

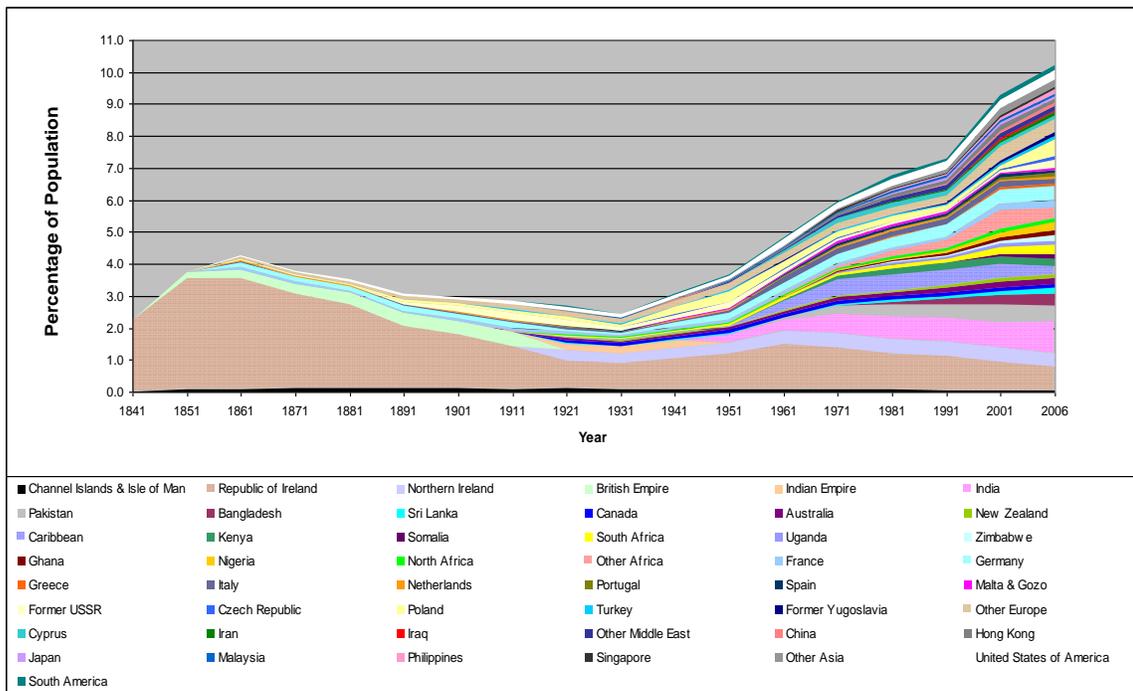
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Multicultural Britain – that's just the way it is

Danny Dorling

Over the course of the last century and a half Britain has benefited from immigration from a wider range of countries than anywhere else with comparable records. This has been the most beneficial legacies of empire and is one thing at which Britain excels at now in Western Europe. Britain is one of the most diverse of European countries by ethnic, national, religious and cultural origin. The graph below shows just a small collection of the countries that now contribute to the diversity of UK origins .

People born-abroad living in Britain 1841-2006



Source: Bethan Thomas – see Dorling, D. (2011) *So You Think You Know About Britain*, London Constable, for more details.

The remainder of this chapter is largely based on work first undertaken for the Runnymede Trust in an attempt to answer the question of to whom the working class might be losing out to when multiculturalism is attacked, but it is reprinted here in the light of the recent and vicious attacks on multicultural Britain by people who think that it is somehow British to attack Britain. A century ago it was those who were seen as Jewish extremists who were targeted by the right wing in Britain. Today it is Muslims.

In David Cameron's infamous Munich speech he said "Islam is a religion, observed peacefully and devoutly by over a billion people. Islamist extremism is a political ideology, supported by a minority. At the furthest end are those who back terrorism to promote their ultimate goal: an entire Islamist realm, governed by an interpretation of Sharia. Move along the spectrum, and you find people who may reject violence, but who accept various parts of the extremist world-view including real hostility towards western democracy and liberal values."¹

Read it again. The last sentence can be translated as. You may not advocate violence, but if you do not believe in David Cameron's world view then he and his friends may choose to label you as extremist, anti-democratic, or illiberal; and then he will lump you together in a 'spectrum' which includes terrorists. Either you are with David Cameron, and fall within his definition of western democracy, liberal values and anti-extremism, or you too are part of a very violent problem. This is how you demonize people.

Once you start to demonize it's hard to stop. In his April 2011 follow-up speech David suggested next that "immigration and welfare reform are two sides of the same coin. Put simply, we will never control immigration properly unless we tackle

¹ As quoted by Sabby Dube in 2001 in her text "Celebrate and defend our multicultural society: a response to the Searchlight 'Fear and Hope' report"

welfare dependency. That's another powerful reason why this government is undertaking the biggest shake-up of the welfare system for generations . . . making sure that work will always pay . . . and ending the option of living a life on the dole when a life in work is possible.’²

So – according to David people come to Britain because they are looking forward to a life on the dole. Immigrants make up large numbers of his imagined army of feckless scroungers (so called welfare dependents). This kind of talking could also be found a century ago in Britain when the targets were supposedly feckless paupers and again Jews and the Irish. However, in recent years, and across the globe, the tactics of spreading fear of ‘foreigners’, ‘immigrants’ and even refugees has been honed to an art as the following long extract from an academic paper makes clear³:

Political control over hospitality has a long history, integral to the sovereignty of states, and so has the securitization of the foreigner. Politicians in the quest for votes have generated and manipulated public fears and then claimed to have allayed them. Margaret Thatcher, for example, argued in 1978 that British culture would be swamped by migrants—as if British culture were a fixed and definitive condition (cited by Dummett 2001: 115; Xenos 1996). News media have created or fuelled scares to improve ratings and attract advertising revenue. Apparently responding to alarm generated in the British press about an increase in the arrival of migrants and asylum seekers in 2001, Home Secretary David Blunkett adopted the same hateful representation (for example, asserting that there was a danger that schools and other public institutions would be ‘swamped’ by immigrants) and introduced a series of measures to deter asylum seekers from reaching the UK.³ In that year the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Ruud Lubbers, became concerned at the deliberate elite-driven securitization of asylum seeking by the media and by politicians of mainstream parties to win elections in Australia, Austria, Denmark, Italy and the UK (cited by Maley 2003: 192). As investigators have revealed in considerable detail, John Howard’s Liberal Party Government in Australia manipulated the boat people issue to mobilize voters in order to steal the clothes of the far right One Nation Party and overtake Labour in the November 2001 election (Marr and Wilkinson 2003: 274–286; Maley 2003: 192). The Government dramatically inflated the issue as a threat to the Australian homeland and to sovereign control over

² Bob Hughes, Oxford, per comm..

³ Michael Pugh, 2004, Drowning not Waving: Boast People and the Humanitarianism at Sea, Journal of Refugee Studies, 17, 1, pp. 50-69 (quote from page 53)

One result of these political tactics is that those of us who know these fears to be misplaced are against forced to reiterate again a series of home truths. In the remainder of this chapter I do that, but I am beginning to wonder whether our time might not be better spent working out exactly which member of the narcissist British Brothers League⁴ in 1901 made speeches most similar to those which Mr Cameron is giving now, 110 years later.

Concerns of and for the ‘white working class’ are most frequently expressed in terms of how they might be losing out to groups of people recently arrived in Britain – immigrants – most of whom, incidentally, happen to be white also. In the remaining sections of this chapter I take a few commonly made assertions and suggest an answer to them, and what might be done to improve policy for people in general.

1. ‘Immigration Means We Don’t Get Houses for Those that Deserve Them.’ True?

Without immigration much current housing would no longer be standing in Britain. In particular many immigrants in recent decades came to towns and cities in the north of England which would have been greatly depopulated otherwise. Their coming and remaining has been one of the primary reasons why housing has not had to be demolished on a large scale outside of Scotland. In contrast, in Glasgow, a city which did not attract that many immigrants in recent years, a great deal of housing has had to be demolished. Fewer immigrants results in fewer homes. A majority of immigrants to Britain from abroad now settle in the south of England. Here there is the least social housing and so almost all housing is not allocated on the basis of who most deserves a home, but on who can afford a home (or homes). More and more housing has been bought to be rented privately, or as a second or third home by richer people. We have never had as much housing in Britain as we have now, but we have also never shared it out as badly as now.

⁴ The league existed from 1902 until 1923 was in effect, superseded by the British Union of Fascists. It had Conservative MPs amongst its membership and was held largely responsible for the 1905 Aliens Act being implement by parliament. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Brothers_League

Recent immigrants to Britain tend to be the worst housed, living in the most overcrowded accommodation and in some of the worst quality properties. Concerns are often expressed over who is housed first in social housing. Recent immigrants without children have almost no chance of being housed in such housing because of the rules of allocation, based upon need. We do not have enough social housing for everyone's needs in Britain. We do have enough housing in general for everyone's needs. What we need is a way of transferring more homes that people cannot afford to pay a mortgage on to social housing so that there is enough social housing for all who need it. This could be done if the current government programme that allows local authorities to buy a few repossessed homes at auction were extended so that people could sell their homes to the local council but remain living in them when they hit hard times. That 'right to sell' would increase the stock of social housing. If it were coupled with policies to help people owning multiple empty homes to give up some of their spare houses, and to help single people in very large houses downsize, that would also help. Then we might get the housing we deserve.

2. *'Immigration is a Drain on the Health Services.'* True?

Health Services in Britain only work because of immigration. In fact there are more nurses from Malawi working in Manchester alone than there are in Malawi. Immigrants and the next generation of children of immigrants make up a vastly disproportionate number of the staff of the National Health Service (NHS). Any sensible calculation of the net effect of immigration on health services could not conclude that there is any drain on resources. There is, however, an obvious drain on the health services of other countries from our reliance on so many staff from abroad. If more clinicians from Britain were to work at least part of their career abroad that effect would be somewhat offset, they would gain insight that they could not easily secure in Britain. They could have a significant impact worldwide.

There is a problem with accessing health services for some groups of recent immigrants however. The National Health Service is not a national service. Often

services are limited, such a dental care, and recent arrivals to an area can be put at a disadvantage because all NHS dentists are booked up. This affects all migrants, not just immigrants. More seriously, in 2004, proposals were made to further exclude overseas visitors from eligibility to use the NHS primary services. Only 'ordinary residents' of the UK are entitled to free NHS treatment (someone living lawfully, voluntarily, for settled purposes). This regulation is particularly detrimental to anyone who has recently arrived in Britain who may find it hard to establish that they are ordinarily resident here. If someone is found not to be ordinarily resident then everything is charged for except immediate A&E care.

The Hippocratic Oath does not include a clause allowing this discrimination. The moral dilemma which doctors are faced with is also a moral dilemma confronting society as a whole. Do we really want to be the generation which dismantles the principle that a doctor's first concern is his or her patient, especially for such a spiteful cause? Working class people are often talked down to by middle and upper class doctors. Such doctors often resent the kind of work they find themselves doing. When they applied to go to Medical School it did not cross their minds that they might, later, be asked to work with sick people all day. A better skilled medical workforce would provide a far better resource for working class people.

Medical staff who come from abroad are less likely to see people in Britain as beneath them. If our doctors routinely worked overseas following training then teenagers might think more carefully before applying to medical school. The experiences they would gain from abroad would also be useful. Younger doctors in Britain have usually not seen cases of measles and tuberculosis. But both diseases are becoming more common in Britain. When the influenza pandemic or any similar event does strike, all of us, including the white working class, would benefit from the knowledge and understanding of a more internationally experienced health workforce.

3. 'My Boy's the Only White Boy in His School – I Can't Leave Him There Can I?'

There are many ways in which children can be the only one in their school. Often this is hidden. For instance being the only child to be living with your grandparents, the only child that has a particular illness, or being the only child to have reached grade 7 on the violin. When other children find out that someone is unique they can be badly teased and bullied; but all children are unique in many ways and all can be teased and bullied. In every class one child will be tallest, shortest, fattest, thinnest, have the most spots, the least friends, go through puberty first, or last. Being the only white boy in a class is just one of the only things your boy may be. Hopefully, it may well be the least of any problems he has. And it may well be your problem, not his. However, if your child is being bullied because he is white, that is different from being bullied for having spots.

Racist bullying is not equal to other types of bullying; it can lead to race hate violence. Racist bullying is usually worse because it is more structural and systematic, and it is more likely to persist and then translate into other forms of discrimination later in life. Being bullied for being the only child playing the violin is unlikely to follow that child into the job market. No bullying should be tolerated but especially racist bullying. Your child's skin colour will not disadvantage him in the job market, but no form of racist bullying can be tolerated because of where it leads a society. Would you want your son to adopt racist views because he was bullied? If the problem is teasing and bullying, then like any parent, you should expect the school to take it seriously and talk to all the children responsible – and their parents too.

If all children went to their nearest school there would be slightly fewer schools in which a single child was white, or of any other category. There would still, however, be a great number where there was only one child who was not white in

a class. But if all children went to their nearest school it is likely that far fewer people would notice this anymore. That is because if there was one non-white child say in a village school, it would be because there was one non-white child in the village, not because that school had an admissions policy making it harder for other non-white children to gain entry (being 'faith' based for instance, linked to a particular denomination).

4. 'But How Do We Stop Schools Becoming More Segregated?'

There is no evidence that schools in Britain are becoming more segregated by ethnicity but they are more segregated than are the neighbourhoods they draw from. It is very likely that they will become less segregated over time as the areas the schools are in have been becoming less segregated. The way in which schools are becoming more segregating is by whether the children in them come from poor, average, or rich homes. The great new range of schools that the current government has created has been compared to Britain introducing a new caste system, with differing schools, academies, beacon and 'bog-standard' establishments catering for children thought of as being of differing inherent abilities. This is very bad news for all our children, rich and poor, black or white.

If children walk to the nearest school: 1) they can walk rather than be driven; 2) the schools mix; 3) almost all children from the same street go to the same school so know each other; 4) fewer schools will appear to be very bad, nor will parents have to worry so much about trying to get into 'good' schools; 5) there will be fewer schools where your son is the only white (or black, or brown, or whatever) boy in the school; 6) there will be no single sex schools.

Why in some cities are schools more segregated than the residential areas which surround them? The reason for this is mainly the last and new Coalition government's 'choice' agenda; in reality, low-income black and Asian parents

find it harder to exercise choice and tend to downgrade their options. Most will send their children to the nearest secondary school due to size of family, convenience, lack of access to own transport and avoidance of high crime areas. Importantly this is not an issue of self-segregation, as most BME parents prefer their children to go to ethnically diverse schools. Rather, it's an issue of resources. If we reverted to the system of our parents' time, when almost all children went to their nearest school, you might think that schools would become more segregated by wealth as areas are so segregated by wealth and poverty. This is not necessarily true, however, as part of the attraction of some wealthy areas is that local schools are seen as especially good, tend to be over-subscribed, and those parents more able to argue their child's case to get their children in. Here 'arguing' includes pretending to have religious beliefs for long enough to fool the selecting panels of the largest group of discriminatory schools in the country – the faith schools.

If all children went to their nearest schools then the few poor children living in richer neighbourhoods would be almost certain to go to their neighbourhood school and the school would appear slightly less 'exclusive', house prices would become slightly less elevated and so on. Similarly, if all children in poor areas went to their local school, schools in poor areas would not appear as poor as they currently do. That is because currently there is massive commuting out to schools from poor areas. A policy of children only receiving free state education and going to their local school would probably reduce segregation in schools by income, wealth and race, but not by much because children are already so segregated geographically. To further reduce segregation between schools would require parents to have less incentive to segregate themselves by geography, would need them to live in less fear.

If schools were better resourced according to the needs of their pupils then it would make less sense for a parent to try to get their child into a 'good' school by living in a 'good' area. More would be spent on their education were they to go

to a school where children needed more resources. In practical terms a primary school at the 'bottom of the hill' in the poorer district might have two classroom teachers and two teaching assistants for a class of thirty children as compared to one as the 'top of the hill' having half as many staff. The precise ratios should be set at the levels at which it no longer matters to a rational parent where on the hill they live. You can tell when it no longer matters as then more parents choose the 'poorer' school. It is, in effect, a policy of 'bussing' additional staff to schools with low demand. It would only be a policy that would be feasible when people in this country realize the value of educating their children as higher than many other ways we currently spend tax money (supporting American war efforts for instance).

5. 'Multiculturalism or Britain, I Have to Choose Sides Don't I?'

British society is a multicultural society so it is difficult to see what you would be choosing between if you were to try to choose. Every so often a politician or journalist suggests that it is time to make some choices. Some form of patriotism is needed. Often sport is involved or a perceived aspect of a thing they call 'Britishness'. These events are usually embarrassing. The temptation is to shy away and leave them to their ramblings. Occasionally, however, other people pick up on such suggestions and so it might help to choose to be on the side that knows a little bit about British and World history, cultures and multiculturalism, rather than on the side of ignorance. For example, often things that are thought of as being especially British, 'tolerance' is an example, are not especially British. Often people in Britain are not especially good at things thought to be especially British, such as fairness.

What people in Britain are unusually good at, compared with almost all of the rest of the rich world, is multiculturalism. Most countries in Europe do not have people from such a range of places as in Britain. People from different ethnic

groups are permitted to mix far less in a country like the United States of America as compared to Britain. In the United States you will rarely see black and white couples together on television; there is a taboo against it. In contrast again, that often forgotten large population of the rich world, Japan, currently severely limits immigration to Japan. Japan is the fastest ageing large population on the planet. A majority of adults in Japan are now living on their own in single person households, such is population aging there. People in Japan are going to find coping with the immigration to come there much harder than we do in Britain. We could perhaps help.

Multiculturalism is Britain. It is one of the things that is quite special about Britain and which makes Britain less like other countries. If Britain were a less socially divided country, if working class people were not so poor compared to middle class people, and if middle class people were not so poor as compared to upper class people, then there may not be such recognizable differences in Britain. Countries with much lower income inequalities, such as Iceland and Japan, have become far less concerned about the different cultures within those countries.

You hear very little talk of different Japanese or Icelandic ethnicities. This is not because these two sets of islands are home to remarkably homogeneous ethnic groups, but because income and wealth inequalities are so much lower there. We often mistake the wealth divisions of Britain for multicultural differences. Britain is a country divided by wealth, but brought together by the many cultures that have found their way here over the centuries. Incidentally, attitudes to immigrants in both Iceland and Japan are hardly a model of tolerance; people can appear overtly racist and are far less careful about their language than in Britain. Those few migrants that there are, from Eastern Europe and mainly Korea respectively, are greatly exploited. In both countries income inequalities are growing, yet in both, because of their more equitable social histories, life expectancy is much longer than in that third set of islands: of Britain. In the case

of Iceland, as in much of the rest of Scandinavia, the rarity of resources made greater equality more necessary and a redistributive welfare state attempts to maintain that (although wealth inequalities are growing). In Japan it was the confiscation of land from the aristocracy and its redistribution by the American occupying forces that had the same equalising outcome (and it is very different mechanisms that maintain it). In Japan, wealth inequalities are currently falling but income inequality is rising. Had the histories of both countries been different, had Iceland been the centre of a world empire with American colonies, had Japan entered the Second World War on the side of America, race and ethnicity would mean very different things in both places.

6. *'What's Worse than Getting Polish Workers in your Town?'*

Not getting Polish workers in your town! Have you tried getting someone to fix a leaking tap recently? More seriously, hardly any Polish immigrants are plumbers, but the Polish workers who have come to Britain are generally highly skilled and almost all go to where they are needed. If there are none where you live it is most probably because people where you live are not making enough money to employ them; businesses where you live are not expanding enough to need them; or where you live is really not that desirable a place to come to.

Often Polish workers are vastly over-skilled for the work they are doing in Britain. Recent Polish immigration is not qualitatively different from other recent streams of immigration from abroad. When I first wrote this I said "Luckily for people in much of Britain in 2008 we are still seen as a desirable destination for significant numbers of migrants from abroad". And that "The numbers who come here roughly match the numbers of people born in Britain who travel to work and live overseas". Sadly that is no longer true – as the economic crash now means that far fewer people could find work if they came here so they have started not to come and many people are leaving Britain to find jobs and a future.

It was only because people come here that we have the freedom to travel and work abroad without there being a great detrimental effect on the economy in Britain. Every so often a few more people come into Britain than leave. 2008 was just one of those times. It is very fortunate for us that they do so because since the early 1970s women in Britain have been having fewer than two babies on average. Sadly many of the Polish workers are likely to move on before they have children. Britain has 1% of the world's population but only ½ % of the world's children.

As the British economy entered recession we saw that fewer people from Poland and other places chose to come here. Countries like Germany will opened up their borders to free movement of labour with Poland. People from Britain in a recession tend to go to work in places like Germany, to become immigrants abroad. This is especially true for working class men; usually their wives and children are left at home in Britain while they work abroad. You will be able to tell when the bad times are coming when the migrants from abroad stop coming, and some start leaving. Whether you will be able to carry on living where you live, or whether you will have to move to look for work elsewhere, or even go abroad, will depend on the extent to which your government decides to look after people in Britain. During the last major long-lasting recession, in the early 1980s, government chose not to do this. Far more people left Britain than came in during those years. Many never returned.

7. 'Living Separately is a Problem, Isn't It?'

We all 'live separately' and we all have links outside where we live, even if just outside the street. More and more of us live separately despite being in long term relationships, and families in Britain now tend to be far more spread out and separated between places than they have ever been. Living less crowded lives is

part of what we secure from being more affluent, but that is not what those who use this phrase are really talking about when they say there is a problem. What they are concerned about is a perception that people of Muslim faith tend not to mix, shop, play, go to school, or work with other people, as much as they might if such things were random. However, life is not random. People don't mix from different areas in all sorts of ways.

People don't tend to mix from Hinksey and Barton on opposite sides of Oxford, or Dore and Brightside on opposite sides of Sheffield. If we meet different kinds of people it tends to be in the centre of town. Should we be worried about this? Not really, unless someone sets us against each other or says we should move when we don't want to. In fact, we live separately in all sorts of ways – according to our income, how ill we are, what kinds of jobs we have – and that separation is getting worse at the same time as separation according to our race or colour is getting less (these things are measured by segregation indices).

People who have looked at it find that the level of separation between Muslims and others is not at all large in regions such as Yorkshire and Humberside. When you think of 'Muslim' areas in the region you will usually think of places that actually are very diverse. Of the 35 districts in Britain that had one ward at the last Census with fewer than 50% White residents, only one of them was in Yorkshire and Humberside. That one district is Bradford, and even there it's a minority white ward – called 'University' ward – which had 25% white residents, hardly a separation. During the year before the Census, more white residents came to that ward from other parts of the UK than left it and more black and Asian residents left the ward than came to it: so it is becoming more mixed from migration, not a separate ghetto.

Mixing takes place at the most intimate level too, in spite of all that talk about what people would let their daughter, and occasionally son do! According to the Census, a greater proportion of Muslims marry non-Muslims than white

Christians marry outside ‘their’ group. That’s simply because most white Christians live in areas where there is no-one else to meet, and it shows how much easier it is for white folk to segregate than it is for other people to keep to themselves. People in mixed relationships are often ostracized. It was far worse in the 1970s and early 1980s when mixed couples often had to give up their children to adoption due to pressure from families and friends. Those days have gone for most, but not for all.

8. *‘Why Don’t They Speak English? – They are Holding Themselves Back.’*

The government in England wants everyone to speak English fluently, but has cut funding for English classes. It says we should speak more foreign languages, but criticizes those who do! The administration in Wales wants more people to speak, read and write Welsh, but the government in England often forget this. There are very few people who cannot speak English at all in England. There are very many people in England who can only speak English. Most people in the world can speak more than one language, but not so in England. We are holding ourselves back by not expanding our vocabulary.

Almost all people in England welcome help to speak and read or write better. But just like anyone they do not relish being insulted or put down in their attempts to improve. By far the largest group of people who need help with their English speak, read a little, and write even less only English. Millions of adults in Britain are functionally illiterate. Everyone who finds English or Welsh difficult and who wants to learn should be helped to do better. Equally we need to learn other languages to better understand the rest of the world and each other. Otherwise we really are holding ourselves back.

Recently there has been official advice against providing translation services, documents in other languages, even providing translators when mothers are

giving birth or people are at criminal trials. It should only take you a few second to imagine how terrifying it would be for you to be giving birth and for no-one around you to understand you, or to be trying to defend yourself in a court of law in your second or third language. The British are amongst the least literate people on the planet, partly because they can mostly get by just in English. But we expect things to be in English when we go abroad, or buy goods on the internet. We don't call ourselves immigrants when abroad, but 'ex-pats'. We need to learn more about English and no longer behave as if we run a global empire.

9. 'Does White Flight Really Have Wings?'

No. People move when they can get better housing and a better environment, when they can no longer afford the house they are living in, or when they grow up and leave home. They tend to move short distances unless they move to get an education or to a job a long way away. Those who have a bit more money can afford to move where they want to go, and move a bit further. The research on migration shows that the things that are associated with moving are the same for all ethnic groups in Britain.

In Yorkshire and Humberside there are only five districts with a concentration of black and Asian residents as high as 20% in one of their wards. If there was white flight you might expect there to be white people leaving those wards. But the census shows that white people did not leave Batley East in Kirklees, or University area in Bradford, or Burngreave in Sheffield, for other parts of the UK: more white people went to those wards than left them. And in the other two districts, where there was movement of white residents out of the 'black and Asian concentrations', there is also movement of black and Asian residents out of the same areas. So for example in the year before the census, both white and other residents left Harehills in Leeds, and St Johns in Calderdale, the areas in each district that had the lowest white population. But we can see that some areas

are becoming 'more Asian' and 'less white'. Whatever people say about why they move, the figures show that this isn't because White people are moving out more than Asians. The inner areas are getting 'more Asian' for two other reasons. First it is because there are few older Asians yet – those who immigrated mostly did so only 30 or 40 years ago – so there will be relatively few Asians dying until the next couple of decades. Second, it is because there is still some immigration of wives and husbands.

The circulation of immigrants and their families first to inner city areas where there is cheap housing, and then out to better housing when they can afford to do so, is the same as the Irish and Jewish immigration last century. Over time people get used to each other – unless there is continued racism or discrimination that keeps some people in the worst housing. Where social inequalities between people are allowed to be high and rise, racism follows.

10. Conclusion – 'How Would you Like It if You Lived Here?'

I wouldn't. I don't live in a poor neighbourhood, but I do live in an increasingly ethnically mixed neighbourhood. Thinking that your neighbours are your problem is a distraction from looking out at who really has what you don't have. Ask yourself this:

Why are there people who can live in a flat in the middle of your city during the week, but are living somewhere else at the weekend? Why are there people who only come to their 'homes' a few times a year? Where else are they living? Why is there no longer any social housing in the countryside, or almost none? If you are poor there are unlikely to be many second homes near where you live, but where you live will be more crowded than if people today were spread between flats and houses as they were a couple of decades ago. In London the very rich are converting previously subdivided houses back into their original grand sizes,

reducing the stock of housing for everyone else. Many of the richest million people on the planet own a house or flat in London as well as many homes elsewhere. Although there may be a servant household living in their London home, these second, third and fourth home owners have removed up to one million homes from being available in the capital alone.

There is enough housing in Britain for everyone to be housed. There are at least twice as many bedrooms in homes in Britain as there are people to sleep in those bedrooms. The same can be said of school books, of medicines, of jobs, of money. Britain is an extremely rich country, but it is one of those rich countries of the world where people have found it harder to learn how to share than elsewhere. Because we find it harder to share, we tend to be mistrustful. That mistrust results in fear, fear in the rich of the poor, fear in the poor of immigrants, fear in immigrants of prejudice. We need somewhere to go in place of fear. We live mostly in fear of monsters we have created in our dreams, but those monsters then become very real. It is our ignorance and stupidity, and our ability to be taken for a ride by those who already have most, which we should be most frightened of.