operational matters and general policies, and the UK legislation leaves some points uncertain (Marshall 1965 : 93-94). This may not matter, since the essential is that the Commissioner and the members of the Authority should address themselves to their shared problems and a spirit of co-operation is to be desired.

**10.12.** The creation of a Police Authority should be seen as an opportunity to extend the crime prevention work of the Bermuda Police by reminding all citizens of their duty to help in preserving the peace. An excellent start has been made in the present Crime Prevention Section, and we have been gratified to learn that the public response to its activities has been so positive. It is important that all sections of the population should be aware that crime prevention is everybody's business. For this reason we were pleased to see that the Bermuda Industrial Union is proposing the establishment of a Crime Prevention Council; some activity on these lines (though not necessarily the creation of a special council) would complement the role we envisage for the Police Authority.

**10.13.** The most urgent priority is for a reconsideration of present practice with regard to the enforcement of laws regulating the use of auxiliary motor cycles, and in particular, of their noise levels. We have been dismayed to hear so much evidence of the friction

between young people and the police generated by the enforcement of these laws. Because of the manner of their enforcement many young men are passing into adulthood with a bitter hostility towards the police. This is far too high a price to pay for the benefits that result from regulating the noise level of auxiliary cycles. Too frequently juvenile riders are stopped in the evening and their vehicles impounded for testing. The riders are not always helped to return home; their cycles are sometimes damaged; we have even heard of a case in which a juvenile was too frightened to go to the police to retrieve his cycle. We understand that approaches are being made to the retailers who sell some of the equipment that is responsible for excessive noise levels and we welcome this. It points to one way in which these kinds of offence may be prevented from the outset. Another possibility would be for the riders to be required to present their cycles for inspection within three days. If, in the interim, they have rectified the suspected irregularity, who is the loser? Another example of the kind of reconsideration we advocate concerns cycle racing. A track has been made available at Coney Island, but we understand that, apart from its relative inaccessibility, it is suitable only for the larger machines. Urgent consideration should be given to the finding of a site suitable for auxiliary cycle racing not far from Hamilton. The proper way to prevent offences of this kind is for the Police Authority to see that this source of the difficulty is tackled. If they go about their task successfully they should be able to reduce the need for policemen and to plan for a reduction in the size of the force. The reduction of crime should be regarded as proof of the efficiency of the Police Authority as well as of the police.

**10.14.** An aspect of police organization that has attracted criticism in Bermuda, as elsewhere, is the arrangement whereby complaints of police misconduct are dealt with by the police themselves. A distinction must be drawn between the investigation of complaints and the adjudication upon the outcome of the investigation. That the police should investigate complaints against themselves is sometimes seen as wrong, but the view taken in Britain (after much debate, and apparently confirmed by the experience of Citizen's Review Boards in the U.S.) has been that other agencies lack the powers and skills of the police in investigation. It has been shown, certainly in London, that where there is the will, police investigation of complaints against themselves can be very effective indeed. We therefore propose no changes to present practice with respect to investigations, but we recommend that consideration be given to the introduction of an independent element at the stage of adjudication. We also rec-

ommend that whenever possible, the complainant should be present to give evidence. One way of introducing an independent element would be for the Commissioner to invite members of the Police Authority to participate with him in the adjudication upon evidence arising out of complaints. Another possibility, which would be in line with Sir Robert Mark's advocacy of ex post review, would be to allow appeals from the Commissioner's decisions to be raised in the Courts.

**10.15.** We also observe that the Commissioner of Police needs to persuade the public in Bermuda that he does not want to retain on the force men who misbehave or are discourteous. The Commissioner needs to persuade the public that he wants instances of misconduct reported to him so that he can deal with men who let down this force and their colleagues. No complaints system can work unless the public have confidence in it — particularly that section of the public that most frequently encounters police officers in the sorts of situation which most frequently occasion friction. Police officers exercise great power and they must therefore be subject to strict discipline.

**10.16.** We turn now to the crucial question of the Bermudianization of the police. There can be no question that the high percentage of expatriate officers has contributed to the tensions between police and public and in particular to the resentment of young blacks. It can therefore be seen, indirectly, as a contributory cause of the disorders. Nor can there be any question that much of the responsibility for this state of affairs lies with the Bermuda government which has failed to institute scales of pay sufficient to attract able young Bermudians to this occupation.

**10.17.** Since 1968 there has been a significant increase in the proportion of Bermudians in the police, particularly in the higher ranks. Of the 5 superintendents, all are Bermudian and 2 are black; of the 7 chief inspectors, 6 are Bermudian and 1 is black; of the 21 inspectors, 19 are Bermudian and 2 are black. A more complete analysis is given in the table.

(See Table 10.1. following)

A total of 87 constables have passed the qualifying examination for promotion to sergeant; of these 11 blacks and 2 whites are Bermudians, while 19 are from the West Indies and 55 from the United Kingdom.

**10.18.** The heart of the difficulty lies in recruitment. Of a total of 134 Bermudian applicants to join the force in 1976 and 1977, 28 were appointed; most of the remainder were unable to pass the entrance examination that is set with the co-operation and advice of the Ministry of Education. The Ministry and Police Force jointly take the view that an applicant who is unable to pass this relatively simple test would be unable to as-

simulate the training necessary if he or she is to become a good police officer. Equally important in our view is that if the proportion able to pass is so small, the stream of Bermudian applicants is unlikely to contain a sufficient proportion of persons capable, in due course, of occupying the very highest positions. More encouraging is the information we have received of the expansion of the Police Cadet scheme which is limited to Bermudians; of the 6 present cadets, 5 are black. A Junior Cadet scheme was started in 1974 and is now over 200 strong. We regard the success of this scheme as being vitally important. The Minister of Education told us that in the past Bermudians have been little attracted to careers in the police, partly because the prospects of promotion seemed limited, and partly because it is a Bermudian characteristic to shy away from situations in which negative confrontation with acquaintances may arise. We doubt whether the latter is the case in the light of what we were told about the Regiment. The junior cadet scheme should counteract this alleged characteristic. It is important to maintain the enthusiasm of the junior cadets and to see that youngsters interested in a police career are not persuaded to become waiters or truck drivers simply by a prospect of higher pay. Equally it is important that no policeman should feel that he has to obtain some kind of additional employment to make up for the limitations of his police pay.

(See Table 10.2 following)

Note: Table 10.2 is based on annual reports of the Bermuda Police. The figure recruited in Bermuda includes each year between 2 and 4 persons appointed as constables who have previously been cadets. Of the applicants in Bermuda each year some have been appointed as cadets (the figure varies from 1 to 6). It will be noted that since 1973, the number of Bermudian applicants has been rising and the proportion of expatriate appointments falling.

**10.19.** In each of the past four years the numbers of Bermudian applicants have exceeded the number of recruits actually appointed. It seems to the Commission that what is required is that steps should be taken to see to it that Bermudian applicants are suitably qualified. The Ministry of Education indicated that they are prepared to run a course at the Bermuda College for would-be police recruits. What seems clearly to be necessary is for the College and the police to come together to arrange a suitable course for Bermudian applicants and to liaise with the schools to ensure that the right youngsters are made aware of this opportunity.

**10.20.** We recommend that urgent attention be given to a substantial increase in police pay scales. The earnings of a police constable on completion of his probationary period should not be below the average earnings of a skilled

workman (and note that we say earnings, not basic wage). It may be necessary to increase police pay further, since the police have to work shifts and at unsocial hours. There seems to be a general trend in modern society whereby a greater financial incentive is necessary for shift-work occupations; men have been setting a higher value on the opportunity to be at leisure at weekends and holiday periods when their wives and children are also at leisure. Once more we stress the importance of a non-ideological approach to the discovery of a pay scale which calls for a sufficient supply of men and women workers with the requisite skills. Out of date images about the nature and worth of the policeman's job have to be discarded. The pay rise should be sufficient to ensure that by 1983 all the recruits who enter the force are Bermudians.

**10.21.** It is important to increase the recruitment of Bermudians. It is also important to retain the commitment of experienced non-Bermudian officers.

**10.22.** The Bermuda Government should give an undertaking that all non-Bermudians presently in employment with the Police Force will continue in permanent and pensionable employment and that all non-Bermudians recruited up to and including the 1978 intake will be offered normal permanent and pensionable employment upon completion of the probationary period. This would meet the need to retain the commitment of experienced non-Bermudian officers, whilst Bermudianization continues at a realistic pace. We recommend that consideration be given to meeting any shortfall in recruitment after 1978 by offering non-renewable contracts (possibly for a five-year period) in the rank of Police Constable to expatriates from the West Indies and the United Kingdom. The Pay scale to be that offered to those in normal pensionable employment, but in addition a generous lump sum gratuity would be payable upon completion of the contract. If there is a need in the future for senior officers to be recruited, this should be met by secondments from other police forces; the normal term to be three years, non-renewable. These officers would be required to devote time to training Bermudians to replace them.

**10.23.** The Police Association told us that there are too many resignations from non-Bermudian officers uncertain about their future, and that there is a particular danger in the CID which could be left with insufficient officers capable of conducting complex investigations to a high standard. We hope that these uncertainties can be removed and that any monitoring of Bermudianization in the various ranks does not weaken the job security of officers already in the Bermuda police.

**10.24.** One way of accelerating Bermudianization while preserving job security is by amending the Pensions Act

1970. Officers serving in ranks up to and including Chief Inspector may retire on completion of 25 years service, but if they elect to continue in service and are promoted to the rank of superintendent or above, they must continue serving until they reach the age of 55 years if they are to be eligible for the full benefits of the scheme. If provision were made for senior officers to retire on relatively attractive pension terms before reaching the age of 55, this might facilitate a turnover in these positions. We recommend that immediate attention be given to this matter. It was also suggested that further routes to the top could be created by the appointment of two Assistant Commissioners. We recommend that this course of action be considered.

**10.25.** Next we turn to the administration of justice in the courts. The United Kingdom members of the Royal Commission (each of whom has served as a magistrate for over ten years) were surprised at the severity of punishments imposed by the courts in Bermuda for relatively trivial traffic offences. We understand that because of Bermuda's road system, speeding offences are regarded as more serious than they would be in Britain, and that in Bermuda speeding is often not trivial at all. But some other offences are, and they attract severe punishments because the legislature has laid down a scale of mandatory penalties. The difficulty is that when severe punishments are imposed upon first offenders it becomes difficult to increase these punishments proportionately when dealing with persons convicted of repeated offences. Either they do not have the means to pay very much higher fines or the only alternative is to commit them to prison when such a punishment is out of line with the punishments imposed for other kinds of offence. We therefore recommend that the committee which drew up the original list of mandatory penalties be reconvened in order to re-examine them in the light of experience, and, in particular, to see if they allow for sufficient discrimination between first offenders and repeat offenders. This committee should also take note of the current list of recommended penalties promulgated by the Magistrates' Association in Great Britain.

**10.26.** The Police Association has reported to the Royal Commission on Crime that the punishment for assault on a police officer in Bermuda is likely to be \$50, but for failing to stop at a stop sign it would be \$60. A man convicted of receiving stolen goods to the value of \$1,400 has apparently been fined \$100, while driving at 38 m.p.h. costs a driver \$150. A shoplifter may be placed on probation, while someone caught with 2 grammes of cannabis either pays \$200 as a fine or is imprisoned for 20 days. The Police Association presumably has evidence for these alarming statements. If there is substance to them, we trust that the problem of inconsistency in sen-

tencing is already receiving urgent attention and that our recommendations can be related to these other actions.

**10.27.** We have had evidence that the manner in which family and affiliation cases are called publicly in the lobby of the Magistrates Courts is embarrassing and unsatisfactory as it tends to put on public display the oft-times strained relations between estranged couples and between applicants for affiliation orders and putative fathers in a manner which is callous and therefore undesirable. We recommend that some further provision should be made for conducting this part of matrimonial and affiliation cases in private, as such embarrassment as now appears often results in a recalcitrance on the part of the Respondent and more friction between the parties than might otherwise exist and that very often to the detriment of any children who are the subject of the application.

**10.28.** In Chapter 7, at paragraphs 43 and 44, we have drawn attention to the need to improve provisions for the rehabilitation of offenders.

## CHAPTER 11: CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

"You are a counsellor: if you can command these elements to silence, and work the peace of the present, we will not hand a rope more; use your authority".

### Boatswain

**11.1.** Bermuda has enjoyed a parliamentary form of Government for over 350 years. Its first written constitution was introduced in 1968; this provides that the Premier and the Cabinet through the legislature, have full responsibility for the Government, except for certain matters specifically reserved to the Governor, who is appointed by the Queen. Responsibility for external affairs, defence, internal security and police, is specifically reserved to the Governor. In exercising these powers he is required to consult the Governor's Council which consists of the Governor, the Premier and a minimum two or a maximum of three other Ministers. On other matters, the Governor acts in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet. He appoints the Premier as the member best able to command a majority in the House of Assembly. He appoints Ministers from the Legislative Houses on the advice of the Premier; he appoints the Opposition Leader from the largest minority group or party in the House of Assembly.

**11.2.** Since 1968 Bermuda has had the kind of constitution which in other, and larger, British dependencies, has normally been a preliminary to independence. The Bermuda Government made representations to the United Kingdom at ministerial level between 1974 and 1976 with a view to further



constitutional advance, particularly with respect to:

- (a) a Bermudian Governor;
- (b) responsibility for the police; and
- (c) more authority in the areas of civil aviation and shipping.

The United Kingdom Government's reply was that they could agree to such changes only as part of a timetable leading to independence.

The Bermuda Government has since published a discussion paper entitled *Independence for Bermuda* which sets out the options and some of their implications.

**11.3.** The Legislature comprises two chambers. The House of Assembly consists of 40 members elected by universal adult suffrage. The Legislative Council is nominated; five members are appointed at the Governor's discretion, four on the advice of the Premier and two on the advice of the Opposition Leader.

**11.4.** The multi-racial nature of Bermudian society is presently reflected in the Legislature. The House of Assembly presently includes 22 blacks and 18 whites, while the Legislative Council consists of 7 blacks and 4 whites. The United Bermuda Party, which has been in Government continuously since 1968, holds 25 of the 40 seats in the House of Assembly. Two-thirds of its elected members are white. The Progressive Labour Party holds 15 seats, with a membership of 14 black and 1 white.

**11.5.** The Chief Justice of Bermuda and a Puisne Judge are both black men. Black civil servants also serve as the Permanent Secretaries of several Government Departments.

**11.6.** For the purpose of elections to the House of Assembly, each of the 9 parishes of Bermuda is divided into two constituencies, with the exception of Pembroke Parish which is divided into 4 constituencies. Each constituency returns 2 members. The disparity between the numbers of voters in constituencies is a little over 2 : 1. Although this may be acceptable in other countries, the difference is significant and material in a small island like Bermuda. No particular trend emerges from these figures. The governing UBP won some of the smaller constituencies, but they also won two of the four largest, including the very largest. We believe that before the next Boundaries Commission is appointed early in 1979, consideration should be given to amending Section 52 (1) of the Constitution with a view to reducing the disparity.

**11.7.** Highly critical statements were made about the previous Boundary Commissions. We think that the composition and mandate of the Boundaries Commission should be re-examined.

**11.8.** Under the 1968 Constitution, Section 55, sub-section 1 (b), British subjects of age 21 years or

more who have been resident in Bermuda for three years are entitled to vote in elections. This provision has been the subject of bitter resentment on the part of many Bermudians. Their number has been sufficient to have decided the outcome of elections in several constituencies. It is said that the resentment it arouses was a contributory cause to the disturbances, and that it remains a threat to any programme of integration.

**11.9.** The Commission recognizes that the issue is one to be resolved by Bermudians. It observes that the heart of the problem is that of immigration control, so that if the employment of workers from overseas can be substantially reduced, and the qualifying period extended the conflict over the franchise would be lessened. The Commission believes that the principle that all residents should be able to qualify as voters is an important one, such that it can be overridden only by some more compelling principle. One such principle ought to be the recognition that the right to vote in Bermuda was hard won by agitation from the black community almost exclusively, but the overseas voter is seen as a new and decisive element which has the effect of thwarting the success of their struggle. Several of the Commissioners believe that it is not in the national interest to retain the three-year residential vote and would eliminate it forthwith. The Commission has debated this issue at great length and believes that this should be a priority item for the proposed conference and recommends that conference to bring the provisions for residential voting to an end.

**11.10.** There has been some testimony supporting the reduction of the voting age to 18 years, and though it would appear that the lack of the right to vote at 18 could not be considered a contributory cause of the disturbances, we have noted that it is the age when young men are required compulsorily to take up arms in the Bermuda Regiment and permitted to drive, or get married without parental consent, which to many may be important recognitions of adulthood. Consideration might be given to following the example of precedents that have been set in the United States and the United Kingdom, as young people look to these countries in other fields and may expect Bermuda to conform to their practices in respect of voting also. The fact of having the vote may also have its effect in generating a more responsible attitude towards the community on the part of the youth.

The question of postal voting should be considered on a similar basis.

**11.11.** In tracing through the various steps from the prosecution of Burrows and Tacklyn to the declaration of the State of Emergency, we have been

concerned to note that the Attorney-General was required to act in so many different capacities. It suggests to us that the amendment of the Constitution should be considered, so that responsibility for prosecutions be separated from membership of the Advisory Committee on the Prerogative of Mercy. This can be effected by taking away from the Attorney-General the responsibility for prosecutions, creating a post of Director of Public Prosecutions.

**11.12.** There seems to be a very marked tendency in Bermuda to believe that important decisions are reached on the basis of personal favouritism rather than as a result of a fair and detached consideration of the issues. Perhaps this is inevitable in a small society, but it seems worth recording our opinion that this readiness to believe in rumoured conspiracies can easily give rise to unwarranted friction and trouble. We were often reminded that the Royal Commission would finish its work by submitting its Report, and that we could not guarantee that action would be taken on our recommendations. Since our Report is being submitted to the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs as well as the Governor of Bermuda, we assume that the Secretary of State will be taking a lively interest in the Bermuda Government's response to our Report.

**11.13.** We also observe that party animosities in Bermuda seem sometimes to be far too bitter considering the substantial agreement between them about what the national welfare demands. These animosities seem to be exacerbated rather than mollified by encounters in the House of Assembly. We ask the Premier to consider instructing his Ministers to consult on a regular basis with Opposition Shadow Ministers and invite him to set the lead by having regular Conferences with the Leader of the Opposition and to consult the Leader of the Opposition on a confidential basis about all appointments about which he is consulted before making recommendations. We ask the House of Assembly to review its procedures to permit the immediate questioning of Ministers when they make ministerial statements in the House, and to take any other steps that are practicable to promote constructive debate and allow the Opposition to make as effective as possible a contribution to the processes of Government. We suggest, for example, that the Deputy Speaker be appointed from the Opposition party, thus committing both parties to the Chair, and the setting up of standing committees to deal with such matters as finance, planning, education and social services.

**11.14.** We welcome the establishment of the Governor's Advisory Committee, which was brought into being after the Bermuda



disturbances and includes leading members of the Government and the Opposition. We recommend that consideration be given to making this permanent.

## CHAPTER 12: CONCLUSION

"Now does my project gather to a head"  
**Prospero Act 5, Scene 1**

**12.1.** We began by suggesting that the changes Bermuda has been undergoing are to be seen in the context of a transition from a low-growth, isolated society, to a social order intimately associated with world economic trends and enjoying a remarkable affluence. But while Bermuda has been in this transition, so has the world order been changing. In 1960 it would have seemed unusual to most people to speak of Bermuda as a nation: it was too small and too dependent upon the imperial country. These arguments, at least, have lost much of their force.

**12.2.** In 1919 when the League of Nations was founded, the idea of global co-ordination based upon national units was a new one. Previous centuries had seen great claims made by empires and by organized religions. Only in the nineteenth century did nationalism as a political doctrine come to the forefront. Its scope at that period can be deduced from the observation that 63 states were admitted to the League. After World War Two, and with the disintegration of the West European empires the process continued. The anti-imperialist movements adopted nationalism as their major legitimation, but while independence brought their recognition as states their leaders still had the task of creating a sense of nationhood to support the governmental structures. In the British Caribbean it was impossible to create a sense of West Indian nationhood and so the new phenomenon of "micro states", reminiscent in size of the Greek city-states of the classical era, came upon the scene. By 1978, 147 countries were members of the United Nations; 19 had a population of less than half a million and 4 of less than 100,000, namely: Grenada, 96,000; Qatar, 95,000; Sao Tome & Principe, 81,000; Djibouti, 62,000. We quote these figures to show that Bermuda's position as a micro-state is not unusual and that it is no longer inappropriate to consider Bermuda in terms of nationhood or potential nationhood.

**12.3.** The non-Bermudian members of the Royal Commission were very impressed by Bermuda's progress in developing the apparatus of a state in so short a period and with so small a population. Seen in comparative terms, the quality of Government and administration in Bermuda is outstanding. It

seems to be generally recognized that before long Bermuda must become independent and that the only real controversy is how this further change should be effected and what should be the timetable.

**12.4.** The very rapidity of Bermuda's progress has fostered expectations of personal advance and efficacy which it may not be possible to sustain. Economic growth, we have argued, is now subject to much closer physical and civil constraints so that the top priority is for a period of social consolidation. This was suggested by our analysis in Chapter 4 of the causes of the 1977 disorders and has been reinforced in some of the subsequent chapters.

**12.5.** When examining the disturbances we came to the view that a central element was identified in the words of a witness who asserted "we need riots to shake up the Government". This expresses the feeling widespread amongst black Bermudians that rioting, though regrettable, can be a legitimate mode of protest. Although this may not have been in the minds of the participants, civil disorders in Bermuda during the last thirteen years have functioned as a kind of extra-parliamentary political action; some of them have expressed the anger of young black men about the country's laws and the way they are enforced; others, and particularly those of December 1977, have reflected more widespread feelings of dissatisfaction.

**12.6.** If we consider first why citizens should want to "shake up the Government" we are led to emphasize the underlying popular impatience with what is seen as insufficiently equal opportunity. The identification of race with privilege sharpens this feeling but does not create it. The disturbances happened to be directed against the present Government but in the future disappointment with a different Government could be expressed in a similar fashion. We have outlined earlier our view of the kinds of action necessary to improve equality of opportunity and here in our conclusion would emphasize five points:

- (a) the importance of the plans relating to child development and of their being supplemented by a programme of compensatory education for children of primary school age;
- (b) the provision of a second chance to obtain a qualification;
- (c) the importance of sharing the wealth and opportunities provided by Bermuda's two main industries: tourism and international business; we hope that the proposed investigation of monopolies will extend to all forms of economic activity (including, for example, the distribution of legal business referred to in Chapter 9, paragraph 31) and will not be limited to retail trade;
- (d) the importance of substantially re-

ducing immigration and assisting the promotion of Bermudians;

- (e) we repeat our belief that in the long run it will prove essential to regulate the transmission of inherited wealth.

**12.7.** Bermuda's problem is not only that of promoting equity; it is also in the hearts and minds of citizens, and in the need to ensure that expectations are not out of line with what is reasonably practicable. Many of those who opposed capital punishment were convinced that the Government was being unreasonable and insensitive in not responding to what was seen as a broadly-based popular demand. We recognize that there was a conflict of opinion on this subject but we hope that it now is generally understood that it is very dangerous for any country when a conflict is allowed to become as sharp as this was.

**12.8.** One witness said to us:

"Go, for instance, to Middletown, and hear mothers scream to their children and see families where there are three daughters who have one or two children each I don't think there is a representative of these type of people in the House of Assembly and yet whenever there is a disturbance, this is the element that reacts."

This is an interesting observation, for it raises the issue of what political "representation" means. We suggest that this is partly a matter of voting in the legislature in the way a majority of the representatives' electors would wish, but partly a psychological question of emotional identification. Many young blacks cannot identify with the system in the manner that it presupposes. This is to some extent an argument for lowering the voting age, for when young people attain the age at which they qualify as voters they are likely to consider political issues from a new perspective. Having to exercise the responsibility may develop the attitude of responsibility. The question of representation also has a wider aspect. If a political system is to be democratic, it should be easy for all qualified persons to have their names on the electoral register. We are doubtful whether the provisions for registration in the Parliamentary Election Act 1978 meet this criterion.

**12.9.** A citizen's feeling that he is not represented in Parliament may well be related to weaknesses in the sense of personal and national identity. This is related to our observation about Bermuda's social transition. A black man now aged 60 will have grown up in a small-scale, local, society with what by today's standards would be seen as very restricted communication, both of transportation within Bermuda and of the transmission of ideas. It would have been a society oriented towards the United Kingdom and during his youth his national identity would have been that of a subject of King George V. A young black man today grows up in an

international society oriented towards North America; his political conceptions are influenced by racial identifications with blacks in the United States, Rhodesia and elsewhere, so that he cannot easily fashion an identity based upon loyalty to the British crown. The advance of the Rastafarian movement with its conception of a black god and a black homeland can be understood as an attempt to furnish a new kind of identity.

**12.10.** Bermuda's economic progress has also contributed to these weaknesses in the sense of identity, for it has nourished expectations of educational performance that many young people cannot meet. This is at present more acute for black males than for white males or for females. It can easily cause young men to feel that in others' eyes they are failures, with the result that they seek other ways of shaping a sense of identity that will salvage their self-respect. It is in this sense that we interpret the testimony of the President of the Bermuda Association of Social Workers when, talking of disadvantaged young people, he said:

"Their experience needs to be legitimated . . . They don't see themselves as a problem. (They say, in effect) 'We want you to recognize us for what we are'. That in itself is a reward . . . They want to be recognized as being Bermudians".

He also told us that:

"Many of our parents send children to North America. Others send them to England. We are still tied to Great Britain in terms of historical and cultural heritage. Somewhere in there, in Bermuda, lies a very confused people. They don't really know which way they are supposed to go . . . somewhere along the line they lose their personal identity . . . every country should be able to produce something of their own that kids and other people can identify with. We haven't produced that yet."

The President of the Amalgamated Bermuda Union of Teachers remarked:

"I don't believe that civics (as a

school subject) will give pupils any feeling of responsibility to the community. They will get that feeling only if they believe that the community values them as individuals."

Together with other evidence this suggests to us that problems in the area of identity arise partly from the absence of a feeling of belonging to a distinctive national unit and partly a relative lack of success in what is now a very competitive society. Bermudians should not set standards for themselves that are so high that they produce a class of casualties. It is very well to suggest that in political matters most attention should be paid to those who display most merit (which is surely what talk of a "meritocracy" implies) but it is also important to ensure that those who are less successful can still feel that they are truly members of the society; that their contribution is also valued, and that their dignity will be respected.

**12.11.** We have heard it suggested that our Commission's public hearings in Bermuda served a cathartic function. They allowed people to voice grievances and sentiments that were otherwise bottled up, and the very opportunity to express them prompted an easing of tension. If there is substance in this, it reinforces our earlier remarks about the present inability of parliamentary processes to represent all citizens as effectively as would be wished.

**12.12.** This leads us, inexorably, to the discussion of independence, and to the question of whether those who are presently alienated from the social order would identify themselves more effectively with an independent Bermuda. We believe that there is a sufficient likelihood of this for it to constitute a principal argument for accelerated constitutional change. We recognize that whereas many black Bermudians see independence as the final step in a process of emancipation, this argument has little appeal to white Bermudians, for they see themselves as already emancipated. We also recognize that there are technical arguments concerning the benefits of independence with respect to the regu-

lation of civil air transport and merchant shipping, etc., on which we are unable to comment. A further point that we do stress, however, is that in our view the regulation of the Bermudian economy with respect to immigration, and the planning of social integration, will have to be based upon a shared concept of Bermudian nationhood.

**12.13.** That concept can only become a reality when Bermuda comes of age and the country takes its rightful place in the international community as a fully independent nation. Only then can Bermuda demonstrate her political maturity to the world at large.

**12.14.** We are aware that there are politically contentious areas, particularly with regard to the electoral process, the voting age, the three-year resident's vote and the constituency boundaries. However, it is our belief that with goodwill and determination, these can be overcome in the national interest.

**12.15.** We urge upon the Government of Bermuda and the United Kingdom that a conference be held by December 31st 1978, at which the Opposition Party should be fully represented. The conference should identify those matters that need to be fully resolved prior to the next General Election, which should decide the issue of independence, and if so approved be followed by a Constitutional Conference. It is also essential that the Conference of 1978 should establish an electoral system which will render impossible partiality towards the minority population and, which will in all respects be fair and equitable to all sections of the community.

**12.16.** We have noted the statement by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs that it is for the people of Bermuda to decide whether or not they wish to become independent. But we consider it our duty to declare our conclusion that only with independence can national unity be forged and pride in being Bermudian fully develop. We call upon the people of Bermuda to act boldly in fashioning their future.

# LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.

## TOURIST ACCOMMODATION, YEARLY AVERAGE OF BEDS

1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
2894	3551	3712	3780	3807	3833	3856	4319	4504	4634
1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
4520	4536	4985	5254	5575	5947	6221	6852	7384	7927
1973	1974	1975	1976	1977					
8512	8970	8930	8863	8915					

Source: Bermuda Department of Tourism.

Table 2.

## GOVERNMENT REVENUE (THOUSANDS)

1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	
£1,066	1,455	1,532	1,886	2,009	2,368	2,584	2,747	
1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	
£2,976	3,036	3,108	3,524	3,861	4,413	4,697	5,148	
1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	
£5,148	5,602	6,554	6,660	£ 7,644	8,072	10,692	11,688	
				\$18,344	19,372	25,660	28,292	
*1969-70	1970-71	1971-2	1972-3	1973-4	1974-5	1975-6		
\$35,984	38,232	40,820	46,748	56,084	60,489	65,705		
1976-7	**1977-8	**1978-9						
\$77,131	\$78,075	87,290						

\* 15 month period; change to new financial year.

\*\* projected.

Source: Ministry of Finance.

TABLE 5. 1

## HOTEL OCCUPANCY RATES 1974-78

%	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	
1974	31.6	54.1	79.8	90.1	92.8	86.5	82.7	91.9	78.0	80.5	60.9	40.1	
1975	27.1	58.6	74.1	85.4	87.2	80.6	76.8	91.1	66.9	77.4	67.4	38.2	
1976	29.4	59.8	81.0	90.2	91.1	87.2	81.3	93.8	82.1	85.0	70.1	38.1	
1977	29.0	58.1	80.1	91.2	90.9	84.1	82.3	91.0	77.6	79.1	59.6	22.6	
1978	13.9	44.1	60.0	73.5	86.1								

Source: Bermuda Department of Tourism

Table 5.2

## DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY BERMUDA-BORN AND FOREIGN-BORN STATUS AND RACE, 1950, 1960 AND 1970

Year	Total			Bermuda-born			Foreign-born		
	Total	Black	White & Other	Total	Black	White & Other	Total	Black	White & Other
1950	37,403	22,638	14,765	28,769	21,030	7,739	8,634	1,608	7,026
1960	42,640	26,683	15,957	33,887	25,399	8,488	8,753	1,284	7,469
1970	52,330	30,897	21,433	37,834	28,707	9,127	14,496	2,190	12,306

Source: Population Dynamics of Bermuda — A Decade of Change: Dr. D. K. Newman, 1972.

**TABLE 5.3**  
**PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY RACE AND**  
**BERMUDA AND FOREIGN-BORN STATUS, 1950, 1960, 1970**

Year	Total			Bermuda-born			Foreign-born		
	Total	Black	White & Other	Total	Black	White & Other	Total	Black	White & Other
1950	100	61	39	100	73	27	100	19	81
1960	100	63	37	100	75	25	100	15	85
1970	100	59	41	100	76	24	100	15	85

Source: Population Dynamics of Bermuda — A Decade of Change: Dr. D.K. Newman, 1972.

**TABLE 5.4**  
**FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND**  
**RACE, 1970**

Country of Birth	Total	Black	White & Other	Foreign-born		
				Total	Black	White & Other
All countries	14,496	2,190	12,306	100	100	100
West Indies or Caribbean	2,309	1,638	671	16	75	5
United Kingdom	5,234	80	5,154	36	4	42
Canada	1,221	47	1,174	8	2	10
Azores or Portugal	2,350	17	2,333	16	1	19
United States	2,363	406	1,957	16	19	16
Other	1,019	2	1,017	7	(1)	8

(1) Less than 0.5 per cent

Source: Population Dynamics of Bermuda — A Decade of Change: Dr. D.K. Newman, 1972.

**TABLE 5.5**  
**PARTICIPATION OF THE LABOUR FORCE**  
**BY MAIN ACTIVITY IN 1970**

Main Activity	Total	Under					65 & Over
		19	20-24	25-29	30-44	45-64	
<b>Civilian Population</b> (over 16)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>Labour Force</b> (Economically Active)	78	77	88	85	87	76	37
Employed	77	73	86	85	86	75	36
Unemployed	1	4	1	1	(1)	(1)	(1)
Seeking First Job	(1)	3	1	(1)	(1)	-	-
Others Seeking Work	(1)	1		(1)	(1)	(1)	-
Wanted Work/Available	(1)	1		1	(1)	(1)	(1)
<b>Not in Labour Force</b>	22	23	12	15	16	24	63
Student	1	14	1	(1)	(1)	(1)	-
Home Duties	16	7	9	12	15	20	27
Retired/Disabled	5	1	(1)	(1)	(1)	4	36
Other & Not Stated	1	1	2	1	1	(1)	(1)

(1) Less than 0.5 per cent

Source: The Population Dynamics of Bermuda — A Decade of Change: Dr. D.K. Newman, 1972.

**TABLE 5.6**  
**CHANGE IN WORKING POPULATION BY OCCUPATION GROUP,**  
**1950, 1960, 1970**

Occupation Group	1950	1960	1970	1950-60	1960-70	1950-70
All occupations	16,828	19,498	27,319	16	40	62
Professional & technical	1,023	1,512	3,603	48	138	252
Admin. & managerial	326	647	982	98	52	201
Clerical & related	1579	1839	4702	16	156	198
Sales	1256	2303	2509	83	9	100
Production & related	5531	6705	6892	21	3	25
Transport & communications	1037	949	215	-9	-77	-79
Service workers	3835	4376	6530	14	49	70
Farmers, farm supervisors & managers	360	309	63	-14	-80	-83
Other agric. workers	487	484	513	-1	6	5
Labourers n.e.c.	-	-	1099			
Others or not stated	1394	374	202	-72	-46	-85

Source: Population Dynamics of Bermuda — A Decade of Change: Dr. D. K. Newman, 1972.

**TABLE 5.7**  
**CIVILIAN POPULATION OF BERMUDA OVER 15 ACCORDING TO**  
**1970 CENSUS AND 1990 PROJECTIONS**

Year	Total over 15	AGE GROUPS					
		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-44	45-65	65 +
1970	36810	4110	4640	4740	10720	9250	3350
1990	48116	5170	4590	5450	13658	13718	5530
Dif	11306	1060	-50	710	2938	4468	2180
% Dif	30.1	25.8	-1.1	15.0	27.4	27.4	65.1

Source: Compiled from Provisional Estimate of Population Movements in Bermuda in 1990, Professor G. W. Roberts

Note: The projection assumes a continuance of the mortality and fertility rates of 1968-71 and no external migration.

**TABLE 6.1.**  
**TYPE OF TENURE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD**

Type	1970 Census		CES Survey 1974-75	
	No.	%	No.	%
Owner Occupier	6,087	39.0	254	39.8
Rented furnished	2,400	15.4	101	15.8
Rented unfurnished	6,229	40.0	248	38.9
Rented free	868	5.6	35	5.5
TOTAL:	15,584	100.0	638	100.0

Source: Bermuda Government Consumer Expenditure Survey 1976-75



**TABLE 6.2.**  
**ANNUAL RENTAL VALUE OF DWELLING UNIT**

OLD ARV	All Bermuda dwellings 1976 on 1972 Valuation.		CES Survey 1974-75	
	No.	%	No.	%
\$1,260 and under	4,892	27.5	166	26.0
\$1,261 to 1,620	3,936	22.1	166	26.0
\$1,621 to 2,040	3,131	17.6	111	17.4
\$2,041 to 2,460	2,108	11.8	71	11.1
\$2,461 to 2,880	1,137	6.4	42	6.6
\$2,881 to 3,300	810	4.5	28	4.4
\$3,301 to 3,720	456	2.6	17	2.7
\$3,721 to 4,140	301	1.7	12	1.9
\$4,141 to 4,560	311	1.7	6	0.9
\$4,561 and over	727	4.1	19	3.0
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>17,809</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>638</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Bermuda Government Consumer Expenditure Survey

**TABLE 6.3.**  
**HOUSING IN RELATION TO LAND TAX**  
**(on 1977 Valuation)**

New ARV Groups	No. of Units	Percent of Total Units	Percent of contribution to Land Tax revenue
\$3,540 and below	13,370	68.2	28
\$3,541 to 4,740	3,498	17.8	20
\$4,741 to 5,940	1,210	6.2	12
\$5,941 to 7,140	541	2.8	8
\$7,141 to 8,100	349	1.8	8
\$8,101 and above	633	3.2	24
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>19,601</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Bermuda Government Consumer Expenditure Survey.

**TABLE 7.1.**  
**ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF WOMEN**

Economic Activity	Population Aged 14 Years & Over				
	Number		Percentage Distribution		% Change 1966-70
	1960	1970	1960	1970	
Economically Active	7082	11010	48	58	55
Worked	6744	10902	46	57	62
Looking for Work	338	108	2	1	-68
Not Economically Active	7617	7827	52	42	3

Source: Bermuda Census 1970

**TABLE 7.2.**  
**NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD**

No. of households having	1970 Census		CES Survey 1974/75	
		%		%
One person	2,953	18.9	116	18.2
Two persons	3,861	24.8	167	26.2
Three persons	2,741	17.6	127	19.9
Four persons	2,400	15.4	104	16.3
Five persons	1,565	10.0	65	10.2
Six & more persons	2,064	13.2	59	9.2
All Households	15,584	100.0	638	100.0
Average no. of persons per Household	3.3		3.1	

Source: Consumer Expenditure Survey 1974/75

**TABLE 7.3.**  
**HOUSEHOLD INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF BERMUDIAN HOUSEHOLDS 1974/75**

Gross weekly income of household	No. of Households in sample	% of all sample Households
Under \$80	43	7.7
\$80 & under \$160	110	19.7
\$160 & under \$240	132	23.7
\$240 & under \$320	114	20.4
\$320 & under \$400	59	10.6
\$400 & under \$540	78	14.0
\$540 & over	22	3.9
Total households:	558	100.0
Average over all households:	\$265.04 per week	

Source: Consumer Expenditure Survey 1974/75

**TABLE 7.4.**  
**ONE PARENT HOUSEHOLD AS A PROPORTION OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS BY SEX OF HEAD**

	Male Heads	Female Heads	All Heads
All Households	371	123	494
One parent households	9	63	72
One parent households as % of all households	2.4%	51.2%	14.6%

Source: Consumer Expenditure Survey 1974/75

**TABLE 7.5.**  
**COMPARATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF ONE PARENT HOUSEHOLDS**  
**WITH ALL HOUSEHOLDS**

	All Households		One parent Households	
	No.	%	No.	%
(a) Sex of Head:				
Male	371	75.1	9	12.5
Female	123	24.9	63	87.5
TOTAL:	494	100.0	72	100.0
(b) Total households	494		72	
Average no. of persons per household	3.1		3.8	
Average no. of children aged under 16 per household	.85		1.46	

Source: Consumer Expenditure Survey 1974/75

**TABLE 10.1.**  
**STATUS, BIRTHPLACE AND RACE OF BERMUDA'S POLICE OFFICERS**

		Inspectors and above	Sergeants	Constables
Born Bermudian	- white	2	1	14
	- black	10	16	62
Status Bermudian	- white	21	17	3
	- black	1	3	5
Without status	- white	4	23	170
	- black	0	1	49

Source: Police Department

**TABLE 10.2.**  
**RECRUITMENT OF CONSTABLES 1972 - 1977**

	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Total appointed	34	76	34	38	29	32
Recruited in UK	20	49	19	23	17	12
Recruited in West Indies	8	11	6	5	4	0
Recruited in Bermuda	6	17	9	10	8	20
Applicants in Bermuda	22	45	50	60	62	72

Source: Police Department

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