

"Education and Ethnic Minorities:
The Political, Institutional and
Professional Responses
in the United Kingdom."

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Abstract.

The thesis starts with an account of the post-war changes in the ethnic composition of the British population including an estimation of the racial and ethnic mix of the school classroom. Basic terms such as "race", ethnicity and culture are defined and the concepts of a multi-racial, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society are considered. The ideologies of assimilation, integration and cultural pluralism, and their relevance to the British educational system, are examined. A specific analysis of the political and institutional responses to the educational "needs" of ethnic minority children is conducted against the background of a dominant ideology of "assimilation" in the nineteen sixties and early seventies. These responses are further discussed for the period from the late nineteen seventies to the mid nineteen eighties, an era characterised by a shift of emphasis from assimilation towards ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism. The implications of these changes for the education of children from ethnic minority groups are considered.

The second part of the thesis is concerned with the issue of academic achievement and assesses theories connected with the debate over "heredity versus environment" and their consequences for "racial" differences and measured intelligence. The significance of a variety of other factors such as language, identity and teachers' expectations is also discussed. Different conceptions of multi-cultural education are considered with an analysis of the factors related to the origins and initiation of such policies in British schools. The major criticisms of multi-cultural education are stated and their implications for the implementation of multi-ethnic educational policies are examined.

The final section of the thesis describes the development of multi-cultural education in an Inner London school during the period 1978-86. With the use of both participant observation and survey analysis the response of teachers to multi-cultural education initiatives is presented. The findings of the survey on teachers' attitudes are analysed in connection with the definitions, objectives and the implementation of multi-cultural education.

Contents.Chapter One.

Introduction: Ethnicity, Education and British Society. pp.5-44

Chapter Two.

The Development of Educational Policies in an Era of
"Assimilation":The Evolution of an Educational "Problem". pp.45-91

Chapter Three.

The Origins of Educational Multi-Ethnic Policies: From
"Assimilation" to "Cultural Pluralism". pp.92-160

Chapter Four.

The Debate over Academic Achievement. pp.161-217

Chapter Five.

The Multi-Cultural Curriculum:
Quot Homines Tot Sententiae. pp.218-256

Chapter Six.

The Development of Multi-Cultural Education in an
Inner London Secondary School: pp.257-325

Chapter Seven.

The Response of an Inner London Secondary School to
Multi-Cultural Educational Initiatives in the Period
1982-86. pp.326-355

Chapter Eight.

Multi-Cultural Education: Myths and Reality. pp.356-379

Appendices. (1) Research Methods used in the case study. pp.380-385
(2) Statistical Summary of Survey Findings. pp.386-389
(3) Statistical Summary of Teachers Personal attributes. pp.390-399
(4) Questionnaire. pp.400-408
(5) ILEA.1977. Multi Ethnic Education. pp.409-413
(6) ILEA.1979. Multi-Ethnic Education-Progress Report. pp.414-416
(7) Multi-Ethnic Education-Report of the Working Party. pp.417-423
(8) The Anti-Racist Statement of the School.1983. pp.424-430
(9) DES.20.5.1986. Without Prejudice:Education for
an Ethnically Mixed Society. pp.431-437
(10)Bibliography. pp.438-452

Chapter One.Introduction: Ethnicity, Education and British Society.

The Ancient Greeks used to say that everything in the world is in a state of flux. British society, in a similar way to most modern societies, is experiencing social change. During the post-war years, Britain, like other Western European states, has undergone an economic and social transformation partly as a result of changes in the racial, ethnic and cultural composition of its population.

It is vitally important to stress the relevance of the alterations in the population structure to the understanding of different social processes in these societies. Since 1945, a number of highly industrialised European countries, including the United Kingdom, France, West Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland and Sweden, have recruited a substantial proportion of immigrant labour in order to meet the demands of their growing economies. For example, about 10-15 million immigrants¹, are now living in the major Western European industrial states. These immigrants originate from the less

1. The term "immigrant" refers to all those people who left their country of origin and settled in a new society. This definition is based on the country of birth in contrast to the popular use of the term which often refers to non-white migrants alone, and even includes the second-generation, black community in the United Kingdom.

industrially developed European countries, particularly from the Mediterranean region, and from ex-colonial states in the Third World.

In 1979 there were 4.1 million immigrants living in West Germany and, in the same year, 3.7 million immigrants were living in France². These people constitute a substantial proportion of the working population of Western European states. For instance, in 1978, 10 per cent of the total of employed workers in Belgium were foreign workers, 9.3 per cent in West Germany, 9.5 per cent in France and 7.3 per cent in the United Kingdom³.

This considerable influx of immigrants to the major industrialised European countries was mainly due to economic factors. As Castles and Kosack put it:

The overwhelming majority of the immigrants in Western Europe have come since 1945, most of them in the late fifties and early sixties. The motivations of the movements have been primarily economic. Workers have migrated from underdeveloped areas where they were unemployed or underemployed to developed

2. M. Cross, 1983. Migrant Workers in European Cities: Concentration, Conflict and Social Policy. Working Paper on Ethnic Relations. No.19, SSRC Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, University of Aston, Birmingham.

3. Commission of the European Communities, Foreign Employees in Employment, Director General of Employment and Social Affairs, Directorate of Working Conditions and Migrant Worker Policies, 1979, EEC, Brussels.

industrial countries where there was a shortage of labour and where wages were relatively high. The movements correspond both to the desire of the migrants themselves for incomes and the need of Western European employers for additional labour⁴.

The findings of virtually all sociological studies of these immigrants suggest that most of them join the bottom social stratum in the host societies because of the subordinate status of their occupations⁵. Moreover, they experience discrimination in employment and housing⁶, and they occupy the poorest parts of inner cities in Western European countries⁷.

4. S. Castles and G. Kosack, 1973, Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe, Oxford University Press, London, p.3. See also Ceri Peach, 1968, West Indian Migration to Britain, Oxford University Press, London.

5. S. Castles and G. Kosack, 1973, Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe, Oxford University Press, London, pp.6-7. See W.W. Daniel, 1968, Racial Discrimination in England, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth. D.J. Smith, 1977, Racial Disadvantage in Britain, The PEP Report, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth. C. Brown, 1984, Black and White Britain, The Third PSI Report, Heinemann Education Books, London.

6. D.J. Smith, 1977, Racial Disadvantage in Britain, The PEP Report, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

7. M. Cross, 1983, Migrant Workers in European Cities. Concentration, Conflict and Social Policy, Working Paper on Ethnic Relations, No.19.

In terms of political status and citizenship rights the immigrants have been treated differently by the various host societies. In Germany, for example, immigrant workers from Turkey, Greece, Portugal, Italy and Yugoslavia were given the status of "guest workers" (gastarbeiter), which meant in practice an absence of political and citizenship rights. In the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and France, immigrants from the former colonies already possessed citizenship rights. However, despite the different patterns of settlement of these immigrants they have all become permanent ethnic minorities in the various Western European states, with their own dynamism which has had an impact on the social structure of these societies.

The Ethnic Composition of the British Population.

The demographic changes which occurred in the United Kingdom during the post-war years led to a fundamental transformation of British society in a number of specific ways. The people who arrived from the Commonwealth countries, which were formerly part of the British Empire, settled in certain geographical areas of the United Kingdom⁸ and highlighted a series of crucial social issues which are relevant to ethnic minorities and indigenous population alike. Although these immigrants, unlike most

8. E.J.B. Rose, 1969. Colour and Citizenship. Oxford University Press, London, pp.43-90.

of their European counterparts, did not face the problem of citizenship, since the 1949 Nationality Act entitled them to equal political and citizenship rights during their settlement, nevertheless, they did suffer widespread social and economic disadvantage⁹.

A considerable social science literature during the last two decades has documented the problems faced by ethnic minorities in employment, housing and education, as well as in other relationships with the indigenous population. This inquiry is concerned with the education of ethnic minorities and the political, institutional and professional responses of British society towards "multi-cultural" education. Special consideration is given to ethnic groups which originate from the New Commonwealth countries: the West Indies, Pakistan, India, Cyprus and the independent African states.

It is important from the outset to emphasise the numerical size of these ethnic groups. The 1982 population census revealed that two and half million people belonged to one or other of the non-European, Commonwealth-based minorities. The Indians are the most numerous group with 673,704 members and they are followed by the Caribbeans with 545,744. Next in order of magnitude

9. D.J. Smith, 1977. Racial Disadvantage in Britain. The PEP Report, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

come the Pakistanis with 295,462, and East Africans, who are largely of Asian origin, with 181,321. Migrants from the Mediterranean, including Cyprus and Malta, amount to 170,078, while those from the Far East, particularly Hong-Kong and Singapore, comprise 120,123 individuals. Finally, the Bangladeshis number 64,567. These ethnic groups make up 4.2 per cent of the British population.¹⁰

An important characteristic of the ethnic minority population is that it is concentrated in Greater London and the West Midlands. The specified counties cover a wide area: inner and outer London, the metropolitan counties of Manchester and the West Midlands, together with Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, West and South Yorkshire, Lancashire, Berkshire, Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire. Only 37 per cent of the white population lives in these areas compared with nearly 80 per cent of the population of Asian and West Indian origin. The main residential concentrations of the different Asian groups are outside London and the West Midlands metropolitan county. For instance there are relatively large proportions of the Pakistani group in West and South Yorkshire, in Greater Manchester and Lancashire, and in Berkshire, Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire; a large proportion of African Asians live in the East Midlands counties of Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire

10. R. Ballard, 1983, "Race and Census. What an Ethnic Question Would Show.", New Society, Vol.64, pp.212_215.

and Derbyshire; there is some concentration of Indians in the East Midlands and Yorkshire. Moreover, the Asian and West Indian population is spread as follows in the inner and outer areas of the three main conurbations of London, Birmingham and Manchester; only 6 per cent of the white population is found in these inner areas, compared with 43 per cent of West Indians and 23 per cent of Asians. The West Indian population is much more concentrated in the inner areas than the Asian population with the exception of Bangladeshis, two thirds of whom are found in these areas¹¹.

Another significant feature of the ethnic composition of the population is the geographical distribution of these groups in Greater London. The growth of the New Commonwealth population in Greater London can be seen from information obtained from the 1971 census, in which a question on birth-place and nationality was used. This indicated that London was the home of 41 per cent of all people from the New Commonwealth living in the United Kingdom. Over half of all the West Indians and those born in the Mediterranean were also living in London. According to the National

11. C. Brown, 1984. Black and White Britain: The Third PSI Survey. Heineman Education Books, pp.54-55.

Dwelling and Housing Survey (1977, 1979) West Indians did not have the same population distribution as Asians: the former residing predominantly in inner London, while the latter were more likely to be found in outer London boroughs¹².

The Ethnic Composition of the School Population.

There is no up-to-date information about the number of ethnic minority pupils in state schools. The Department of Education and Science (DES) discontinued the collection of statistics on the ethnic background of pupils in state schools in 1973. The practice of collecting statistics on ethnic minority pupils was stopped because of the objection that they might ultimately be used as a basis for discriminating against ethnic minority children. John Rex and Sally Tomlinson make the following comment on this issue:

But if a disadvantage exists it had to be measured and this involved a prior decision to keep statistics of the numbers and relative facts of children in different categories. On the other hand in a society in which there was doubt as to whether all children should be treated equally, it was possible to envisage a situation in which the classification of a

12. J. Hollis, 1982. "Differential Fertility Among Ethnic Groups", in D.A. Coleman (ed). Demography and Minority Groups in the U.K., Academic Press, London.

minority group might well be used as a basis of discrimination¹³.

Therefore the information I use in this thesis on the ethnic composition of the school population is based on the 1971 and 1972 statistics.

The Department of Education and Science (DES) gave the following definition of an "immigrant" child:

Children born outside the British Isles who have come to this country, with or to join parents and guardians whose countries of origin were abroad. And children born in the U.K. to parents whose countries of origin were abroad and who came to the U.K. on or after the first of January ten years previously¹⁴.

According to this definition the total number of children of immigrant background was 263,710 in 1971, 3 per cent of all children in state schools¹⁵. The ethnic distribution

13. J. Rex and S. Tomlinson, 1979. Colonial Immigrants in a British City: A Class Analysis, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p.163.

14. Report Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1969-70, Vol.XIX. No.19, HMSO, London, Chapter 2, Para.20, p.9.

15. Ibid.

of immigrant children was as follows:

Table 1

The distribution of children of immigrant background in British Schools in 1971.

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
West Indians	101,898	50
Indians	56,193	27
Pakistanis	30,629	16
Greek Cypriots	9,504	5
Turkish Cypriots	4,407	2
TOTAL	202,631	100

However, the DES figures show that the number of immigrant pupils were unevenly distributed among Local Authorities. In Greater London there was a high concentration of immigrant pupils, half of the total of ethnic minority children. Throughout the major metropolitan areas ethnic minority pupils were distributed as follows¹⁶:

Table 2

The distribution of children of immigrant background in the major metropolitan areas in 1972.

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Greater London	135,218	52
West Midlands	42,655	17
South East	26,907	10
North East	19,479	8
Yorkshire	18,326	7
East Midlands	16,207	6
TOTAL	258,792	100

Another interesting aspect of the distribution of immigrant pupils was the fact that these children were

16. DES, 1972, 1a, Statistics of Education, Vol.1, Schools, HMSO, London.

concentrated in a few schools within Local Authority areas. In 1972 the DES revealed the following information about the concentration of immigrant pupils: 64 per cent of the state schools in this country had no immigrant pupils, 8 per cent of the schools had 10 per cent or more immigrant pupils, and 3 per cent of the schools had 28 per cent or more immigrant pupils¹⁷. More recent information which provides further understanding of the numerical strength of ethnic minority children can be found in the statistics on "birth by birthplace of parents" published by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS).¹⁸ The following table reveals this information:

Table 3

Births per 1,000 women aged 15 to 44 by country of birth of mother, (England and Wales).

	<u>1971</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>% change</u>
All birthplaces	84	62	-26
United Kingdom	82	59	-27
Irish Republic	115	66	-43
New Commonwealth and Pakistan	140	112	-20
India	157	109	-31
Caribbean	112	65	-42
African CW	110	103	- 6
Remainder NCW	109	78	-28
Pakistan	} 329	248	} -22
Bangladesh		306	

Sources: 1971 Census and 1981 Census: Birth Registrations 1971 and 1981.

17. DES, 1972, 1a, Statistics of Education, Vol.1, Schools, HMSO, London,

18. Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, 1983, Ref. FM1 83/2.

Table 3 shows the percentage of total live births accounted for by each major category by birthplace for the years 1971 and 1981. Births to mothers born outside the United Kingdom comprised around 13 per cent of the total live births since 1977. Births to mothers born in the Irish Republic declined steadily from 3 per cent in 1971 to 1.3 per cent of the total live births in 1981. Births to mothers born in the New Commonwealth and Pakistan increased from just 6 per cent of the total live births in 1971 to 8.5 in 1980 and fell back to 8.4 per cent in 1981. The important point that can be drawn from this information is that overall fertility rates for all categories, other than women born in Africa, declined substantially over the decade. For women born in the Irish Republic and the Caribbean in particular the decline was greater than the national average¹⁹.

The implication of these trends for the ethnic composition of the British population and particularly for the changes which have taken place in the school population are as follows. Firstly, the concentration of ethnic groups from the New Commonwealth, in certain geographical areas such as the inner cities, accentuates the problem

19. Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, 1983.
Ref.FM1 83/2, p.1.

of minority access to equal economic and social opportunities. Secondly, that while the number of ethnic minority children is not a large one, they are nevertheless, concentrated in specific schools in areas of multiple deprivation. Thirdly, in some schools, especially in the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA), Leicester and Bradford, ethnic minority children are no longer a numerical minority, in fact they make up the largest group in these schools. Fourthly, the presence of ethnic minority children in British schools raised a number of issues which have not yet been resolved. Above all the most important goal is to bring about a society in which harmonious race and ethnic relations prevail. Schools can make their contribution by providing ethnic minority children equal educational opportunities and by preparing all children to live in a multi-ethnic society. Therefore, the two major roles of the school are to raise the academic achievement of ethnic minority children and to attempt to combat racism. Although it might be claimed that there is a broad consensus on the desirability of these goals, nevertheless there is little agreement on the appropriate means to achieve them. Such a diversity of views can be seen in the continuous debate during the last decade on the nature of the school curriculum and the other policies developed to meet the

"needs" of ethnic minority children²⁰.

The major issues involved in the education of ethnic minority children in British society during the last decade will be analysed in this thesis. I will also consider the development of the different policies and strategies proposed for the education of the various ethnic groups. It is necessary to examine the evolution of the dominant approach to ethnic educational policies as seen in the educational programmes formulated by the Department of Education and Science, the Local Educational Authorities and the schools themselves. This approach was characterised by certain assumptions about the "needs" of ethnic minority children. In the sixties, for instance, the central problem was seen in terms of "newness". It was assumed that learning English and becoming familiar with the culture, traditions and way of life of the host society would enable these children to overcome what was defined as their initial difficulties.

20. The "needs" of ethnic minority children are related to their particular position in British society. Certain ethnic groups experience a double disadvantage produced by multiple deprivation and racism. This is reinforced by the problem of language, conflict between home and school arising from a clash of cultures, and the lack of recognition and appreciation of ethnic cultures in schools. In order to surmount these complex types of deprivation special provisions supported by adequate resources are needed in any serious attempt to provide equal access to educational opportunities.

This assumption was closely related to the "stranger" hypothesis²¹ which was an important element in academic analyses of race relations in the sixties. The "stranger" hypothesis was based on the idea that familiarity with the way of life of the host society would remedy the initial "cultural shock" experienced by immigrants and would make it possible for their children to benefit from the British education system. Such thinking dominated the assumptions which characterised sociological research on the academic achievement of ethnic minority children. As a consequence, it was argued that the length of residence was an important variable in the educational performance of ethnic minority children²². At the same time, the academic "underachievement" of these children was explained largely in terms of their family background, culture and environment²³.

However, these assumptions were increasingly challenged due to the accumulation of further evidence concerning the lack of educational progress of ethnic

21. S. Patterson, 1963. "Dark Strangers": A Study of West Indians in London, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, pp.12-15.

22. A. Little, C. Mabey and G. Whitaker, 1968, "The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Inner London Primary Schools", Race, Vol.9, No.4, pp. 439-452.

23. Ibid.

minority children in the nineteen seventies and eighties. By this time, some 40 per cent of the children of post-war ethnic minority immigrants were born in the United Kingdom²⁴ and therefore did not face the problems experienced by new arrivals in the United Kingdom. Furthermore, various sociological studies and reports documented the particular academic underachievement of children of West Indian background²⁵, and in the later period the variation of academic performance of different ethnic groups was noted.

Diverse interpretations have developed in the last decade among different institutions and groups concerning the educational "needs" of ethnic minority children.

24. A. Pilkington, 1984, Race Relations in Britain, University Tutorial Press, p.14.

25. This inquiry gives special consideration to the issue of academic underachievement of West Indian children. In the subsequent chapters a detailed account of the findings of sociological research into the academic underachievement of these children will be given, accompanied by an analysis of the factors which might produce this result. The problem of identity, double disadvantage and the effects of racism are considered. See also the conclusions reached by the Swann Report on these issues. Lord Swann, 1985, Education for All: The Report of the Committee into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, Cmnd.4453, pp.767-768.

However, most of these interpretations increasingly emphasise the attitudes of teachers and the shortcomings of the British education system²⁶. Searching questions have been asked about how far the standard school curriculum is appropriate for children coming from different ethnic groups and ethnic cultures²⁷. Greater stress has been placed on the importance of factors within the schools on academic achievement. For example, the development of multi-cultural initiatives by those Local Education Authorities²⁸ with a concentration of ethnic minority children, has revealed the extent of the shift in emphasis towards the role of the schools and of teachers in determining the educational progress of ethnic minority children. This trend can be seen in the initiatives and documents prepared by the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) which stress the need to

26. The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) exerted considerable influence over the introduction of in-service courses and teacher training programmes designed for a multi-racial society. The National Association for Multi-racial Education (NAME), a pressure group consisting of teachers, has also had an impact on the restructuring of the curriculum in a multi-cultural direction.

27. The development of Black Studies in Tulse Hill and other London schools in the seventies and the introduction of multi-cultural programmes in other local authorities indicates a re-evaluation of the school curriculum.

28. A. Rampton, 1981, West Indian Children in our Schools: Interim Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Children of Ethnic Minorities, Cmnd. 8273, HMSO, London. See also The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, 1983. A report prepared for the Swann Committee on the Education of Minority Children by the Social Science Research Council's Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, University of Aston, Birmingham, as a part of its "Ethnicity and Education" project.

reassess teachers' attitudes towards ethnic minority children and to formulate multi-cultural and anti-racist policies in schools²⁹. There has, therefore, been a reassessment of the part played by teachers in the process of learning and the impact of teachers' expectations of the educational potential of ethnic minority children, especially in relation to children of West Indian background.

Race, Ethnicity and Culture.

The terms multi-racial, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society have been used to define the new social reality created by demographic change in post-war Britain. The implication behind the various definitions of these terms is that British society is made up of diverse racial, ethnic or cultural groups. At the outset of my study it is necessary to make a clear distinction between the meanings of these concepts and the different ways in which ideas about race, ethnicity and culture are used in the literature.

The concept of "race" is controversial and most social scientists are doubtful of its usefulness in studying social relations. Physical anthropologists, for example, have suggested that the term "race" is in itself an unsatisfactory concept from a scientific point of view.

29. Inner London Education Authority, 1983, Race, Sex and Class. Achievement in Schools; Inner London Education Authority, 1983, Race, Sex and Class. Multi-ethnic Education in Schools.

Some biologists have argued that "race" is a term that cannot be used scientifically in the study of human beings because they are too mixed genetically to allow for such a classification³⁰. The UNESCO Proposals on the Biological Aspects of Race stated:

There is no national, religious, geographic, linguistic or cultural group which constitutes a race *ipso facto*; the concept of race is purely biological³¹.

Moreover, the UNESCO proposals suggest that because racist theories have no scientific foundation social scientists should try to ensure that the results of their researches are not used in a biased way so as to serve unscientific ends.³²

The concept of "race" assumes physical differences between groups. These characteristics are thought to be based on genetic differences. Anthropologists played an important part in the development of the concept of "race", since they used this term to classify populations. Certain

30. A.H. Richmond, 1972, Readings in Race and Ethnic Relations, Pergamon Press, Oxford.

31. UNESCO: Proposals on the Biological Aspects of Race, 1964, in Race and Social Difference. Selected Readings, 1972. Edited by P. Baxter and B. Sansom, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, p.71.

32. Ibid. p.72.

anthropologists, for instance, divided mankind into three basic groups - the mongoloid people, the caucasoid people and the negroid people. This classification was attacked by Bibby as a partial description and as biologically absurd³³. He wrote:

It is partly, because the word race has been loosely used in the past sometimes to denote biological groups and sometimes linguistic groups or religious groups and because of the inexact use of language encourages ideas of all kinds that mankind has been led into racial prejudice and discrimination³⁴.

There are further criticisms against the use of the concept of "race" in categorising people. Husband referred to the British experience of "race" and wrote the following:

Race distinctions along colour lines may be the dominant expression of racial thinking in contemporary Britain but it is not the only form of racial categorization and has not historically always been predominant³⁵:

33. C. Bibby, 1959, Prejudice and Education, Heineman, London, pp.1-6.

34. Ibid. p.6.

35. C. Husband (ed), 1982, "Race" in Britain: Continuity and Change, Hutchinson University Press Library, London, p.12.

Most Marxists reject the relevance of the term "race" and argue that racist ideas are part of the dominant ideology of society. The ruling ideas of any age are nothing more than the ideal expression of bourgeois material interests³⁶.

Castles and Kosack in their study of European immigration reject the whole "approach of race relations", arguing that from this perspective the sociological study of immigration tends to degenerate into a more or less social-psychological examination of the "colour problem". They maintain that the difficulties experienced by non-black immigrants in Europe are similar to those of black immigrants in the United Kingdom. Consequently race and racialism cannot be considered as the determinants of immigrants' social position. Instead, they suggest that the basic factor is the function which immigrants perform in the socio-economic structure of the host society³⁷. Although such a "Marxist" position is correct in its emphasis on the importance of economic structures in the development of human consciousness and ideas, nonetheless I would argue that the perceptions and attitudes of

36. T. Bottomore and M. Rubel (ed), 1963, Karl Marx, Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy, Pelican Books, Harmondsworth, pp.38-40.

37. S. Castles and G. Kosack, 1973, Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe, Oxford University Press, London, p.2.

individuals and groups towards other ethnic groups should also be taken into consideration. These ethnic and racial perceptions determine, at least in part, where individuals stand and what actions they take in any set of social relations. Some people's attitudes towards other ethnic groups might be a product of "false consciousness", created by the mass media and racist indoctrination, but they still influence the nature of relationships between and within minorities and majorities. Many people in Britain, for example, categorise members of ethnic minority groups in terms of "colour" and other physical characteristics. It has been claimed that the attitudes of most white Britons towards black people have been shaped by the colonial experience which reinforced racial and ethnic stereotypes. Although immigrants from the West Indies were more familiar with the British way of life and more anglicised than, say, Italian or Polish immigrants, nonetheless, they have experienced a greater degree of prejudice and discrimination.

John Rex takes a somewhat different position from that of most Marxist writers on race, although he acknowledges the importance of underlying economic and social structures influencing people's perceptions and belief systems. He writes:

We do therefore wish to emphasise that the sociology of race relations must take into account the subjective definitions, stereotypes, typifications and belief systems in the business of defining its field. Yet at the same time we would also wish to emphasise the dependence of these belief systems on underlying structures³⁸.

Despite the academic criticisms expressed against the validity of the concept of "race" it is still used in popular language to differentiate between groups of people. It has also been employed by certain educational psychologists in what has become a highly controversial debate. Arthur Jensen, for example, has used the concept of "race" and genetic differences in an attempt to account for differences in educational performance and IQ between "whites" and "blacks" in the United States of America³⁹. In Britain, explanations of the variation of academic achievement among different ethnic groups are usually based on social, economic and cultural factors. Thus many social scientists avoid the term "race" and use instead the concept of ethnicity in their study of group relations, which places greater stress on cultural differences.

38. J. Rex, 1970, Race Relations in Sociological Theory, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, p.19.

39. A. Jensen, 1969, "How Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement", in Harvard Education Review, pp.1-117.

Ethnicity derives from the Greek word ethnos which means nation or people. It refers to people who are linked by a common descent from a putative ancestor with a shared territory, history, language, religion and a way of life⁴⁰. The concept of ethnic group is closely related to the idea of ethnicity. The Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, attributes the following characteristics to the term ethnic group:

Common geographical origin, migratory status, race, language symbols, religious faith, kinship, shared traditions, values, literature, folklore, food preferences, institutions and special distinctiveness. Any combination of these characteristics may define an ethnic group⁴¹.

Milton Gordon relates the term ethnic group to the idea of "peoplehood". He writes:

...this "peoplehood" was roughly, coterminous with a given space, political government, no matter how rudimentary, a common culture in which a principal element was religious beliefs and values, shared more or less uniformly by all members of the group, and a common racial background ensuring an absence of wide differences in physical type⁴².

40. S. Thernstrom, 1980, Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, p.VI.

41. Ibid.

42. M. Gordon, 1964, Assimilation in American Life. The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins, Oxford University Press, New York, p.23.

In this passage Milton Gordon refers to the idea of a "folk society"⁴³. Since he is writing about the American experience he gives the following definition of ethnic group which is found in contemporary American society:

Ethnic group refers to a group contained within the national boundaries of America, any group which is defined or set off by race, religion or national origin or some other combination of these categories⁴⁴.

The definitions given in The Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups and by Milton Gordon of the ethnic group stress racial, cultural, religious, linguistic and national heritage factors as the most important distinguishing characteristics. These attributes forge a consciousness which provides people with a sense of identification and belonging to a particular group. According to this definition there are many ethnic groups in contemporary British society. These groups consist of the English, Scots, Irish and Welsh, in addition to those who settled more recently in the United Kingdom, such as the Indians, Pakistanis, West Indians, Cypriots and other minorities.

In this inquiry the accepted definition of ethnicity and ethnic group is that which denotes a sense of identification and belonging based on common "race", ancestry.

43. M. Gordon, 1964, Assimilation in American Life. The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins, Oxford University Press, New York, p.23.

44. Ibid. p.27.

language and cultural heritage. It seems that the concept of ethnicity is more appropriate than the concept of "race" in defining and analysing contemporary British society. When the term multi-ethnic society is used in this inquiry it will mean a society comprising different ethnic groups.

Another term applied to the description and definition of modern British society is the term culture. This concept in sociological terminology refers to the way of life followed by a social group in a particular society. Such a way of life includes life styles, customs, values and norms. Culture is not necessarily based on ethnicity or "race" because it is possible to have a cultural group which includes people with different racial and ethnic backgrounds. Contemporary British society is sometimes described as a multi-cultural society because it consists of different groups following middle class, working class, regional and various ethnic cultures.

However, it should be emphasised that the existence of these cultures does not mean that they receive a "proper" appreciation and recognition at different levels of British society. It is clear that certain cultures are considered to be inferior by large sections of the indigenous population. This attitude permeates important cultural institutions,

like the schools, whose curricula do not recognise the important contribution that different ethnic cultures and working class culture can make to the educational process. British schools have been criticised on the grounds that they are not sensitive enough to the aspirations and special educational needs of ethnic minority children, although some changes are taking place in the direction of restructuring the school curriculum in order to respond to these demands. This educational issue is directly related to the argument that "Anglo-Saxon culture" plays an important role in structuring the experience of ethnic minorities⁴⁵. It is claimed that this dominance at the cultural level also extends into the realm of social and economic opportunities which prevent members of ethnic minorities from achieving equal access to desirable life chances. This assertion is based on the premise that the dominant culture is rooted in the socio-economic system of society and thereby strengthens the hegemony of powerful groups in all spheres of life, including the structure of educational, economic and social opportunities.

Therefore, in describing Britain as a multi-cultural society it is necessary to emphasise the dominance of a

45. V.S. Khan, 1982, "The Role of Culture of Dominance in Structuring the Experience of Ethnic Minorities", in "Race" in Britain, Continuity and Change, edited by C. Husband, Hutchinson University Library, London, pp.197-213.

white, middle-class, Anglo-Saxon culture and the "inequalities" which prevail between this and other cultures, and the way this relationship structures ethnic relations⁴⁶. While the concepts of a multi-racial, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society are sometimes used to denote a desirable state of affairs this can be confusing. These terms are applied in a normative sense in order to describe and analyse a society in which different cultures enjoy "equal" status⁴⁷. Since this state of affairs has not yet been reached in the United Kingdom, in this inquiry these concepts will be used in a substantive sense simply to describe a society comprising diverse racial, ethnic and cultural groups.

The Evolution of the Concepts of Assimilation, Integration, Accommodation and Cultural Pluralism.

Parallel to the development of the definitions of an ethnically and culturally diverse British society, the evolution of the concepts of assimilation, integration, accommodation and cultural pluralism was taking place. These terms involve the varied nature of adaptation and adjustment among the members of different ethnic groups

46. V.S. Khan, 1982, "The Role of Culture of Dominance in Structuring the Experience of Ethnic Minorities", in "Race" in Britain, Continuity and Change, edited by C. Husband, Hutchinson University Library, London, p.205.

47. B. Bullivant, 1981, The Pluralist Dilemma in Education, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, p.223.

to a host society. However, inherent in these concepts is the assumption that immigrants are entering a "homogenous" society without contradictions and groups with diverse and antagonistic interests which result in social and class conflict⁴⁸.

Despite this criticism it is necessary to analyse the evolution of these concepts because it had an important impact on government thinking and the formulation of policies towards ethnic minorities. Moreover, these ideas influenced the approach of the Department of Education and Science (DES), Local Education Authorities and individual schools with respect to the development of educational policies to meet the needs of ethnic minority children. The American experience provides a considerable amount of analytical material which has been used to gain an understanding of the concept of assimilation. Robert Park, for instance, gave the following definition of assimilation:

Social assimilation is the name given to the processes by which people of diverse origins and different cultural heritage occupying common territory achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient

48. S. Castles and G. Kosack, 1973, Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe, Oxford University Press, London, pp.1-2.

at least to sustain national existence⁴⁹.

Milton Gordon , an American social theorist, sees several dimensions to the concept of assimilation: cultural and behavioural assimilation which involves the change of cultural patterns to those of host society; structural assimilation which means the large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on the primary level; marital assimilation which involves large-scale intermarriage: identificational assimilation which refers to the development of a sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society; attitude receptional assimilation which relates to absence of prejudice; behavioural receptional assimilation which involves absence of discrimination and civic assimilation which involves absence of value and power conflict⁵⁰. He traces the development of the concept of assimilation in relation to the American ideologies of Anglo-conformity, the melting pot, and cultural pluralism. Anglo-conformity is a broad term which covers a range of viewpoints about assimilation but with the assumption that it is desirable to maintain white, middle class, Anglo-

49. R.E. Park, 1931, "Assimilation, Social", in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, edited by R. Edwin, A. Seligman and A. Johnson, The Macmillan Co, New York, Vol.2, p.281.

50. M. Gordon, 1964, Assimilation in American Life. The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins, Oxford University Press, New York, p.71.

Saxon institutions and the English language in America. The idea of the melting pot saw American society evolving into a totally new blend in both cultural and biological terms, with the stocks and folkways of Europe being indiscriminately mixed in the cauldron of the emerging nation. Cultural pluralism entails the recognition of the right of the ethnic group to maintain some degree of cultural difference and some measure of structural pluralism⁵¹. Milton Gordon points out that the two aspects of assimilation, Anglo-Conformity and the Melting Pot, were rejected by some American ethnic groups because they desired to keep their separate ethnic identity. Another example of the failure of these models can be seen in the experience of black Americans who encountered severe racial prejudice and discrimination and who could therefore neither conform to the dominant group nor merge with the rest of society. It was the third strategy, that of cultural pluralism, which enabled ethnic groups to retain their separate ethnic identity which came to dominate ethnic relations in contemporary American society.

The preceding account of the concept of assimilation is based on the American experience of how to deal with

51. M. Gordon, 1964, Assimilation in American Life. The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins, Oxford University Press, New York, p.71.

the challenge produced by specific historical, social and economic consequences of immigration. Although, the British situation is conditioned by entirely different historical factors, it is still useful to apply the same concept of assimilation to increase our understanding of the evolution of strategies adopted in this country to respond to ethnic and cultural diversity. It can be argued that the concept of assimilation dominated British academic analyses of adaptation and adjustment of the ethnic groups originating from the New Commonwealth countries. In the early nineteen sixties, for instance, an assimilationist approach was adopted by Sheila Patterson and by other scholars who came to be known as the "race relations industry"⁵². Patterson argued that black immigrants from the Caribbean and Africa would eventually be absorbed into the indigenous working class like the Irish and the Jews had been a generation earlier⁵³. In her study of West Indians in London she gave the following definitions of the terms assimilation, accommodation and cultural pluralism:

Assimilation is a complete adaptation by the immigrants or more usually by the minority group or by the individual members of it to

52. M. Banton and J. Harwood, 1975, The Race Concept, David and Carter, New York.

53. S. Patterson, 1963, "Dark Strangers". A Study of West Indians in London, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, pp.16-18.

the values and patterns of the receiving society accompanied by complete acceptance of the assimilating group on the part of the host. The ultimate social phase of assimilation may of course lead to the physical amalgamation of the minority group.

Cultural pluralism is a stage in which the incoming group as a whole through its own organizations adapts itself to permanent membership of the receiving society in certain major spheres, notably in economic and civic life.

And accommodation may be defined as the achieving of a modus vivendi between newcomers and the receiving society. The migrants establish themselves to an adequate extent economically and conform at least to the new society's basic norms⁵⁴.

This conception of the nature of adaptation and adjustment of the incoming groups was based on an optimistic model of group relations which envisaged a society in which racial, ethnic and cultural differences would play a progressively less important role in the relations between ethnic groups and the indigenous population. The main element in this model of ethnic relations was the belief that it is possible to create a society in which harmonious race relations would prevail.

However, these early ideas of assimilation as a mode of adaptation which would lead to harmonious race relations were gradually abandoned and replaced by a new approach which is typified by the concept of cultural pluralism⁵⁵.

54. S. Patterson, 1963, "Dark Strangers": A Study of West Indians in London, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, pp.21-24.

55. The concept of cultural pluralism in the context of

British experience means the recognition that different ethnic groups have the right to retain their separate ethnic and cultural identity. The retention and development of this identity exists in a social climate of mutual respect, appreciation and recognition of different cultures. In practice, however, this concept involves some difficulties arising from the problem of the development of separate ethnic institutions. Although, there are, for example, separate Jewish schools, the question remains as to how far the Authorities will allow the establishment of separate Hindu and Muslim schools to satisfy the ethnic and religious aspirations of some members of these ethnic groups. So far multi-cultural programmes introduced in certain British schools try to ensure that the curriculum reflects and recognises cultural and ethnic diversity, but the important issue is how far schools can provide ethnic minority children with adequate support for their ethnic cultures and languages. This may necessitate the actual incorporation of the languages of ethnic minorities into the school curriculum. So far the concept of cultural pluralism is incomplete and contradictory. In this thesis the definition of cultural pluralism given at the beginning of this footnote will be used.

These changes were brought about both by the prevailing attitudes among certain ethnic groups and by the stand taken by large sections of the indigenous population towards immigration and ethnic relations. As Hiro points out:

The evidence in this book (especially in terms of the historical and contemporary attitudes) of the White British leads one to conclude that the relationship between Afro-Asians and White British will not at least for the next generation or two graduate beyond the stage⁵⁶ of accommodation and formalised acceptance.

The Political, Institutional and Professional Responses to the Education of Ethnic Minority Children.

The multi-ethnic nature of contemporary British society and the cautious acceptance of the idea of cultural pluralism set new tasks and created a formidable challenge for the British education system. Since the nineteen sixties various educational institutions have painfully attempted to come to terms with the changing ethnic and cultural composition of the school population. The responses of these institutions and the effectiveness of the various strategies adopted have been conditioned by special historical traditions, by cultural and political

56. D. Hiro, 1973, Black British, White British, Eyre and Spottiswoode, Harmondsworth, p.320.

attitudes, and by the state of the British Economy.

In the past governments of various political persuasions, and the Department of Education and Science (DES), have not had any clear and coherent policies towards the education of children from ethnic minorities. Bullivant argues that government policies have been basically assimilationist, which has prevented any special attention being paid to the needs of ethnic minority children. He maintains that these policies were characterised by a blend of the recognition of the pluralist nature of British society and a conventional ideology of compensation for deprivation. This led to proposals aimed at solving the "problems" created by pluralism which included a wider "package" of social reforms designed to achieve greater equality of educational and employment opportunity⁵⁷. Thus Bullivant asserts:

Although this would seem to be a new approach to the problem of ethnic minorities, it has its roots in earlier government thinking about their position in British society, and it is basically assimilationist as it still sees a racial problem as one part of a wider context

57. B Bullivant, 1981, The Pluralist Dilemma in Education, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, p.29.

of social and economic deprivation that affects all disadvantaged groups⁵⁸.

It is correct to suggest that both Labour and Conservative governments since the nineteen sixties have seen the problems of ethnic minorities as basically similar to those experienced by indigenous disadvantaged groups. Despite a certain ideological variation in the conception of the problem by the two ruling parties, the issue of "double disadvantage" which is experienced by ethnic groups was not fully recognised. Double disadvantage refers to the idea that although ethnic minorities share the experience of indigenous disadvantaged groups in terms of social and economic deprivation, nonetheless, they also face an additional disadvantage which derives from the dimension of racial prejudice and discrimination. The fact that this dimension of the problem was largely ignored by various governments until the mid-seventies resulted in totally inadequate policies to meet this situation.

As far as education was concerned, the British education system began to pay attention to the problems of cultural pluralism in the second half of the sixties.

58. B. Bullivant, 1981, The Pluralist Dilemma in Education, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, p.29.

Before this period its policies were assimilationist. In 1963, for instance, the Robbins Report saw one of the aims of higher education as the transmission of a common culture and common standards of citizenship. Thus Fuller points out that at this time it was assumed that education had a major role to play in bringing about racial harmony and cultural assimilation⁵⁹.

Two decades later, the British Education system was operating in a very different political climate. During the 1983 General Election, for instance, leaders of both The Conservative and Labour parties signed a statement pledging that the school curriculum would be developed along multi-cultural lines. The statement was drawn up by the All Party Committee Against Racism. The following is an extract from this statement:

We are committed to ensuring that our education system - including the school curriculum - is developed to take into account the multi-cultural nature of modern British society⁶⁰.

59. M. Fuller, 1974, "Experiences of Adolescents from Ethnic Minorities in the British State Education System", in P.J. Bernard (ed.) Les Travailleurs Etrangers en Europe Occidentale, Paris, pp.173-192.

60. The Times Educational Supplement, 17.6.1983.

How far this declaration was to be translated into action remains to be seen.

It is possible to argue that political institutions including the government, parliament and the political parties, which play a leading role in developing educational policy, are cautiously accepting the idea of cultural pluralism as a means of satisfying the aspirations of ethnic minorities. However, there is another argument which suggests that the formulation of multi-cultural policies by the state was to a large extent a response to the threat of black rebellion in schools⁶¹. Moreover, it has been suggested that the state perceives youth, especially black youth, as a "problem" and that the elimination of racism is not the primary objective of state multi-cultural policies⁶².

Political decisions related to the formulation of educational policies towards ethnic minority children are of paramount importance. That is why in the next chapter I consider the political response and analyse the reaction of the House of Commons through an examination of the

61. F. Dhondy, May 1978, "The Black Explosion in Schools", Race Today, Vol.6, No.2. pp.43-48.

62. A. Green, Spring 1982, "In Defence of Anti-Racist Teaching: A Reply to Recent Critiques of Multi-cultural Education", NAME, Multi-racial Education, Vol.10, No.2. pp.19-34.

Parliamentary Select Committees on Race Relations and Immigration and their implications for the implementation of educational programmes by the Department of Education and Science (DES) from the nineteen sixties to the present day.

Chapter Two.The Development of Educational Policies in the Era of "Assimilation": The Evolution of an Educational "Problem".

During the nineteen sixties and early seventies the thinking of those who formulated educational policies and provided leadership to the British education system was dominated by assumptions of assimilation. This philosophy also influenced the strategies of Local Education Authorities, schools and teachers, the majority of whose members held the belief that ethnic minority children should become part of the mainstream of British society¹. This implied that ethnic and cultural differences should not be specifically recognised and ethnic minorities should be encouraged to adopt the culture of the host society and that social policies should be designed to achieve that objective.

1. This belief was based on the assumption that any emphasis on racial and ethnic differences would prevent the integration of ethnic minorities into the British society. Also children in schools from different ethnic minorities should be encouraged to integrate and finally assimilate in school life without any deliberate attempt to reinforce their ethnic and cultural identity. However, as the Swann Committee points out, any deliberate social policy of assimilation would be a denial of the fundamental freedom of all individuals to differ in aspects of their lives. The committee also found out that the sense of "ethnic identity" among many members of ethnic minority groups is so strong that it would not be dissolved in the face of the influence of the majority group's way of life.

It is important to recognise that the evolution of educational policies can only be understood within the general context of immigration policies and race relations in the United Kingdom. In the next section of this chapter I shall discuss government policies on immigration, particularly in the nineteen sixties and early seventies which were designed to curb the flow of ethnic minorities from the New Commonwealth countries with an analysis of the different approaches of the two main political parties towards ethnic groups. Then I will examine the political and institutional responses generated to meet what were gradually perceived to be the "special needs" of children from different ethnic minority groups.

The Debate on "Immigration".

It is argued that the policies promoting immigration control were guided by the same assumptions of assimilation that prevented the development of appropriate educational and other social policies. The Conservatives, for example, justified their policy for immigration control using the argument in relation to the "capacity to absorb". Strict control of entry from the New Commonwealth was necessary if those immigrants already in the United Kingdom were to be assimilated in British society without further damage to race relations. The reasons for the change of policy of the Conservative party towards immigration were the following. Firstly, there was the growing feeling among Conservative ministers that increasing racial tension could only be

avoided by using immigration controls. Secondly, the substantial increase in immigration from the West Indies and South-East Asia created acute problems for the Local Authorities. Thirdly, the most important pressure for immigration control was the possible reaction of the indigenous population if immigration remained uncontrolled². The preoccupation with "numbers" and the future scale of immigration is shown by the statement made in the House of Commons by Thorneycroft, the Conservative Home Secretary, in 1965.

There has been disclosed in the course of the debate a very great degree of unanimity of the broad aspects of the problem with which we are faced. The government accepts that there must be - simply because of the scale of possible immigration - effective control of numbers³.

The Labour Party was initially against any immigration controls and opposed the introduction of legislation to control immigration in 1961-62. The leader of the Labour Party, Gaitskell, made the following speech against the introduction of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act:

2. Z. Layton-Henry, 1984, The Politics of Race in Britain, Allen and Unwin, London, p.40.

3. Hansard, 23.3.1965, Col.443.

What then is the reason for this Bill? The immigrants are healthy, law-abiding and are at work. They are helping us. Why then do the government wish to keep them out? We all know the answer. It is because they are coloured and because in consequence of this there is a fear of racial disorder and friction. This is the real question. Why do we have so much hypocrisy about it? Why do we not face up to the matter? There is a problem here. None of us have ever denied it. There are social problems and an appalling housing problem. We concede the existence of the problem in certain areas, but we do not believe for one moment that this Bill is the way to handle them. We do not believe that the Bill is justified by the facts. We think that probably it will not work at all. But at the same time we think that it will do irreparable harm to the Commonwealth⁴.

However, the Labour Party appeared to agree with immigration controls in the mid nineteen sixties for different reasons, either because of the threat of a "white backlash" or from the fear of losing electoral control in crucial inner city constituencies as a result of opposition to racist campaigns (as happened in Smethwick in 1964). This change in Labour Party policy was indicated by the statements of one Labour MP and a Labour minister in 1964. Hattersley, the then new MP for Sparkbrook, emphasised the importance of immigration controls for the promotion of integration of different ethnic groups in British society by making the following statement:

4. Z. Layton-Henry, 1984, The Politics of Race in Britain, Allen and Unwin, London, p.53.
See: Z. Layton-Henry and P. Rich, 1986 Race, Governments and Politics in Britain, Macmillan, London.

Integration without control is impossible, control without integration is indefensible⁵.

Also in 1964, the Labour Home Secretary, Sir Frank Soskice, concentrated on the practical problems of immigration and agreed that there should be more elaborate and long-term legislation⁶. He made the following statement in the House of Commons in relation to immigration controls:

The government are firmly convinced that an effective control is indispensable. That we accept, and have always accepted, although we couple it with the feeling that the Commonwealth must be brought in. We must have an effective control whatever we have.

British government policies towards immigration in the sixties and seventies favoured strict control, especially of black immigrants from New Commonwealth countries. In order to put these policies towards immigration control into a perspective it would be appropriate to look at evidence which shows the increase in numerical strength of the minority groups originating from the New Commonwealth

5. J. Rex and S. Tomlinson, 1979, Colonial Immigrants in a British City: A Class Analysis, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p.53.

6. Z. Layton-Henry, 1984, The Politics of Race in Britain, Allen and Unwin, London, p.60.

7. Hansard, 17.11.1964, Col.290.

countries from 1951 to 1961. This evidence is provided by the censuses taken in 1951 and 1961.

Table 4

Estimated immigrant population in England and Wales,
1951 and 1961.

<u>Area of Origin</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>
India	30,800	81,400
Pakistan	5,000	24,900
Ceylon	5,800	9,000
West Indies*	15,300	171,800
West Africa ⁺	5,600	19,800
Far East ^x	<u>12,000</u>	<u>29,600</u>
Total coloured population	<u>74,500</u>	<u>336,600</u>
Cyprus and Malta	24,700	66,600
Total Commonwealth population	<u>336,400</u>	<u>659,800</u>
Irish Republic	472,100	644,400
Aliens	378,400	415,700
Total resident population	<u>43,758,000</u>	<u>46,105,000</u>
Coloured persons per 1,000	<u>1.70</u>	<u>7.30</u>

* Includes British Guiana and British Honduras.

+ Includes Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone.

x Includes Hong Kong, Malaya and Singapore.

8. E.J.B. Rose, 1969, Colour and Citizenship, Oxford University Press, London, p.72.

This table shows how the position changed in the ten years between 1951 and 1961:

The coloured population born overseas increased to a third of a million, and over half the increase came from the West Indies. In 1961 it amounted to 7.3 persons per 1,000 of the population. But the increase was not so great in absolute terms as the amount of public debate might have suggested. Citizens of the Irish Republic remained in 1961, as in 1951, the largest of the ethnic minorities in Britain. Within the inter-censal period the absolute increase among the Irish was still larger than the number of West Indians arriving in the same ten years. The number of aliens also was greater than the coloured population.

One explanation of the introduction of policies for immigration control was the fact that the economic revival was slowing down in the early nineteen sixties producing an imminent economic crisis and the threat of increased unemployment¹⁰. It can be argued that the economic factor provided the motivation behind the shift towards immigration controls, with the stress now placed on the economic costs rather than the economic benefits of unrestricted immigration.¹¹ A further explanation given by Rex and

9. E.J.B. Rose, 1969, Colour and Citizenship, Oxford University Press, London, p.73.

10. G. Ben-Tovin, J. Gabriel, I. Law and M. Stredder, 1982, "A Political Analysis of Race in the 1980's", in "Race" in Britain: Continuity and Change, ed. C. Husband, Hutchinson University Library, London, pp.303-315.

11. Ibid.

Tomlinson for the change of attitudes towards immigration lies in the sphere of working class racism. They argue that although sections of the working class might accept the idea of common citizenship in theory, nonetheless, they became seriously concerned when it seemed that blacks from the colonies were to be treated as their equals in practice¹².

The rising tide of "coloured" immigration led to an increasing social unease and political agitation for immigration controls. This resulted in a series of legislative measures designed to restrict migration from the New Commonwealth countries: The Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962; The Immigration White Paper, 1965; The Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1968; The Immigration Act, 1971; and The British Nationality Act, 1983¹³. At the same time, Labour and Conservative governments

12. J. Rex and S. Tomlinson, 1979, Colonial Immigrants in A British City: A Class Analysis, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p.49.

13. T. Rees, 1982, "Immigration Policies in the U.K." In "Race" in Britain: Continuity and Change, ed. C. Husband, Hutchinson University Library, London, p.83.

also introduced Race Relations legislation¹⁴ to protect the civil rights of ethnic minorities. While such acts were passed in order to attack the most blatant forms of public discrimination, such protective legislation did not lead to any national policy towards ethnic minorities. This is illustrated by the findings of the 1968-69 Select Committee on Immigration and Race Relations¹⁵.

14. See Race Relations Acts. In the 1965 Race Relations Act it was made unlawful to discriminate on the grounds of race, colour, or ethnic origin in places of public resort, such as hotels, restaurants, theatres and swimming pools. This Act also set up the Race Relations Board to receive complaints of discrimination. The 1968 Race Relations Act enlarged the scope of anti-discrimination legislation to include employment, housing and the provision of goods and services. This Act also established a statutory Community Relations Commission in order to promote "harmonious community relations". The 1976 Race Relations Act included the prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of colour, race, or nationality in employment, housing education and the provision of goods and services. This Act extended the definition of discrimination to include indirect forms "where unjustifiable practices and procedures which apply to everyone has the effect of putting people of a particular racial group at a disadvantage". This meant a recognition that ethnic minorities may be denied equal opportunities through indirect discrimination. This Act also abolished the Community Relations Commission (CRC) and provided for the setting up of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE).

15. Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration.
The Problem of Coloured School Leavers, 1968-69. HMSO. London.

However, the Select Committee felt at the time of their report that the DES were in a position to give stronger leadership to the task of catering for the educational needs of children from minority backgrounds and that they had not fully carried out this leadership, especially over such issues as encouraging and training of teachers. The recommendations in their latest report on education reiterate this need for more leadership and direction from the DES. Our survey shows considerable variation both in method and quality between the ways in which local authorities with concentrations of minority ethnic groups tackle the task of education. It also shows that many local authorities are reluctant to act on recommendations without a Government lead, even though they may believe them to be sound¹⁶.

One reason for the failure to initiate a national policy in relation to educational "needs" of ethnic minorities was due to the fact that successive governments did not recognise the importance of "double disadvantage" produced by racial prejudice and discrimination. This reluctance to accept the seriousness of the problem obstructed the formulation of policies to meet the "special needs" of ethnic minorities¹⁷.

Despite a degree of consensus on immigration controls

16. CRC, 1974, The Response to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, Community Relations Commission, London, p.17.

17. CRC, 1974, Educational Needs of Children from Minority Groups. Community Relations Series, No.1.

and the treatment of members of ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom there were differences in emphasis between the two major political parties in details of their policies. In the next section these differences will be examined in relation to the political ideologies of the two major parties.

The Evolution of the Policies of the two main Political Parties towards Ethnic Groups.

In order to understand the evolution of policies towards immigration and race relations it is helpful to look at the different political ideologies related to the concept of British citizenship. Rex and Tomlinson highlight the nature of these ideologies pointing out that, since the passing of the 1948 Nationality Act, three main political perspectives developed towards the concept of British citizenship. They write:

The Conservative imperialist ideology lingers on in the residual idea of the common Commonwealth citizenship, but within this common citizenship, different classes of citizens are created, each having different and unequal rights. The liberal human rights ideology leads to legislation against racial discrimination but this legislation itself is modified and weakened so as to be adapted to a variety of vested interests. Finally, the socialist ideal of the brotherhood of all working men, though it survives in the ritualistic utterances of trade unionists and labour politicians, is coupled with the belief that immigrants are potential blacklegs, who will undercut the price of labour, and take an unfair share of

the welfare rights which have been won in
the course of bitter working-class struggle¹⁸.

Rex and Tomlinson argue that the Conservative governments of Churchill, Eden and Macmillan resisted any agitation for immigrant control. This can be explained both in terms of the need for immigrant labour and because of their commitment to the idea of a common Commonwealth citizenship¹⁹. Similarly the Labour party, under the leadership of Gaitskell and being guided by the ideology of international brotherhood, opposed any immigration controls. During the 1964 general election the Labour party maintained a liberal view on the immigration issue arguing that the problem which the public was identifying as racial was in fact a matter of deficient social services²⁰.

However, as Layton-Henry argues²¹, the electoral defeats of Smethwick and Leyton induced the Labour party to keep

18. J. Rex and S. Tomlinson, 1979, Colonial Immigrants in a British City: A Class Analysis, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p.47.

19. Ibid. pp.48-49.

20. Ibid.

21. Z. Layton-Henry, 1984, The Politics of Race in Britain, Allen and Unwin, London, p.63.

"race" out of party politics and to establish a bipartisan accord with the Conservative opposition in parliament during the nineteen sixties. Such a strategy could only work with the co-operation of the Conservative party leadership and for a time it was successful due to the consent of Edward Heath and Quintin Hogg. The price of this co-operation was the adoption by the Labour government of tough immigration controls and the introduction of correspondingly weak race relations legislation, emphasising conciliation rather than legal sanctions. In 1968, however, this consensus was broken by Conservatives led by Duncan Sandys and Enoch Powell. The Labour party policy highlighted by the betrayal of British Asians in Kenya, failed to work as Powell moved on to the offensive followed by much of the rank and file of the Conservative party and with most of the electorate in support²².

In the nineteen seventies, the two major parties were faced with new political developments in relation to ethnic minorities which dictated a different approach.

22. Z. Layton-Henry, 1984, The Politics of Race in Britain, Allen and Unwin, London, p.63.

There was the realization of the importance of the black vote, especially in marginal seats. The Conservative party for instance, sought to forge links with the Asian and West Indian communities by establishing Conservative societies in areas with heavy minority concentration and by recruitment aimed at ethnic minority voters. At the same time the Conservative leadership adopted a more positive approach towards ethnic minorities as witnessed by the stand taken by the Shadow Cabinet towards anti-discrimination legislation²³. It did not oppose the passing of the 1976 Race Relations Act despite backbench disquiet and resentment²⁴. However, the fear of losing the electoral support of the white population induced the leadership to make statements in favour of tougher immigration controls. This can be illustrated by the television interview given by Mrs. Thatcher in 1978 when she claimed that most people were afraid that this country and the British character might be "swamped" by people with different cultures. She claimed the Conservative party would hold out the prospect of an end to immigration except in compassionate cases²⁵.

The Labour party adopted a different approach towards

23. Z. Layton-Henry, 1984, The Politics of Race in Britain, Allen and Unwin, London, pp.147-148.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

ethnic minorities in the nineteen seventies with the development of new policies in relation to black voters and racialism. Two main reasons might be given for this change. Firstly, between 1970 and 1974, the Labour party moved to opposition and this meant that it had no/^{direct}responsibility for legislation and administration. Secondly, a shift to the left took place within the National Executive Committee (NEC) and the Constituency Labour parties and the trade union movement²⁶. This change provided a stronger basis for a more principled stand to be taken on sensitive electoral issues like immigration. This means that left wing members of the NEC and members of the Constituency Labour party are more in favour of socialist principles such as the idea of "brotherhood of man" and the common interests of the international working class and are prepared to support policies which promote equal opportunities and anti-racist initiatives. This is in contrast to the right and centre wing of the Labour party who are more "pragmatic" and more concerned in winning general elections and acquiring political power in the form of forming a Labour government. Their stand on immigration will be determined by the calculations of winning the support of the electorate instead of adhering to socialist

26. M. Hatfield, 1978, The House the Left Built: Inside Labour Party Policy Making 1970-75, Gollanz, London.

principles. The shift within the NEC led to a divergence between the Labour government of 1974-79 and the Labour party in the country²⁷.

The manifestos of the two major political parties reveal the differences in emphasis and approach towards ethnic minorities. The Labour party in the 1979 general election emphasised the need to strengthen the legislation protecting the minorities against discrimination and racialism. It promised that the next Labour government would:

- (a) Give a strong lead, by promoting equality of opportunity at work throughout the public sector;
- (b) Help those whose first language is not English;
- (c) Monitor all government and local authority services to ensure that minorities are receiving fair treatment;
- (d) Consider what measures may be necessary to clarify the role of the Public Order Act and to strengthen and widen the scope of the Race Relations Act;
- (e) Review the 1824 Vagrancy Act with a view to repealing section 4²⁸.

27. Z. Layton-Henry, 1984, The Policies of Race in Britain, Allen and Unwin, London, pp.147-48.

28. The Labour Party is the Better Way, 1979, London, p.29.

Furthermore, the Labour party promised to honour commitments to those who wished to migrate to Britain and also to revise immigration and citizenship law on which a start had already been made with the publication of the Government Green Paper²⁹.

In contrast the Conservative manifesto reiterated the argument that racial harmony in Britain was dependent upon effective control of immigration and stated:

The rights of all British citizens legally settled here are equal before the law whatever their race, colour and creed, and their opportunities ought to be equal too. The ethnic minorities have already made a valuable contribution to the life of our nation, but firm immigration control for the future is essential if we are to achieve good community relations. It will end persistent fears about levels of immigration and will remove from those settled, and in many cases, born here, the label of immigrant³⁰.

The manifesto listed specific commitments which, if implemented, would substantially tighten immigration controls. These included the introduction of a New Nationality Act to define the entitlement to British citizenship and the right of abode in this country. The limitation of entry

29. The Government Green Paper, 1979, HMSO, London.

30. The Conservative Manifesto, 1979, Conservative Central Office, London, p.20.

into the United Kingdom of parents, grandparents and children over 18 would be restricted to a small number of compassionate cases³¹.

Political party conferences also indicate the differences in policy emphasis of the two major parties and the divisions within them. The 1982 Conservative party conference, for instance, was preoccupied with immigration controls, voluntary repatriation and opposition to positive discrimination. At this conference the continuing divisions on immigration and race relations within the Conservative party remained clear. There were 15 resolutions on immigration and race relations. Two were submitted by the minority societies: the Anglo-Asian Conservative Society urged equal treatment for men and women under the immigration rules which the Home Secretary was shortly to introduce, and a motion by the Anglo-West Indian Conservative Society called for government assistance to help the black community to create a stronger commercial base. The 13 motions from the constituency parties were on negative themes. Five demanded a halt to immigration, four were opposed to positive discrimination, one called for voluntary repatriation, while two, if accepted, would have involved the abolition of the Commis-

31. The Conservative Manifesto, 1979, Conservative Central Office, London, p.20.

sion of Racial Equality (CRE). In addition, there was a multiple motion from Newham South-West which demanded the halt to immigration, opposition to positive discrimination and called for the implementation of a large government scheme to encourage voluntary repatriation³². However, Timothy Raison, the Home Office minister with particular responsibility for race relations attacked those who even raised the possibility of repatriation. He said:

There are people saying that they want a massive voluntary scheme of repatriation, these demands can be unsettling and destroy the sense of security that is so important. We must make it absolutely understood that if they are lawfully here they have every right to stay here and there is nothing to take away their rights³³.

In the 1982 Labour party conference there was a different response to the issues of immigration and race relations. The Labour Party's National Executive Committee (NEC) continued to give race relations and minority rights a high priority and was determined to press future Labour governments to repeal or amend discriminatory legislation which previous Labour administrations had helped to enact. This conference accepted the commitment to fundamental reform of the Nationality and Immigration Law by repealing the 1971 Immigration Act and the British Nationality Act.

32. Conservative Party Conference Agenda, 5-8 October, 1982, pp.84-85.

33. Ibid. pp.46-48.

Only three constituency Labour parties submitted motions on immigration and race relations for consideration³⁴.

All opposed racism, one emphasising the need for change in the immigration law and two favouring affirmative action or positive discrimination. One of the motions was from Roy Hattersley's own constituency, Sparkbrook, Birmingham. It stated:

The conference believes that the Labour Party should express the view that positive discrimination for ethnic groups in respect of employment, housing and education should be encouraged by local authorities, government departments and all other agencies³⁵.

It should be noted, however, that there was a change of direction in relation to policies towards ethnic groups in the nineteen eighties. The 1983 general election Labour party manifesto revealed a shift of emphasis towards recognising that racial minorities might have to be given special help to offset a legacy of disadvantage. The manifesto promised that the next Labour government would lead a political offensive against racial disadvantage, discrimination and harassment. It would also greatly expand funding for ethnic minority projects. Local authorities would be encouraged, when selecting projects under urban programmes, to provide greater participation for

34. Immigration: Labour's Approach, Statement to Conference by NEC, Annual Report of the Labour Party, 1982, pp.144-150.

35. Agenda, 81st Annual Conference of the Labour Party, 1982, p.143.

ethnic minorities³⁶.

Some scholars have claimed that the two major political parties have begun to develop long term strategies and policies towards ethnic minorities. Recent Conservative party's policies are based on the assumption that Commonwealth immigration is largely over and the crucial issues concern the integration of the second and third generation. These ideas ignore the fact that despite the decline of Commonwealth immigration the issue of racial disadvantage is still prevalent³⁷ and the fact that most members of ethnic minorities still wish to retain their cultural identity³⁸. There is not yet evidence that second generation immigrants have managed to avoid racial disadvantage or wish to discard their cultural and ethnic identity and assimilate. The Conservative thinking is still influenced by the assimilationist perspective that ignores racial and ethnic differences and does not promote a pluralistic model of society. This is the message

36. The New Hope for Britain, Labour's Manifesto, 1983, published by the Labour Party, London, p.28.

37. D.J. Smith, 1977, Racial Disadvantage in Britain, The PEP Report, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, London. See C. Brown, 1984, Black and White Britain, PSI, London. "A Report on Job Discrimination against Young Blacks in Nottingham", CRE, 1981.

38. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, p.4.

implicitly conveyed in the 1983 general election poster slogan - "Labour Says He's Black; Tories Say He's British - which caused so much controversy³⁹.

The Labour party, on the other hand, has been "ambivalent" about tough immigration controls and committed to eliminate those parts of the controls which are racially discriminatory. These differences in approach are clearly stated in the two manifestos for the 1983 general election. The Conservatives defended their record on race relations and immigration on the grounds that their policies were firm but fair. They did not commit themselves to any specific proposals. The manifesto stated:

We are utterly opposed to racial discrimination whenever it occurs and we are determined to see that there is real equality of opportunity. The Conservative Party is and always has been strongly opposed to unfairness, harassment and persecution whether it is inspired by racial, religious or ideological motives⁴⁰.

However, the Conservative manifesto does not propose positive action to remedy racial disadvantage in contrast to the proposals of the Labour manifesto (outlined previously) which are in favour of action and the introduction of programmes to remedy racial disadvantage.

39. Z. Layton-Henry, 1984, The Politics of Race in Britain, Allen and Unwin, London, pp.14-15.

40. The Conservative Manifesto, 1983, Conservative Central Office, London.

The Early Responses to the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups: The Dispersal Policy.

The British education system responded to the education of ethnic minority children in the assimilationist phase without the guidance of any systematic and co-ordinated social policy towards ethnic minorities. One of the major concerns of this model was:

The officially sanctioned and indeed encouraged attempts at "dispersing" these children between different schools in an attempt to "spread the problem" and avoid any school becoming predominantly immigrant in character⁴¹.

The introduction of the dispersal policy in the nineteen sixties reveals the assimilationist assumptions inherent in the DES and local authorities' strategies towards the education of ethnic minorities. It was based on the belief that a smaller number of immigrant children in each school could be more easily handled and the integration into the mainstream of British educational life could be achieved with a minimum use of additional resources. This policy showed lack of concern on the part of the central and local government for special measures to compensate for the particular difficulties of immigrant children and substantiates the claim that the initial reaction of the

41. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. "Education for All", HMSO, London, p.192.

DES was prompted by the threat of a white "backlash". Evidence of this interpretation can be seen in the timing of the proposals. The introduction of the dispersal policy followed certain events which had taken place in Southall in 1963. White parents in Southall schools protested against the presence of immigrant children, mainly children of South Asian background. It was alleged by the indigenous parents that the increase of these children was undermining educational standards and was therefore harmful to the education of indigenous children. The government reaction to these complaints was to send the Education Minister, Edward Boyle, to Southall to try to defuse this tense situation. Boyle rejected suggestions that separate schools be set up for immigrant children, and rather introduced the idea of dispersal as shown in the Circular 7/65⁴². This policy meant that in future arrangements should be made to try to maintain a limit of no more than 30 per cent of immigrant children in the school.

Although some local education authorities adopted a policy of dispersal, nonetheless, the policy was controversial. As Kirp points out:

Dispersal was problematic because, as a result of DES action, it became a national policy

42. DES Circular, 7/65, June 1965.

pronouncement, and as such appeared to intrude upon local initiative....

Educationally rooted objections were just as important. The deliberate separation of home and school caused by busing was at odds with the prevailing British educational wisdom that a school should forge close links with the neighbourhood it served. Of at least equal significance was the perceived curtailing of parents' educational choice - also a strong tradition in British education. That this restriction was based on race was especially troubling. Defenses of busing were not persuasive for a people long attentive to individual liberties, distrustful of basing policy on group characteristics, and dubious about the benefits that might flow from the practice. Finally, the very fact that dispersal was an explicit policy proved disturbing⁴³.

Moreover, where such a policy was introduced it produced mixed reaction from the leaders of ethnic minorities and "liberals". The nature of this reaction is well documented by Rex and Tomlinson who write:

That an argument could be produced for spreading immigrant children around all the schools and preventing incipient segregation was obvious; and there were many "liberals" on the race issue who argued that Britain should follow the American Supreme Court's view stated in the *Brown v the Board of Education* in 1954 that separate facilities are inherently unequal. Moreover, it was clear in Britain, as it was in USA that opposition to dispersal came from those who were concerned to keep West Indian and Asian children out of schools in the suburbs. On the other hand in Britain West Indian leaders and "liberals" opposed

43. D.L. Kirp, 1981, "Inexplicitness as Racial Policy in Britain and the United States", in Race and Schooling in the City, A. Yarmolinsky, L. Liebman and C.S. Schelling (eds), Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, p.239

dispersal on the grounds that the very problem arose only because there was an inadmissible degree of segregation in housing⁴⁴.

Rex and Tomlinson point out that there were two different groups of people who opposed dispersal. Firstly, there were those who opposed dispersal on the grounds that bussing meant that children of immigrant origin could go to schools in the suburbs or other areas where parents believed that the educational standards of the school would be undermined and the education of their children harmed. This might explain the fact that the majority of local education authorities did not adopt the policy of dispersal. Secondly, the other group of people who opposed dispersal were either leaders of ethnic minorities and members of these communities or "liberals" who argued against dispersal because they believed that bussing school children would involve an almost ritual declaration that black children were the cause of educational problems, and that dispersal would break up, or at least weaken, community support which was essential to a child's sense of identity and motivation to succeed. It was also claimed that the advantage of being in a school where more attention could be given to language and other needs outweighed the benefits of dispersal, which had the

44. J. Rex and S. Tomlinson, 1979, Colonial Immigrants in a British City: A Class Analysis, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, pp.164-65.

additional disadvantages of lengthy journeys and the difficulty of developing parental links with the schools.

Thus:

Some authorities rejected dispersal because it violated the principle of the neighbourhood school, and because of the belief among teachers that the contact with immigrant parents, which was possible only if the school was close to the children's home, was of real benefit in any attempt at integration⁴⁵.

In three areas, Ealing, Blackburn and Bradford, the Race Relations Board investigated complaints against the policy of dispersal. In Ealing fifteen years after the introduction of bussing, the local authority had to defend its dispersal policy in the courts against the claim that bussing was racially discriminatory, and ultimately announced its intention to abandon this policy. The complaint against Ealing was filed by the Race Relations Board. In Blackburn and Bradford, ironically the complaints were made by members of the National Front to the Race Relations Board. The complaint in Blackburn claimed that by giving blacks but not whites buses to ride, dispersal amounted to reverse discrimination. The Bradford complaint asserted that bussing cost non-white children valuable time, denied them a neighbourhood school and angered minority parents. The courts found it difficult

45. E.J.B. Rose et al, 1969, Colour and Citizenship, Oxford University Press, London, p.272.

to decide whether dispersal policy was premised on language difficulties or race⁴⁶.

The "Special Needs" of Ethnic Minority Children.

The government's perception of the "special needs" of children of immigrant background in the early nineteen seventies was revealed in its reply to the 1973 Select Committee on Immigration and Race Relations as follows:

An ever increasing proportion of the children of immigrant descent entering the schools have been born in this country, many of them of parents settled here for many years or indeed themselves born here. It is true that some of these children may have been reared in the language and customs of the country of origin and may need the same sort of help as a newly arrived immigrant child. But where immigrants and their descendants live in the older urban and industrial areas, the majority of these children are likely to share with the indigenous children of those areas the educational disadvantages associated with impoverished environment. The Government believes the immigrant pupils will accordingly benefit from special help given to all those suffering from educational disadvantage⁴⁷.

The main argument of this reply is that children of immigrant background share the same social and economic disadvantages with some sections of the indigenous children

46. D.L. Kirp, 1979, Doing Good by Doing Little: Race and Schooling in Britain, University of California Press, London, pp.69-103.

47. DES, Educational Disadvantage and the Educational Needs of Immigrants, 1974, Cmnd.5,720, paras. 2 and 3.

and the best way to meet their needs is through general policies designed for the disadvantaged groups. The government takes into consideration the fact that some needs of immigrant children, such as language and cultural differences are not shared with indigenous children. This perception of "special needs" associated with children of immigrant background guided the thinking of the government in relation to educational policies. The notion of double disadvantage was not recognised at this stage. Although general programmes for all the disadvantaged groups in society might be desirable politically because they attempt to achieve social equality, it is doubtful whether they will meet all the needs of ethnic minority groups, as Professor Little points out:

First, it must be noted that the exceptions (newness, language and culture) would still justify a serious advisory and support effort if needs are to be met effectively. Secondly, the argument underestimates the extent to which the history of racial discrimination created problems that schools must respond to and the difficulty of creating the political climate for generating that response. Many of the difficulties facing black children are the result of long histories of colonial exploitation and the existence of colour prejudice and discrimination in contemporary Britain⁴⁸.

48. A. Little, 1978, Educational Policies for Multi-racial Areas, University of London, Goldsmiths' College, London, p.26.

Discrimination and multiple disadvantage have a devastating effect on children's school work as the following account will reveal:

A final point to be taken into account is the fact of racial hostility and discrimination. This affects children at school in various ways: initially they experience the consequence of discrimination on their parents (who have limited job opportunities, poor housing etc.). As a result their own upbringing is less favourable than it might have been. We know, for example, that the incidence of multiple disadvantage is three times as high in the West Indian community as in the general population⁴⁹.

The main concern of the British education system was to help immigrant children⁵⁰ to learn English in order to hasten the process of absorbing them into the majority pupil population⁵¹, and to enable them to benefit from the dominant uni-lingual education system. The preoccupation of the DES and LEAs with the teaching of English as a second language (E2L) is shown by the provision of the 1966 Local Government Act. This act illustrates the intervention

49. CRC, 1977, Urban Deprivation, Racial Inequality and Social Policy, HMSO, London, p.15.

50. The DES definition of an immigrant child is given on p.13, chapter one. In this context immigrant children are those who originate from the New Commonwealth countries (India, West Indies, Cyprus and ex-colonial African states), Pakistan and Bangladesh.

51. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, p.192.

of government to bring financial assistance to multi-racial areas⁵². Section 11 of this Act enables the central government to meet the needs of ethnic minority population with extra funds. Originally such grant was at the rate of 50 per cent of expenditure but it was later increased to 75 per cent. In applying this Section the Home Office required local authorities to provide evidence of children of Commonwealth background in their areas⁵³. Despite its disadvantages⁵⁴ Section 11 is used by LEAs to make special provision in the exercise of their functions "in consequence of the presence within their areas of a substantial number of immigrants from the Commonwealth whose language or customs differ from those of the community". In 1978-79, for example, 88 local authorities and the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) claimed a grant, and the total amount of eligible expenditure was about £40 million. About 85 per cent of this was for education, largely for specialist teachers in language and remedial skills for primary and secondary

52. A. Little, 1978, Educational Policies for Multi-racial Areas, University of London, Goldsmiths' College, London, p.21.

53. Ibid.

54. Section 11 was criticised for certain limitations. The first payment is always after the event and there is no immediate source to meet unforeseen difficulties in schools. Its limitation to cover only staff makes it too restrictive and the limited definition of "immigrant" makes its use difficult. There is also lack of guidance from the Home Office as to the correct procedure for using Section 11 and there are variations in interpreting its scope by district auditors.

school children⁵⁵.

The immediate reaction of the local education authorities to the presence of immigrant children was the setting up of Reception Centres in the main areas of heavy immigrant concentration in order to facilitate the learning of the English language. In schools withdrawal classes⁵⁶ were established in order to provide special help for immigrant children in mastering English.

The "Problem" of Language and Culture.

It has already been emphasised that the main concern of the British education system centred around the issue of language difficulties of immigrant children. It was assumed that the teaching of English language would enable these children to overcome their initial difficulties and integrate smoothly into the mainstream of British schools. The language issue can be seen also in terms of the "stranger" hypothesis⁵⁷ which implies that increased understanding of English by the immigrant children would enable them to overcome any "cultural shock", and thereby help them to adapt to the culture of the host society. The

55. K. Young and N. Connelly, 1981, Policy and Practice in the Multiracial City, Policy Studies Institute, London, p.173.

56. Withdrawal classes were designed so that immigrant children who had language difficulties were taken out of the ordinary classes in order to receive special tuition in English.

57. S. Patterson, 1963, "Dark Strangers", A Study of West Indians in London, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, pp.12-15.

learning of English language was considered to be an important element in the process of acculturation and assimilation of these children both in schools and the wider British society.

The leading administrative institutions of the British school system, the DES and Local Education Authorities responded to the linguistic needs of immigrant children in different ways. It should be noted from the outset that the linguistic needs of Asian and Cypriot children were identified because it was assumed that their mother tongue was different from English. In contrast the language difficulties of the West Indian group were initially ignored and no help was provided to these children to master standard English because it was believed that English was their first language.

After 1963 the DES prompted the inspectorate to give advice to local education authorities facing difficulties in dealing with the needs of immigrant children. The inspectors urged schools to assess individual difficulties of these children and gave advice on the development of in-service training for teachers, the best way to promote better relations with immigrant parents and how to reassure parents of non-immigrant children that their education would not be impaired by the presence of ethnic minorities in British schools. The DES saw the "special needs" of immi-

grant children in terms of their linguistic deficiencies since the commitment to assimilationist assumptions dictated that these children should be integrated in schools as quickly as possible. The DES encouraged the inspectorate to publish a pamphlet entitled "English for Immigrants" which suggested that there was a need for a carefully planned intensive course making full use of modern methods of language teaching. It also gave advice on both social and educational problems experienced in schools with a sizeable number of immigrant pupils.

The LEAs' Response to the Education of Ethnic Minority Children.

The local authorities were not in agreement with the recommendations of the 1968-69 Select Committee that minority ethnic groups have special problems and "special problems need special treatment"⁵⁸. This approach was not accepted by many local authorities who felt that treating minority communities as special groups did not solve the problems⁵⁹. The findings of an inquiry based on the replies of 49 local authorities illuminates the initial response to the "special needs" of children from ethnic minority groups and the

58. Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1968-69. The Problem of Coloured School Leavers, HMSO, London, p.31.

59. CRC, 1974, The Response to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, Community Relations Commission, London, p.15.

demands of a multi-racial society. This inquiry was based on the recommendations made by the 1968-69 Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration. In terms of in-service training the Committee recommended that: "More refresher courses, conferences and other forms of in-service training are needed for the great majority of teachers have no specific training at all regarding race relations or the teaching of immigrants." The survey asked about the facilities provided for the in-service training in the understanding of the main principles of teaching English as a second language. The findings reveal that there is a great variety in the priority and type of in-service training for teachers: 27 LEAs in the sample said that provided some form of in-service training for language teachers, only 10 stated that this was continuous, and 7 stated that no courses of this type were necessary⁶⁰.

In the sphere of curriculum development the Committee recommended that: "Schools should prepare all children for adult life in a multi-racial society." The local authorities were asked about the steps taken to prepare pupils for adult life in a multi-racial society - 26 authorities stated that the answer lay in educating the teachers to

60. CRC, 1974, The Response to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, Community Relations Commission, London, p.20.

promote multi-racial understanding in all subjects, 17 authorities said they approached the subject in religious and moral education, 3 believed the question to refer to language training and one to the fact that the local dispersal policy acquainted all children with a multi-racial society.

At the follow-up stage of the inquiry, local authorities were asked to express their view on how far the need for teaching about the practical aspects of race relations as part of the curriculum had influenced the selection of subjects taught in schools within the authority, 12 authorities stated that they believed teacher training to be the key point of concern in that it is not so much what subject is taught but how it is taught. However, 6/15 authorities were actively engaged in curriculum development to cater for multi-racial education. One authority stated that they discussed race relations as a "subject" with the older pupils and one authority said that this subject was never discussed because it encouraged extremist views. On the question of how far the content of pupils' books are examined for possible misrepresentation and stereotyping of other races, 12 local education authorities stated that they were conscious of the problems and they believed that the head teachers who made the choice of books were also aware of this issue. The data obtained from this survey also reveals that 7 local education authorities

had actually taken steps to issue lists or have displays of "good" and "bad" books in order to assist their staff in their choice of books. In conclusion, there was much acceptance of the principle contained in the Select Committee's recommendations by local authorities on the need for and value of curriculum development, but for various reasons, including inadequate in-service provision, this was not often backed by practical action⁶¹.

Moreover, the findings of the inquiry indicate that there is inadequate provision for language teaching for West Indian children. Only 3 of the 15 authorities interviewed in depth stated that they ^{had given} West Indian children a similar amount of language attention as, for example, to Asian children. Furthermore, despite considerable efforts by local education authorities to give all non-English speaking children an elementary education in English as a second language, too few continued teaching it to the level required for these children to compete equally with indigenous children and therefore language provision could not be described as ^{of the kind} the Select Committee recommended⁶².

In the sphere of employment of teachers from minority ethnic groups, the Committee stated: "We hope that education

61. CRC, 1974, The Response to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration. Community Relations Commission, London, p.21.

62. Ibid., p.22.

authorities in all parts of the country will look for more coloured teachers, and that they will be widely employed." The findings of the inquiry reveal that when asked, several LEAs were unable to give an assessment of the number of black teachers in their employment, stating that no such records were kept, 24/49 authorities were able to make an assessment and were currently employing nearly 250 teaching staff of African, West Indian or Asian origin although over half of these were employed by four authorities. However, the inquiry concluded that the fact so few authorities appeared to realise the value which the Committee put on employing teachers from minority ethnic groups was not encouraging in terms of any concept of multi-ethnic education⁶³.

The dominance of assumptions of assimilation permeated educational thinking down to the level of the local education authorities and schools. The local education authorities were caught by surprise by the large number of immigrant children in the sixties and they hastily developed several systems in order to satisfy the language needs of immigrant pupils. Bristol, for example, established a language centre for secondary school pupils and employed peripatetic teachers⁶⁴ for primary schools. Arrangements

63. CRC, 1974, The Response to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration. Community Relations Commission, London, p.24.

64. Peripatetic teachers were employed by the local authorities for serving in different schools. They were not attached to any particular school.

were also made to withdraw pupils from ordinary classes for extra language tuition within schools. Ealing had a language centre for infants and withdrawal classes in secondary schools.

The main concern of the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) in this period was to assimilate children into London schools with minimum fuss and as quickly as possible⁶⁵. London schools were expected to minimise the importance of cultural differences, as Giles comments:

Many heads did not favour multi-racial approaches to education nor did they feel that children should be seen or treated any differently because of race or colour. Many schools with this philosophy were in favour of cultural assimilation as an education goal⁶⁶.

The ILEA language teaching provision was mainly provided to children of South Asian origin. One development which can be called a multi-ethnic initiative was the introduction of Black Studies in Tulse Hill secondary school. But this initiative was heavily criticised by divisional education officers and head teachers and also was not even regarded enthusiastically by black parents⁶⁷. Troyna, for example, points out

65. M. Weinberg, 1977, "Historical Framework on Multi-cultural Education", in D.E. Cross, C.C. Banks and L.J. Stiles (ed.), Teaching in a Multi-cultural Society, Collier Macmillan, London, pp.17-32.

66. R. Giles, 1977, The West Indian Experience in British Schools, Heinemann, London, p.96.

67. L. Hassan and B. Beese, 1982, "Who is Educating Who"? in F. Dhondy, B. Beese and L. Hassan, The Black Explosion in British Schools, New Beacon Books, London, pp.21-35.

in his study of ILEA's response to the education of children of immigrant background that the policy was notable both for its absence of recognition that British society was multi-racial and for the implication that what was needed was to teach immigrant children how to adapt to "white society"⁶⁸.

The Walsall Education Authority in the West Midlands is a major area of South Asian and West Indian settlement. The size of the ethnic minority in its schools rose from 5.29 per cent to 8.69 per cent in 1973, but since they were sharply concentrated in certain wards by 1973 there were ten schools with a pupil population of New Commonwealth background of more than 40 per cent⁶⁹. In the sixties Walsall's policies were similar to other LEAs' concentrating on an assimilationist strategy which emphasised cultural and linguistic adaptation. In 1968 an immigration centre was set up in order to facilitate this process. However, the Walsall education authority rejected both the idea of dispersal and the notion of separatism which meant the setting up of separate schools for ethnic minorities. The main concern of the authority was the teaching of English as a second language to immigrant children and there was also emphasis on the curriculum which

68. B. Troyna, 1982, "The Inner London Education Authority (ILEA)", The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, pp.18-41.

69. Ibid., p.70.

was directed towards integration recognising ethnic and cultural differences. The influence of the Plowden Report can be seen behind this approach which identified the problems of immigrants under the theory of general society and economic deprivation. Therefore the handicaps of double disadvantage were ignored and there was no special provision for immigrant children apart from the teaching of English. As it was emphasised earlier double disadvantage means that ethnic minorities, although they experience, along with the indigenous disadvantaged groups, deprivation which is produced by social and economic problems, such as bad housing, unemployment, poverty, limited facilities, nonetheless suffer an additional disadvantage which derives from racial prejudice and discrimination. The influence of double disadvantage on pupils has already been outlined earlier. In the era of assimilation local education authorities did not make provision for the needs of ethnic minority children derived from double disadvantage.

In Bradford children from ethnic minority groups make up an increasing proportion of the school population, especially those following the Muslim religion. In 1967, a report by the Schools Sub-Committee recognised this fact⁷⁰. The immediate response of the local education authority to the arrival of immigrant

70. J.Rex, 1982, "Bradford Local Education Authority" in The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.97.

children included the setting up of a reception centre for children aged eleven and over, and also the use of bussing in order to disperse children of Asian origin, so that no school would have more than a 10 per cent intake of ethnic minority pupils. This policy, however, was later questioned by Muslim parents because it was seen as a threat to their moral and religious heritage.

The preceding account illustrates how during the early seventies certain local education authorities with a large number of immigrant children followed policies dictated by an underlying assumption of assimilation.

The Question of Coloured School Leavers.

The 1968-69 Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration⁷¹ set out to examine the general state of race relations in the United Kingdom with a special task to produce a report on the problems of coloured school leavers. The Committee gave the following three reasons for its choice to investigate the problem of coloured school leavers:

71. The 1968-69 Select Committee was appointed by the House of Commons in November, 1968, and consisted of 16 MPs. The Labour MPs were: S. Bidwell, A. Bottomley, E. Heffer, Sir Barnett Janner, T. Jones, J. Lestor, K. Lomas, R. Moyle, A. Lyons and C. J. Oakes. The Conservative MPs were W. Deeds, W. A. Grieve, J. Knight, N. St. J. Stevans and Sir C. Sinclair. A Labour government was in office when the Select Committee was appointed. This Committee was to review policies in relation to the operation of the 1968 Race Relations Act with particular reference to the work of the Race Relations Board and the Community Relations Commission and to produce a report on coloured school leavers.

- (a) It was a continuing problem. Even if immigration were to stop immediately, children from minority ethnic groups would continue to leave British schools and seek employment and acceptance in British society.
- (b) The treatment of these school leavers was in a sense a test case in race relations, because if the country failed to give them full, fair and equal opportunities on entering adult life it was unlikely to succeed in any other sector of race relations.
- (c) The proper treatment of these young people was in the direct interests of the British people because discrimination against them in employment was not only a waste of the resources of the school, but also damaging to the national economy⁷².

The Select Committee was concerned about the danger of "ghettoisation" of ethnic groups in certain areas with multiple problems, including not only unemployment, but also poor housing and inadequate social services⁷³. It was thought at that time that the only way to eliminate the concentration was for immigrants to obtain better qualifications which could help them to end the restriction in choice of employment and housing.

Another concern of the Committee was that young people of Afro-Caribbean and Asian background might become dis-

72. CRC, 1974, The Response to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, Community Relations Commission, London, p.53.

73. J. Rex and R. Moore, 1967, Race and Community Conflict: A Study in Sparkbrook, Oxford University Press, Oxford

affected with their general treatment by British society and this would undermine the efforts to improve race relations and create a true multi-racial society. The Committee made the following statement concerning the treatment of coloured school leavers in British society:

The second generation of immigrants may be less patient in surmounting the difficulties that confront them than their parents have been and this may lead to racial discord⁷⁴.

The inquiry highlighted the problems and difficulties faced by school leavers of Asian background in relation to employment. In Southall, for example, school leavers were well motivated and they tried to obtain higher qualifications. However, they faced difficulties when they started searching for employment. It was felt that they experienced racial discrimination. The Select Committee drew attention to problems faced by coloured school leavers in employment and pointed out:

The evidence shows that colour discrimination in employment continues in some places and some occupations. It shows also that such discrimination has decreased in the last year or two and that employment opportunities for coloured leavers are increasing especially in the London area⁷⁵.

74. Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1968-69. The Problems of Coloured School Leavers, HMSO, London, pp.6-7. See: Lord Scarman, 1981, The Scarman Report. The Brixton Disorders 10-12 April 1981, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

75. Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1968-69. The Problems of Coloured School Leavers, HMSO, London, p.15.

It should be emphasised that the Committee admitted that throughout the inquiry there was an apparent conflict of evidence. The immigrant organisations, for example, believed that coloured school leavers did not get a fair and equal opportunity in the employment field⁷⁶. Sociological research reveals the extent of racial discrimination experienced by West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis. The following extract illustrates this point:

There is no significant differences in the level of discrimination between West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis, though we have already seen that discrimination against Greeks is markedly lower. This suggests that discrimination is based on a general colour prejudice, which does not distinguish much between belonging to different racial groups, having different religions, speaking different languages and coming from different countries. They are all lumped together as "coloured people".... Levels of discrimination against the three minority groups were closely similar (West Indians 33 per cent, Indians 27 per cent, Pakistanis 30 per cent). This confirms the conclusion drawn in the case of manual jobs, that discrimination is based on a generalised colour prejudice which makes little distinction between black and brown people belonging to different ethnic groups⁷⁷.

The report included evidence from the Community Relations Commission (CRC) which stressed the importance of

76. Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1968-69. The Problems of Coloured School Leavers, HMSO, London, p.15.

77. D.J. Smith, 1977, Racial Disadvantage in Britain. The PEP Report, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, pp.111-120. See: W.W. Daniel, 1969, Racial Discrimination in England, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

economic and social deprivation and highlighted the effects of double disadvantage. Immigrant families, for example, were forced to live in "twilight areas" because of racial discrimination. This introduces the element of educational disadvantage. There is a high probability that a child from these families would fall into the category of educationally disadvantaged⁷⁸.

The Committee also stressed the concept of a multi-racial society⁷⁹, a new view of social reality which shows a move away from assumptions of assimilation to an acceptance of Roy Jenkins' conception of integration as:

Not a flattening process of assimilation but an equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance⁸⁰.

The acceptance of this definition of integration marks a shift in emphasis in ethnic ideology (or rhetoric) and policy by the House of Commons in as much as the Committee represents different shades of political opinion. In the next

78. Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1968-69. The Problems of Coloured School Leavers, HMSO, London.

79. A multi-racial society is made up of different racial and ethnic groups. In this context it means a society characterised by racial harmony and equality of opportunity for different racial and ethnic groups.

80. R.Jenkins, 1966, Address given by the Home Secretary to a meeting of Voluntary Liaison Committees, NCCL, London quoted in N.Deakin, 1970, Colour Citizenship and British Society, Panther Books, London, p.23.

phase of British race relations the recognition of special needs of immigrant children took place within a new framework of cultural pluralism. In future, the Committee recommended, schools should prepare all children for adult life in a multi-racial society and provide special assistance to immigrant children. Furthermore, it proposed that colleges of education teach "race relations" to student teachers and efforts should be made to recruit more black teachers.

Chapter Three.

The Origins of Educational Multi-ethnic Policies:
From "Assimilation" to "Cultural Pluralism".

By the late nineteen sixties and early seventies there was a realisation that the assimilationist policies had failed to achieve their goals. A great number of ethnic minority pupils had educational needs which existing policies were unable to meet¹. This paved the way for a change in perceptions of strategies and programmes in relation to the education of ethnic minorities. This change was caused by several developments taking place in British society during the decade. Firstly, the illusion that "good" race relations would be achieved through assimilation was demolished with the mounting evidence of the existence of racial prejudice and discrimination in the areas of employment and housing. A number of studies have demonstrated the inequality experienced by ethnic minorities in these spheres². Secondly, the growing disaffection of black youth and its perception as a threat

1. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, p.199.

2. W.W. Daniel, 1968, Racial Discrimination in England, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.
See: D.J. Smith, 1977, Racial Disadvantage in Britain. The PEP Report, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.
C. Brown, 1984, Black and White Britain, The Third PSI Report, Heinemann, London.
CRE, 1980, A Report on Job Discrimination against Young Blacks in Nottingham.
CRE, 1984, Race and Council Housing in Hackney - Report of a Formal Investigation into the Allocation of Housing in the London Borough of Hackney.

to peaceful ethnic relations led to the questioning of the basic assumptions of assimilation³. Thirdly, awareness by some ethnic groups of their ethnic and cultural identity has been reinforced by the racist attitudes of a section of the indigenous population⁴. Fourthly, the continuing evidence concerning the academic underachievement of West Indian children produced disenchantment among this minority group and led to the belief that British schools were failing children of West Indian origin⁵. The research into the academic performance of ethnic minority pupils produced an awareness of the magnitude of this failure and led to some modification of initiatives introduced to deal with this issue. Finally, the constant pressure from the Community Relations Commission (CRC) in the early seventies and the Commission of Racial Equality (CRE) in the late seventies and eighties, and the ability of certain ethnic groups to gain concessions from the state education system, usually at local level, led to the introduction of multi-ethnic educational programmes in British schools.

3. The Select Committee of Race Relations and Immigration, 1968-69. The Problems of Coloured School Leavers, HMSO, London, pp.6-7.

A. Green, Spring 1982, "In Defence of Anti-racist Teaching: A Reply to Recent Critiques of Multi-cultural Education"

NAME, Multi-racial Education, Vol.10, No.2, p.23.

F. Dhondy, May 1978, "The Black Explosion in Schools", Race Today, Vol.6, No.2, p.43-48.

4. D.Hiro, 1973, Black British White British, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth. See: E. Powell, 1968, "Text of a Speech delivered to the Annual Meeting of the West Midlands Conservative Centre," Race, July, Vol.X, No.1.

5. B. Coard, 1971, How the West Indian Child is made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System, New Beacon Books, London.

The emphasis on ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism had an impact on the perceptions related to the nature of British society and the education system. In the sixties, under the influence of assumptions of assimilation, the difficulties facing ethnic minority children were perceived as a "problem" connected with adaptation and adjustment to the host society and their academic failure was explained in terms of their inadequacies and by factors emanating from their own environment. However, the developments mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, taking place in the nineteen seventies and eighties, led to a change in this perception and the response of the British education system to the "special needs" of ethnic minorities was critically examined⁶.

In the late nineteen seventies and eighties a change took place in the perceptions of leading political institutions, such as the House of Commons and political parties, in relation to the education of children of ethnic minority background. This shift in attitudes is revealed in the Education Report of the 1972-73 Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration⁷. The Committee examined the

6. There will be further discussion and analysis of the response of the British education system in Chapter Five over the question of the curriculum and multi-ethnic education.

7. A Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration was appointed by the House of Commons in November, 1972. A Conservative government was in office. This Committee comprised twelve MPs - Labour: N.G. Barnett, S. Bidwell, A. Bottomley, N.T. Torney and W. Wilson, Conservative: S.B. Chapman, W. Deedes, N. Fowler, B. Hayhoe, J.R. Kinsley, N. Wilkinson and Sir C. Sinclair.

educational problems of children whose parents came to this country in the last twenty years from Asia and the West Indies. It was recognised by the Committee that ethnic minority children faced special problems and special help was needed to overcome them⁸. On the other hand there was also concern about the fears of the indigenous population. This was expressed in the anxiety of the Committee about the reaction of non-immigrant parents in relation to the presence of a high number of ethnic minority children in some schools.

An example of this case was the Paddington comprehensive school which was considered by the Committee to be in an "explosive" situation in the sense that the school had a large number of children of immigrant background and white parents were unwilling to send their children to that school because they believed that their children's education would be undermined. Although evidence was still showing that coloured children under the present system of teaching were not keeping down their contemporaries⁹, nevertheless, there were some grounds to believe that this situation might lead to a "white backlash". In the early nineteen sixties as it is emphasised in chapter two, white parents in Southall were complaining about the large presence of children of Asian background in schools which in their view undermined the academic progress of indigenous children. This led

8. Select Committee on Immigration and Race Relations. The Education Report, 1972-73, HMSO, London.

9. Ibid.

to the introduction of the dispersal policy and the use of bussing in certain areas of the United Kingdom.

At this point it is useful to refer to the situation in the United States of America in relation to the issue of school desegregation. There are a number of differences between Britain and America (which will be mentioned later in this chapter) but at the same time there are similarities in the sense that America is mainly an English speaking country with a major influence of the white, middle class, Anglo-Saxon culture. Above all the problem of the ethnic composition of schools was critical both in the United Kingdom and America. In America white parents believed that the presence of black children in schools would undermine academic standards and harm the education of white children. A similar attitude was held by white parents in the United Kingdom in the nineteen sixties. The following account will highlight the reaction of white parents in the USA to the issue of school desegregation and will illuminate the ramifications of the racial policy introduced to deal with this issue, in contrast to the policies introduced in the United Kingdom in response to the education of different ethnic groups. In the USA, segregation, which meant separate schools for white and black children, became illegal in 1954 after the Supreme Court in Brown v the Board of Education of Topeca declared that racially segregated schools violated the constitutional rights of

black children. This declaration was the beginning of a long and difficult process of ending the American "caste" system and extending full citizenship to blacks and other minorities¹⁰. J.S. Coleman claims that:

The sole end of desegregation (indeed, the very meaning of desegregation) was abolishing state-created segregation of the schools in order to provide blacks the same range of educational opportunities available to whites. This meant eliminating the dual school systems in the South and creating a unitary system¹¹.

However, the legal pronouncement on this issue had a different impact in different part of the United States. In the South, after an initial resistance to desegregation in the nineteen fifties and sixties, the policy made good progress and schools are no longer segregated, whereas in the North the debate on desegregation is continuing with the existence of certain barriers which prevent the implementation of the policy of desegregation. One of the main obstacles which obstructs the implementation of this policy, especially in the North, is "white flight" which occurred after the legal declaration on segregation. "White flight" refers to the movement of whites away from areas made up predominantly by blacks with schools which exceed the 30% "racial tipping

10. A. Yarmolinsky, L. Liebman and C.S. Schelling (eds), 1981, Race and Schooling in the City, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, p.1.

11. J.S. Coleman, 1981, "The Role of Incentives in School Desegregation", in A.Yarmolinsky, L.Liebman and C.S.Schelling (eds), Race and Schooling in the City, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, pp.163-79.

point", to suburbs in order to enroll their children in all-white schools or schools with white majorities. The exodus of white parents coupled with the self-defeating court-ordered desegregation, as Pettigrew points out, has the effect of driving from the central-city public school systems white children and creating black core cities and white suburban rings¹².

The academic debate on this issue involves different approaches for the solution of the problem of white resistance to desegregation. Pettigrew, for instance, argues that the metropolitan approach to urban problems is the most effective approach. He believes that the metropolitan solution would break down the barriers which separate the core cities and the metropolitan rings which are mainly inhabited by whites with predominantly white schools. This means that the transportation of children should be extended beyond the central city areas and cover the suburbs of metropolitan areas in order to achieve racial balance in schools and thereby further the objectives of desegregation. He develops the argument with the following points:

First and foremost, urban and racial demography requires such approaches. Second, metropolitan approaches deter resegregation. Whether conceptualised as white flight or a "hastening up" effect,

12. T. Pettigrew, 1981, "The Case for Metropolitan Approaches to Public School Desegregation" in A. Yarmolinsky, L. Liebman and C. S. Schelling (eds), Race and Schooling in the City, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, pp. 163-79.

losses of white students in urban school districts have been consistently limited by metropolitan approaches¹³.

Coleman disagrees with Pettigrew's approach to urban problems of segregation. He agrees with the first stage of desegregation, developed at the time of the Brown decision, because this meant the abolition of a state-created segregation. However, he is against the objectives of the second stage of school desegregation, and writes:

In the 1960s there emerged a new set of ends of desegregation and, as a result, an almost unnoticed redefinition of desegregation. The clue is provided by a term that appeared at about that time, "affirmative integration". There was a move away from the goal of eliminating state-imposed segregation to eliminating all segregation, whether it resulted from individual actions of families or from state action. Stated differently, the goal shifted from eliminating state-imposed segregation to instituting state-imposed integration, by creating a numerical racial balance throughout the school system¹⁴.

Furthermore, Coleman is against compulsory bussing and suggests that public policies which do not have the support of those who they most affect are often unsuccessful. In order to promote integration he proposes a set of incentives

13. T.Pettigrew, 1981, "The Case for Metropolitan Approaches to Public School Desegregation" in A. Yarmolinsky, L.Liebman and C.S.Schelling (eds), Race and Schooling in the City, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, pp.163-64.

14. J.S.Coleman, 1981, "The Role of Incentives in School Desegregation", in A. Yarmolinsky, L.Liebman and C.S.Schelling (eds), Race and Schooling in the City, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, p.183.

such as the creation of "magnet schools" with "attractive curricula" with the objective of achieving white enrollment and the realisation of racial balance in schools and intergration of blacks and whites¹⁵. This proposal might be considered as either unrealistic or naive as an effective policy for breaking down the barriers of segregation and promoting the objectives of integration in the American school system if one takes into consideration the strong feelings and intransigent views surrounding the issue of desegregation.

The issue of school integration in USA still seems to be intractable because of the existence of obstacles deriving from housing segregation¹⁶, and persisting social and economic inequalities between blacks and whites and other cultural, racial and ethnic divisions. However, the American racial policy provides a contrast to the British policy on race and education. The American scene is characterised by an entirely different set of social, political and historical circumstances. Firstly, the non-white population of the United Kingdom is much smaller (about 4 per cent) than the black population of the United States (12-15 per cent). Secondly,

15. J.S. Coleman, 1981, "The Role of Incentives in School Desegregation" in A.Yarmolinsky, L.Liebman and C.S.Schelling (eds), Race and Schooling in the City, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, pp.191-92.

16. N. Glazer, 1981, "Race and the Suburbs" in A.Yarmolinsky, L.Liebman and C.S.Schelling (eds), Race and Schooling in the City, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, pp.136-42.

black Americans share a common history, heritage and culture, whereas the non-white groups in the United Kingdom share a diverse cultural and ethnic background. Thirdly, American blacks and British non-whites have a different history in their settlement. Blacks came to America as slaves and even when freed, they were victims of officially sanctioned discrimination until the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act¹⁷. In contrast, the non-whites in Britain came only recently and willingly to a country which offered them the prospect of economic and social advancement without officially sanctioned discrimination¹⁸. This diversity of circumstances has dictated different racial policies in America and the United Kingdom. The American racial policy has been preoccupied with desegregation and the realisation of integration of blacks and whites and other USA ethnic minorities. The education policy towards ethnic groups in the United Kingdom was distinguished by its emphasis on the linguistic needs of ethnic minority children, even in the late nineteen seventies and eighties, as the following account will reveal.

17. D.L. Kirp, 1981, "Inexplicitness as Racial Policy in Britain and the United States" in A.Yarmolinsky, L.Liebman and C.S.Schelling (eds), Race and Schooling in the City, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, pp. 233-49.

18. Ibid., p.245.

The Language Needs of Ethnic Minority Children.

The 1972-73 Select Committee examined the issue of language and the following points in relation to the linguistic difficulties of ethnic minority children emerged. Firstly, children who came from families where conversation was carried out in other language than English or in a dialect form of English needed help in order to master standard English. This meant that children whose mother tongue was not English faced language problems in the sense that they had difficulty in understanding the lessons which were taught in standard English and additional problems in comprehending and writing standard English. Different dialect forms of English refer to Creole which was spoken at home by some children of West Indian origin. This created problems in comprehending and writing standard English. These difficulties were confirmed by various research studies. The ILEA Literacy Survey, for example, tested the same children aged 8+, 10 and 15+ between 1968 and 1975. At the age of 8 the gap in the mean reading score between West Indian and indigenous children was 10.5 standard points, and at the end of primary school it was 11.2 and at 15+ 12.3¹⁹.

If reading standards are an adequate measure of intellectual development (and there is considerable evidence to suggest that they are) one must conclude that the gap in performance is widening with

19. A. Little, 1968, "The Academic Achievement of Ethnic Minority Children in London Schools", in G.K.Verma and C.Bagley (eds), Race and Education Across Cultures, Heinemann, London, pp. 48-64.

school career²⁰.

Another study revealed that West Indian children are not only performing at a level below the indigenous population but also below the socially disadvantaged sections of the working class. A comparison on a standard reading test between West Indians fully educated in the United Kingdom at 8+, 10 and 15+ and children from unskilled working class background is shown in the following table:

Table 5

A comparison of mean reading scores between West Indian and socially disadvantaged indigenous children.

<u>Age</u>	<u>West Indian fully educated</u>	<u>Children of unskilled background</u>	<u>Difference</u>
8+	89.9	93.7	4.2
10	88.7	93.5	4.8
15+	87.1	92.1	5

The data revealed that at each age the unskilled working class child is on average reading at a significantly higher level than the children of West Indian origin²¹. Another ILEA inquiry which tested the reading scores of pupils from

20. A. Little, 1978, Educational Policies for Multi-racial Areas, Goldsmiths' College, London University, London, p.17.

21. Ibid., pp.17-18.

different ethnic groups originating from the New Commonwealth countries provides additional information about the reading scores of West Indian pupils aged 8+, 10 and 15+. The West Indian group appears to deteriorate in reading scores by school leaving age in comparison with other ethnic groups²². Secondly, West Indian children may have a hidden problem and only a partly recognised handicap in their use of standard English. This refers to the widespread belief among teachers and schools in the early stages of migration that children of West Indian background did not face the same language difficulties like the Cypriots and Asians because English was their language. Professor Little makes the following point in relation to this issue:

Further, it is not difficult for the educational system to identify and respond to the more obvious needs of Asian pupils. It is easy to see that non-English speakers require additional help with the English language and it is relatively simple to create the political climate within which this can be achieved. The same cannot be said for the needs of West Indians which are more difficult to identify, subtle in nature and possibly more threatening to the white culture because it will involve changes in it²³.

Although the local authorities made some progress in satisfying the needs of Asian children, nonetheless, the linguistic

22. A. Little, 1978, Educational Policies for Multi-racial Areas, Goldsmiths' College, London University, London, p.22.

23. Ibid., p.17.

needs of children of West Indian background were neglected as the following research demonstrates:

The question of "second stage" English following the initial achievement of literacy appears as yet to be imperfectly understood in either the need or the approach. Equally misunderstood perhaps are the needs for, and the approach to, teaching pupils of West Indian origin to use the English idiom, pronunciation and intonation²⁴.

Another survey reiterates the point that British schools did not provide adequately for the linguistic needs of children of West Indian origin. The following extract will illustrate this:

Certainly there is little evidence from the survey that more than a handful of authorities have made serious efforts to evaluate and meet the language needs of West Indian pupils; this has been consistently of low priority. Some 70 per cent of Head-teachers who replied from multi-racial schools with a concentration of pupils of West Indian origin (10 per cent or more) said that these children did have special language needs, often commenting that resources and expertise to meet these needs were not available and that this resulted in these pupils underachieving - "significant numbers under-perform in school: the language pattern used by many needs recognition and attention", "language difficulties which are not covered by the "English as a Second Language" provision made by the local education authorities"²⁵.

24. H.E.R. Townsend and E.M. Brittain, 1972, Organisation in Multi-racial Schools, NFER, Slough, p.135.

25. A. Little and R. Willey, 1983, Studies in the Multi-ethnic Curriculum, Schools Council, London, p.18.

Thirdly, the Committee emphasised that Jamaican children needed to speak both standard English and Jamaican English or Creole. These observations of the Committee are important since they revealed a change of emphasis on assumptions in relation to the linguistic difficulties of children of West Indian origin and children who spoke a language at home which was different from English. It has been claimed that West Indian pupils were obstructed in the realisation of their academic potential because British schools ignored their language difficulties and the "interference" of Creole in the process of learning²⁶.

The Community Relations Commission (CRC) documented the linguistic problems of ethnic minority children. It has been suggested, for instance, that children of West Indian background needed help to get over their initial upset in their first month in the United Kingdom²⁷.

The Department of Education and Science (DES) continued to perceive the needs of ethnic minority children in terms of linguistic criteria. In the seventies it carried out a survey in order to gain information about the language problems of the second-phase immigrant pupils. Information

26. V.K. Edwards, 1979, The West Indian Language Issue in British Schools, R.K.P., London.

27. CRC, 1970, "Education for a Multi-racial Society", Monograph 2.

was gathered from 600 pupils of West Indian, Asian and European background living in four areas of the country: Yorkshire, West Midlands, the North West and the Greater London area. The findings of this survey highlighted the problem faced by children of immigrant background who quickly acquired fluency in the spoken language but in fact they did not understand as much as they appeared to and they found difficulty in absorbing ideas expressed in English²⁸. Moreover, this survey stressed the importance of learning English as a second language.

However, it is not enough to identify the "special needs" of ethnic minority children, what is required is a coherent national educational policy for ethnic minorities accompanied with adequate funds in order to assist these children. It is the absence of such a policy and the provision of adequate resources that prevented the introduction of initiatives to deal with this "problem"²⁹.

Children of West Indian Background and British Schools.

Children of West Indian background are a category of ethnic minority children whose disadvantages and "needs" were identified during the phase in which the emphasis has

28. DES, 1972, Survey 14, "The Continuing Needs of Immigrants", HMSO, London.

29. A. Little, 1978, Educational Policies for Multi-racial Areas, Goldsmiths' College, London University, London.

shifted from assumptions of assimilation to an acceptance of ethnic diversity. The Community Relations Commission (CRC) and later the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) attempted to identify these "needs" and differentiate them from the needs of other socially disadvantaged groups in British society. These two race relations organisations had a broader conception of the "needs" of children of West Indian background. The argument was put forward that West Indian children suffer from multiple disadvantage. It has been claimed that there is a special dimension to their problem to the extent that the factor of racial discrimination multiplies and accentuates the social disadvantages which are shared in part with other disadvantaged groups³⁰. Moreover, social and economic deprivation is accompanied by linguistic barriers. An additional problem was the issue of cultural and ethnic identity. These disadvantages produced language, cultural and ethnic identity needs. To meet these "needs" extra resources were required in addition to a modification of school practices³¹. This change involved the development of policies for an early intervention in the education of children of West Indian background. The early identification of the linguistic problems of these children was a first

30. Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1972-73, "Evidence by the CRC".

31. CRC, 1977, Urban Deprivation, Racial Inequality and Social Policy.

priority³². Modification of school practices also involved the restructuring of the curriculum and the introduction of learning materials which reflected the cultural and ethnic diversity of the classroom and society. Moreover, schools should develop policies and introduce programmes which reflect and recognise the different linguistic, cultural and ethnic experiences.

The presence of children of West Indian origin in British schools is connected with some controversial issues. One important question involves the categorisation of some children of West Indian background as educationally subnormal and their subsequent allocation of ESN special schools. In the early nineteen seventies concern was voiced by certain sections of the West Indian community in relation to the placement of West Indian children in ESN schools. In 1970 the Race Relations Board investigated a complaint by West Indian parents in Haringey that too many of their children were assessed as educationally subnormal³³. In 1971 Coard suggested that cultural bias and low teacher expectations resulted in the referral of a large number of children of West Indian origin ^{to} ESN schools and that the IQ tests used contained built-in cultural and class bias. He also pointed out that West Indian children

32, CRC, 1974, Educational Needs of Children from Minority Groups, Community Relations Series, No. 1.

33. F. Dhondy, B. Beese and L. Hassan, 1982, The Black Explosion in British Schools, Race Today, London, pp.27-28.

acquire low self-esteem and self-image in a hostile white society³⁴. The evidence given by several bodies to the 1973 Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration indicated the extent of the West Indian community's anxiety about the classification of their children as educationally subnormal and their determination to change the situation. The Caribbean Educationalists and Community Workers noted the following in their evidence to the 1973 Committee:

Many (West Indian children) are packed off to ESN schools on the basis of very inadequate assessment procedures. Very little consultation between the parents and the authorities takes place. Many parents are given inaccurate information as to the nature and purpose of ESN schools. Many children are wrongly assessed and are sent for reasons other than educational subnormality³⁵.

Moreover, the evidence to the Committee by the Ealing Community Relations Committee noted the large number of West Indian children in these schools and concluded:

This relegation is fraught with social and racial dangers for which the present educational system must share much of the blame³⁶.

34. B. Coard, 1971, How the West Indian Child is made ESN in the British School System, New Beacon Books, London.

35. Select Committee on Immigration and Race Relations, 1972-73, Vol.3, HMSO, London, p.824.

36. Ibid., Vol.2, p.374.

Sixteen official bodies gave evidence about ESN classification to the 1973 Committee indicating the extent of concern over the issue³⁷. The Department of Education and Science (DES) in their evidence to the Committee defended the over-representation of West Indian children on the grounds that the definition of educationally subnormal took account of "other factors beside innate limitations of the mind"³⁸. The then Secretary for Education, Mrs. Thatcher, argued the following in her evidence:

We have probably not yet got the right method of assessing their abilities bearing in mind the background from which they come³⁹.

In November, 1973, the DES sent a letter to the chief education officers on the "educational arrangements for immigrant children who may need special education". The letter stressed the point that the LEAs and the DES have a common concern to see that children are not sent to special schools if ordinary schools can satisfactorily meet their intellectual, emotional and social needs.

In 1972 West Indians were 76 per cent of all immigrant

37. S. Tomlinson, 1981, Educational Subnormality: A Study in Decision Making, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p.77.

38. Ibid.

39. Select Committee on Immigration and Race Relations, 1972-73, Vol.3, HMSO, London, p.647.

children in ESN schools and 5 per cent (2,972 out of 60,045) of all children in ESN schools⁴⁰. The November 1973 letter to the chief education officers attempted to give explanations for the high proportion of West Indian children in ESN schools, and emphasised the dialect English these children speak and teachers who cannot cope with the learning problems and disciplining them in normal schools as possible causes⁴¹. This letter also includes some of the new procedures in relation to the placement of children to ESN schools with an emphasis on parent consultation as the following extract will reveal:

Consultation with the parents should be thought of as an essential part of the assessment procedure. When teachers first begin to think that the child may need special assistance, the matter should be discussed unhurriedly and sympathetically with the parents; and if on investigation it appears that he requires to attend special school, parents should be given an opportunity for further talk. When parents' knowledge of English is poor, special arrangements must be made to ensure that they fully understand the position⁴².

The circular specifically rejects the suggestion made by Coard that no child should be placed in an ESN school unless he has two years' normal schooling in England. The DES puts

40. DES, 1973, Letter to the Education Officers. Educational Arrangements for Immigrant Children Who May Need Special Education, HMSO, London.

41. Ibid., p.2.

42. Ibid.

forward the following argument as a justification for this rejection:

The needs of individual children however differ, as well as the ages at which immigrants arrive in this country; and it may be obvious within a short time that a child with severe disability of mind can receive the special help he requires in a special school. Accordingly, it would be to the detriment of some children to have any rule about the length of time an immigrant child should spend in an ordinary school before transfer to a special school⁴³.

Moreover, it was suggested in the letter that annual reviews of the placement of immigrant children should take place together with a new test of intelligence to be administered by an educational psychologist in uncertain cases⁴⁴.

However, by 1976 the West Indian community was still disturbed by the academic underachievement of children of West Indian origin and the high proportion of these children in ESN schools. The anxiety in relation to this issue was expressed in the Education Report of the 1976 Select Committee on Immigration and Race Relations. The Committee noted the following in its report in relation to the concern of the West Indian community:

A witness from the West Indian Conference did not exaggerate when he told the Committee that this

43. DES, 1973, Letter to the Education Officers. Educational Arrangements for Immigrant Children Who may Need Special Education, HMSO, London, P.2.

44. Ibid. p.3.

was "one of the bitter areas, which the West Indian community is still very bitter about". Sending a child to an ESN school is a matter of educational judgement determined in the interests of the child, but the Committee believe that every effort should be made to convince the parents that it is necessary and beneficial⁴⁵.

The Department of Education and Science in their evidence to the Committee emphasised the following:

The Department told the Committee that "two years have now lapsed since the circular letter about ESN children and the Department has decided it would be timely to review progress. A meeting with the Education Officers from the areas with sizeable immigrant populations was held in 1976 at which indications were given that "there was tending to be a decrease in the number of West Indian children entering the ESN special schools, particularly at the lower end" and that " in one or two areas at least the authorities have now decided to make no attempt to place a child in ESN schools, if the parents raise the slightest objection"⁴⁶.

The Committee noted the following:

The West Indian community will welcome the decrease in the number of their children in ESN schools. However, this is no more than an impression: albeit a "quite clear impression" for as the Department's witness explained⁴⁷, this....is not something we can give numbers for⁴⁷.

45. Select Committee on Immigration and Race Relations, 1976-77. The West Indian Community, HMSO, London, para.60,p.20.

46. Ibid. para.61, p.60.

47. Ibid.

The government responded to the Committee's report as follows:

The Secretary of State of Education and Science shares the Committee's concern that West Indian pupils appear to continue to be disproportionately represented in ESN schools and she is particularly aware of the strong feelings on this matter which exists in the West Indian community. The DES has made it clear that no child should be placed in such a school unless he or she needs the special help which only that school provides, and this entails assessment of the needs of each individual child as well as consultation with parents. It is of course the case that authorities vary in the extent to which they provide remedial help in ordinary schools or in special schools. The Secretary of State would deplore the retention in a special school or unit of any pupil whose problem was of a kind which might be overcome after perhaps a limited period in this kind of supportive atmosphere. Certainly attendance at an ESN school should not be arranged in cases where behavioural and cultural - and not educational - problems would be the only grounds for such placement⁴⁸

As Tomlinson emphasises two major points arise in relation to this account. Firstly, the West Indian community has emerged as a significant pressure group, the first in the history of ESN classification, to question the actual category of ESN and the right of education authorities to place West Indian children in ESN schools. Secondly, the West Indian community has taken up the ESN issue in a symbolic manner in the sense that it "symbolises" the general under-achievement of children of West Indian origin in the British

48. United Kingdom Home Office, 1977, The West Indian Community: Observations on the Report of the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, HMSO, London, Cmnd.7186, para.32, p.9.

education system⁴⁹.

The second important issue involved in the relationship between West Indian children and the British education system is the accumulated evidence of black underachievement in schools. This is demonstrated by research in the late sixties and seventies⁵⁰. The issue of black underachievement was one of the main concerns of the 1976-77 Select Committee on Immigration and Race Relations which produced a report on the West Indian community⁵¹. The Select Committee has established the fact through the inquiry that the West Indian community was deeply disturbed by the disappointing academic progress

49. S. Tomlinson, 1981, Educational Subnormality- A Study in Decision Making, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p.78.

50. A. Little, C. Mabey and G. Whitaker, 1968, "The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Inner London Primary Schools", Race, Vol.9, No.4, pp.439-52.

See: A. Little, 1975, (a) "Performance of Children from Ethnic Minority Background in Primary Schools", Oxford Review of Education, Vol.1, No.2.

H.E.R. Townsend and E.M. Brittain, 1973, Organisation in Multi-racial Schools, An NFER Publication, Slough.

51. The House of Commons appointed another Select Committee on Immigration and Race Relations in 1976 in order to review policies in relation to the operation of the 1968 Race Relations Act and the admission into the United Kingdom of Commonwealth citizens and foreign nationals for settlement. The Select Committee consisted of five Labour MPs: S.Bidwell, E. Moonman, T.Torney, W.Wilson and F.T.Willey, and five Conservative MPs: L.Walker, N.Fowler, H.D.Miller, D.Smith and A. Asteen. A Labour government was in office.

of children of West Indian background. The report states:

Both the West Indian Standing Conference and the Post Conference Constituent Committee expressed their deep concern. The WISC felt the West Indian children were getting "a pretty raw deal" and they to "a large extent are failing in the education system"⁵².

The Department of Education and Science (DES) in their evidence to the Select Committee agreed that information available:

Seems to indicate that on average West Indian pupils are performing below the level of their contemporaries⁵³.

The Community Relations Commission (CRC) made the following point in their evidence:

That such evidence as there is, suggests that the situation of West Indian children in schools is, if anything getting worse, not only in terms of cognitive skills, but also in social adjustment⁵⁴.

The Committee considered that the relative underachievement of West Indian children will have an impact on their future employment prospects and that is an issue of major importance

52. Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1976-77
"The West Indian Community", Vol.1., para.54, p.19.

53. Ibid., para.55, p.20.

54. Ibid.

both in educational terms and in the context of race relations. The Committee made the following proposal that:

As a matter of urgency, the government institute a high level and independent inquiry into the cause of the underachievement of children of West Indian origin in maintained schools and the remedial action required⁵⁵.

The government responded to the recommendation of the 1976-77 Select Committee for an inquiry into the academic performance of West Indian children in the following way;

The government has been impressed by the deep concern shown by the witnesses who gave evidence to the Select Committee about the feelings of the West Indian community and is aware of the results of the surveys already made which indicate that taken as a group West Indian pupils fail to achieve their potential in comparison to other groups in tests administered in schools. The government is also bound to recognise that there are special difficulties experienced by pupils of Asian origin and from other ethnic groups for whom English is not their mother tongue. Moreover, the preparation of all children for life in a multi-racial society raises many complex issues which call for thorough examination. The government has therefore decided that an inquiry should be set up to consider these matters; but the priority should be given in identifying any weaknesses in the educational system affecting the achievement of pupils of West Indian origin; and that as soon as possible an interim report should be submitted recommending what remedial action should be taken⁵⁶.

55. Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1976-77, "The West Indian Community", Vol.1, para.57.

56. The West Indian Community. Observations on the Report of the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1977, HMSO, London, para.24, p.7.

In this context the government announced in the White Paper its intention to set up an inquiry into the aspects of multi-ethnic education. In 1979 the Committee of inquiry into the education of ethnic minority children was appointed with the following terms of reference:

Review in relation to schools the educational needs and attainments of children from ethnic minority groups taking account, as necessary, of factors outside the formal education system relevant to school performance, including influences in early childhood and prospect for school leavers. Consider the potential value of instituting arrangements for keeping under review the educational performance of different ethnic minority groups, and what those arrangements be; consider the most effective use of resources for these purposes; and to make recommendations. In carrying out its programme of work the Committee is to give early and particular attention to the educational needs and attainments of pupils of West Indian origin and to make interim recommendations as soon as possible on action⁵⁷ which might be taken in the interests of this group.

Teachers and the Multi-racial Society.

It is essential at this point to look at the perceptions of teachers towards the presence of children of ethnic minority background in British schools. Teachers' views in relation to the needs of these children are revealed either through the evidence submitted to the Parliamentary Select Committees on Immigration and Race Relations by their professional

57. A. Rampton, 1981, "West Indian Children in our Schools". Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, HMSO, London, Comnd.8273, p.1.

associations or through studies carried out in relation to teachers' attitudes towards the introduction and implementation of multi-ethnic educational programmes in schools. The National Union of Teachers (NUT) emphasised in their evidence to the 1968-69 Select Committee that the task of teachers was to make immigrant children adequately literate in English and to give a positive appreciation of their own culture and heritage⁵⁸. The National Association of Schoolmasters (NAS) on the other hand assumed that the proper policy towards immigrant children was to concentrate on the linguistic and cultural difficulties of these children. It was believed that the policy itself would make a large contribution to the reduction of problems of racial prejudice and would make a significant contribution to racial equality and "harmonious" race relations⁵⁹. A memorandum submitted by the NUT to the 1972-73 Select Committee emphasises the following point:

The context in which schools can and should transmit the cultural and religious values of the nation and "races" is perhaps arguable, but it is difficult to deny to children of one race⁶⁰ or nation what is automatically done to others⁶⁰.

58. Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1968-69, HMSO, London, pp.21-22.

59. Ibid.

60. Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1972-73, HMSO, London, p.21.

This statement suggests that schools through their curriculum should recognise the validity of the different religious and cultural values held by different racial and ethnic groups in British society. Moreover, the NUT stressed to the Committee the necessity of a curriculum that recognises cultural and ethnic diversity in schools. This laid emphasis for a concept of education directed towards the needs of a multi-racial society and not to the specific and isolated question of educating children from immigrant background with a declared aim of converting these children into "good Europeans"⁶¹.

The National Association of Schoolmasters (NAS) in their memorandum to the 1972-73 Select Committee admitted that it believed in the sixties that by assimilating immigrant children ethnic and racial differences would become less significant and that racial prejudice and discrimination would disappear. In the nineteen seventies both the NAS and the NUT were less optimistic about achieving "harmonious" race relations through assimilation. The NAS made the following statement:

There is little evidence at the moment of the break of the vicious circle of mutual distrust⁶² between white and coloured people in our country.

61. Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1972-73, HMSO, London, p.21-23.

62. Ibid. p.21.

In the seventies and eighties the NUT developed a policy in relation to the issue of race⁶³, multi-racial society⁶⁴, the achievement of West Indian pupils⁶⁵, and issued guidelines to teachers in combating racism in schools and racial stereotyping in textbooks and learning materials⁶⁶. In a booklet "All Our Children" the NUT reveals its commitment to providing education for a multi-racial society and meeting the needs of all pupils, as the following shows:

Teachers need the resources to provide education in a multi-racial society. This means curriculum development, specialist language skills, better textbooks and proper provision for all pupils and their individual needs.....All children now at school need the social awareness and respect for different cultures which will enable them to develop and respond imaginatively to life ahead. The challenges of a multi-racial society are exciting and creative: it is only neglect and ignorance that can turn them into prejudice. Teachers want to help children take their place with dignity in our changing society⁶⁷.

The NUT took the initiative with the National Association for Multi-racial Education (NAME) and the National Foundation

63. NUT, 1978, Race, Education, Intelligence, NUT, Hamilton House, London.

64. NUT, 1978, All Our Children, NUT, Hamilton House, London.

65. NUT, 1980, The Achievement of West Indian Pupils. Union Evidence to the Rampton Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups.

66. NUT, 1979, In Black and White, NUT, Hamilton House, London.

67. NUT, 1978, All Our Children, NUT, Hamilton House, London, p.3.

for Educational Research (NFER) in submitting proposals to the Schools Council for a research project on need and innovation in multi-racial education. This proposal was accepted and the Schools Council Working Paper 50 was published. This paper stressed the need as it was perceived by teachers, for a curriculum which reflected the multi-racial nature of society as the following extract reveals:

Teachers wanted attention given to the linguistic needs of immigrant and indigenous children and the emotional problems experienced by some children. They wanted to increase their own knowledge and expertise, to see improved contact between school and immigrant parents. They pointed to the lack of objective tests of potential or attainment and the need to remove culture bias (work has since been done in this latter area at the NFER and has been welcomed by the NUT⁶⁸)

The NUT emphasised the importance of provision of resources by the government in order to assist the teachers and schools to meet adequately the needs of ethnic minorities. The provision of these resources was seen in the wider context of deprivation and disadvantage. The Urban Aid Programme and funding under Section 11 of the Local Government Act were considered inadequate, and the NUT suggested the consideration of new methods of funding. The NUT was highly involved in the Centre for Information and Advice on Educational Disadvantage which promotes "good practice" and the development

68. NUT, 1978, All Our Children, NUT, Hamilton House, London, p.5.

of information for teachers in relation to educational disadvantage. In the reply submitted by the Union to the Select Committee on Race Relations in 1977 concern was expressed about teacher training and in-service courses, and anxiety was shown about the presence of only few teachers of West Indian background and other ethnic background in British schools. The NUT made the following statement in relation to the academic underachievement of children of West Indian origin:

The Union believes that the future of West Indian children could be significantly improved if a sizeable amount of capital were to be injected into the nursery programme, and if LEAs were to be reimbursed at the level of 90 per cent for the additional staff necessary in schools with a high density of immigrant children, and for the seconding of teachers to specialist in-service training courses. Certain of the factors affecting the performance of West Indian children are cultural and social, and are thus outside the control of educationists. Nonetheless, the Union believes that if adequate resources were employed, very much more could be achieved in improving the educational levels of the performance of West Indian children⁶⁹.

The NUT took a positive view towards the needs of ethnic minority children and the multi-ethnic society. However, in my opinion, there is not sufficient emphasis on the existence of racism in schools, which might undermine academic achievement of children of ethnic minority background. The role of the

69. NUT, 1978, All Our Children, NUT, Hamilton House, London, p.11.

curriculum, expectations of teachers concerning the academic ability of these children, teachers' unintentional racism and institutionalised racism were cited as some of the factors resulting in black underachievement in British schools⁷⁰. The NUT has shown commitment towards the development and implementation of a multi-ethnic education policy in order to meet the needs of ethnic minority children as the preceding account revealed. The National Association of Schoolmasters and the Union of Women Teachers (NAS/UWT) was not prepared to support a policy which differentiates the needs of ethnic minority groups from the needs of the large indigenous white population who find themselves in similar circumstances of social disadvantage. Also the same union rejects the claim that the inherent racialism of teachers is to blame for the poor academic performance of children of West Indian background⁷¹.

Research in the seventies and eighties revealed the extent of the resistance to the development of a multi-cultural curriculum in British schools by a considerable number of headteachers and ordinary teachers. A study in 1977, for example, found out that a number of teachers in

70. A. Rampton, 1981, "West Indian Children in our Schools", The Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, Cmnd. 8273, HMSO, London.

See: Multi-cultural Studies in Higher Education, 1985, The Educational and Vocational Experience of 15 to 18 Year Old People of Minority Ethnic Groups, Warwick University, Coventry.

71. The Guardian, 31.1.1985, "Union denies claim of classroom racism".

London schools did not show any support for multi-cultural programmes. The researcher reported the following:

Most of the teachers I interviewed did not feel they should justify or support a policy or programme to address the specially disadvantaged West Indian pupils, which ignored a similar need among the indigenous white population and other culturally different disadvantaged pupils⁷².

The same study cited the findings of a survey carried out by the National Foundation for Education Research (NFER) in relation to the British schools' response to multi-racial education⁷³. The following extract from Giles' study shows that many schools which responded to the NFER questionnaire could be described as supporting and promoting cultural assimilation and integration for racial minorities:

In response to the question, "Do you consider that syllabuses of your school should have as one of their aims the preparation of pupils for life in multi-racial society"? the NFER reported that, of the 58 schools which had entirely white British populations and were located in non-immigrant areas, 29% did not feel syllabuses should have this as one of their aims. Many heads seemed willing to educate children of overseas origin but in the English tradition. Even heads of some schools with culturally different children were against multi-racial education or other kinds of instruction which emphasised cultural and racial differences in children⁷⁴.

72. R. Giles, 1977, The West Indian Experience in British Schools. Multi-racial Education and Social Disadvantage in London, Heinemann, London, p.90.

73. H.E.R. Townsend and E.M. Brittan, 1973, Multi-racial Education, Needs and Innovation. Schools Council Working Paper 50, Evans/Methuen.

74. R. Giles, 1977, The West Indian Experience in British Schools. Multi-racial Education and Social Disadvantage in London, Heinemann, London, pp.100-101.

Teachers' attitudes towards the development of multi-ethnic education policies will be analysed and assessed in subsequent sections of this thesis because of their relevance to the perception of the educational needs of ethnic minority children and the implementation of multi-ethnic initiatives in British schools⁷⁵.

How the Local Authorities Responded to the "Special Needs" of Children of Ethnic Minority Groups.

It is also essential to consider the way multi-ethnic initiatives and strategies were developed and implemented at the local level by educational authorities and schools. Although there are similarities between central and local government attitudes, and in some respects central government conditions local practices (through funding), nonetheless, there have been occasions where the LEAs diverged considerably from the central government thinking. This is illustrated by the rejections by some LEAs of the policy of dispersal which was considered as unworkable or inappropriate for individual schools by teachers and LEA officers⁷⁶.

75. Teachers' attitudes will be discussed in this chapter in relation to the introduction of multi-cultural initiatives in four local education authorities. Moreover, in chapter four which deals with academic achievement, teachers' attitudes and expectations in relation to the academic ability of ethnic minority children and their "special needs" will be discussed extensively.

76. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. "Education for All", HMSO, London, p.221.

The response of the local education authorities is demonstrated by studies carried out in the seventies and eighties⁷⁷. A study by Young and Connelly in the eighties highlights the way local authorities have incorporated the ethnic dimension in their policies and practices⁷⁸. This study was concerned about the local implementation of central government policy in relation to racial discrimination. The 1976 Race Relations Act provided the following:

Section 71 of the Act established the new requirement that local authorities "make the appropriate arrangements" to ensure that their operations paid due regard to the need to eliminate racial discrimination and "to promote equality of opportunity and good relations between people of different racial groups". This new duty-general, ambiguous, and supported neither by sanctions nor incentives- reflected the growing awareness that local authorities are in a key position to affect the well-being of ethnic minority groups⁷⁹.

This investigation included the study of six local authorities which contained a substantial proportion with significant concentrations of West Indian and Asian settlements. The findings

77. CRC, 1974, The Response to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, CRC, London.
 See: H.E.R.Townsend and E.M.Brittan, 1971, "Immigrant Pupils in England, "The LEA Response", NFER, Slough.
 H.E.R.Townsend, 1972, Organisation in Multi-racial Schools, NFER, Slough.
 A.Little and R. Willey, 1983, Studies in the Multi-ethnic Curriculum, Schools Council, London.

78. K.Young and N.Connelly, 1982, Policy and Practice in the Multi-racial City, Policy Studies Institute, London.

79. Ibid. p.1.

of this inquiry reveal an outstanding variation between and within local authorities in their approach to the issues raised by the presence of ethnic minority groups. Moreover, the study emphasises the following point:

There is widespread concern that the policies of local authorities should take fuller account of the needs of the multi-ethnic community. However, much of the public discussion of this issue is prey to two important fallacies: the fallacy of monolithic organisation and the fallacy of direct and uniform response to pressure. Variations in actual provision and in the rate of services development actually arises from a complex interplay of internal and external factors operating upon the dispositions, policies and practices of their departments⁸⁰.

This inquiry established the point that policy makers and practitioners on the local level are still reluctant to take into account the demographic changes and make provisions for needs arising from these changes. The extract illustrates this point:

It was found a discernible tendency to underestimate the immediate dimension of demographic change by regarding the new ethnic mix as creating temporary problems which further assimilation would extinguish. Thus councillors and officials in areas which laid claim to substantial histories of ethnic tolerance were sometimes reluctant to question whether service provision might be failing to meet the needs of the newcomers. Such perplexity could also be found in education, where head teachers were acutely aware that their school population had changed, but were either doggedly maintaining past

80. K. Young and N. Connelly, 1982, Policy and Practice in the Multiracial City, Policy Studies Institute, London, p.163.

practices (sometimes in the face of serious opposition) or were⁸¹ discomfited and unsure of their proper course⁸¹.

The researchers argue that the implications of their findings are that a sensible and flexible strategy operating at several levels and engaging a number of agencies is required. They point out that a systematic policy and guidelines are required from the centre in order to promote a clear set of strategies and objectives for implementing multi-ethnic programmes at the local level⁸².

Another report sponsored by the Schools Council reveals the way local education authorities and schools responded to the formulation and implementation of a multi-ethnic education policy. The report is based on a two year project which included 94 local education authorities, 525 schools and 22 examination boards. They were all questioned about progress over the implementation of multi-ethnic education. The findings revealed that there had been a failure to develop this type of education since the investigation by the National Foundation for Educational Research in 1970-72. The researchers reached the following conclusion:

81. K. Young and N. Connelly, 1982, Policy and Practice in the Multiracial City, Policy Studies Institute, London, pp. 160-61.

82. Ibid., p.164.

Authorities in areas of "high" and "medium" concentration now generally believe that all children whatever the ethnic composition of their school should be educated for life in a multi-ethnic society, but limited resources and competing priorities mean that little attention is currently being given to encouraging curriculum development in schools with few or no minority ethnic group pupils. In authorities and schools with a "low" concentration of minority ethnic groups there has been little systematic consideration of the need to give all children an understanding of the cultural diversity of the wider society, and major initiatives are necessary if schools in these authorities are to be convinced of the relevance of their teaching of a multi-ethnic society⁸³.

The report shows that basic English is only taught to ethnic minority children (children of Asian background) and West Indian pupils are still neglected in terms of their language needs.

The findings also suggest that some particular needs of children in multiracial schools are receiving insufficient attention; there has been little attempt to consider and meet the particular needs of children of West Indian origin - this has consistently been a low priority - and means of assessing and meeting the more advanced language needs of English as a second language learners need to be developed⁸⁴.

The preceding account examined the range of educational provision made by the local education authorities at a given point in time without attempting to relate the current provision to earlier developments in multi-ethnic education

83. A. Little and R. Willey, 1983, Studies in the Multi-ethnic Curriculum, Schools Council, London, p.31.

84. Ibid., p.32.

policies and analyse pressures which might have influence on the present policies of LEAs towards a multi-ethnic education policy. In order to illuminate the response of the local education authorities to the "special needs" of ethnic minority children a detailed report is presented in relation to the emergence of a multi-ethnic education policy in four local education authorities: Manchester, Walsall, Bradford and Inner London Education Authority.

The emergence of a multi-ethnic education policy in local education authorities in the late seventies took place in the context of two events which made a contribution to the initiation of educational policies and which influenced the process of change of perspective in relation to the relevant bodies administering local education policy in schools. Firstly, the 1976 Race Relations Act included Section 71 which the Department of Education and Science (DES) had brought to the attention of the LEAs in its circular 4/77. This provided legislative backing for initiatives to promote the educational needs of ethnic minority groups. The second significant development was that in 1977 the Green Paper where the DES emphasised the importance of schools giving their pupils an understanding of the multi-ethnic nature of British society and Britain's place in an inter-dependent world. The Green Paper stated:

Our society is a multicultural, multiracial one, and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up our society⁸⁵.

These developments in conjunction with pressures faced by local education authorities which operate in areas with a concentration of ethnic minorities produced some change of direction towards policies which had implications on the thinking about the nature of the school curriculum and its relevance to the "special needs" of different ethnic groups and the preparation for all children to live in a multi-ethnic society.

ILEA's Multi-ethnic Education Policies in the Nineteen Seventies and Eighties.

During the nineteen seventies a variety of developments was taking place which led to the modification of ILEA's policies towards the education of ethnic minority children. Firstly, as Troyna suggests, the development of a multi-ethnic education policy in London was partly due to the role played by "policy entrepreneurs". This suggestion is supported by the findings of the investigation carried out by Young and Connelly who state the following:

85. DES, 1977, Education in Schools: A Consultative Document, Cmnd.6869, HMSO, London, p.41.

Certainly, change does not occur as a result of the operation of an "invisible hand" of organisational dynamics. It arises from the activities of policy entrepreneurs who act (sometimes covertly) as advocates of change and who are the prime movers in the development⁸⁶.

The appointment of a new ILEA chief education officer and the election in 1977 of GLC councillors who were sympathetic to multi-ethnic initiatives was a complementary factor for the change of ILEA's policy⁸⁷. Secondly, the following factors were the key elements which compelled the ILEA to change the policy in relation to the education of ethnic minorities:

Disquiet about the education of minority pupils in the ILEA specifically and the UK generally, have crystallised around three particular, though closely related issues; poor educational performance, the misassessment of black pupils as educationally subnormal (ESN) and their subsequent allocation to special schools; thirdly, and most recently their large presence in disruptive units or "sin bins". The first two issues have a history dating back to the late 1960's; the controversy over allocation to "sin bins" is more recent, however, as the ILEA did not establish special units until relatively late, 1978⁸⁸.

86. K. Young and N. Connelly, 1981, Policy and Practice in the Multiracial City, Policy Studies Institute, London, p.163.

87. B. Troyna, 1982, "The Inner London Education Authority (ILEA)" in The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.24.

88. Ibid. pp.24-25.

Black underachievement in Inner London schools caused anxiety and serious concern. In 1978 Mabey, a member of the ILEA research group, prepared an internal paper for the authority in which the main findings of a study on black underachievement were outlined:

- (i) West Indian attainment was low at the age of eight years and at 15 years it was relatively lower. The average West Indian school leaver in 1976 had a reading level $2\frac{1}{4}$ years below that expected for his age.
- (ii) Full education in this country has a marginal impact on West Indian attainment. The average West Indian school leaver fully educated, probably in this country, had a reading level about 2 years 1 month below that expected of his age.
- (iii) Social deprivation (in so far as it was measured in the literacy survey) together with restricted education, only accounts for about half of the difference between the scores of the indigenous pupils and the West Indians⁸⁹.

The incidence of black underachievement was accompanied with the growth of "sin bins" in the seventies because of the worsening of behaviour of the black pupils in London schools⁹⁰. Green makes the following comment on this issue.

Concern over classroom disruption by black pupils, violence, rejection of school mores, lack of work

89. C. Mabey, 1978, Literacy Survey: Summary Paper on West Indian Attainment, Unpublished, p.7.

90. A. Basini, 1981, "Urban Schools and "Disruptive Pupils": A Study of some ILEA Support Units" Education Review, Vol. 33, pp.191-206.

motivation, underachievement and so on has always been more or less explicit in the DES and Select Committee reports on race and education⁹¹.

These developments caused disquiet and disappointment among black parents, and what is more they vindicated their decision by a growing number of black parents and community groups setting up their own supplementary schools aimed at providing the skills "lacking in formal educational institutions". The ILEA produced a statement on multi-ethnic education in 1977 which was based on the following ideas:

(1) The educational performance of minority group pupils will improve if they learn about their cultural and ethnic backgrounds. (2) Familiarity with these backgrounds will enhance equality of opportunity. (3) Acquaintance with other cultures and life styles will reduce prejudice and discrimination towards those of different ethnic and cultural origins⁹².

The notion that intercultural understanding would reduce ignorance and racial prejudice is surrounded with controversy. Some scholars would argue that the introduction of educational programmes in order to reduce racist views are ineffective⁹³.

91. A. Green, 1982, "In Defence of Anti-racist Teaching: A Reply to Recent Critiques of Multi-cultural Education", NAME, Multi-racial Education, Vol.10, No.2, p.23.

92. M. Troyna, 1982, "The Inner London Education Authority, (ILEA)" in The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.29.

93. G.W. Allport, 1979, The Nature of Prejudice, Allison and Wesley, Massachusetts, pp.479-99.

They point out that knowledge of different ethnic cultures does not necessarily eliminate racist views. What is needed, this approach suggests, is "anti-racist teaching" and the challenge of racist attitudes held by some sections of the white population⁹⁴. A multi-ethnic education policy with an emphasis on the teaching of different ethnic cultures will not by itself reduce racial prejudice. The issue of intercultural understanding will be discussed further in chapter five, in relation to the development of a multi-cultural curriculum, and chapters seven and eight, in connection with the findings of the empirical research.

The 1977 ILEA multi-ethnic policy established certain priorities in order to strengthen the educational service of the authority. The following are some of these priorities:

Consultation and liaison. We have also affirmed our wish to deepen and extend the ways in which views of representative individuals and organisations of minority ethnic groups can be considered and we will be receiving a further report on this subject. We have noted that the education officer proposes to hold a conference during this year as part of his continuing liaison work in multi-ethnic education.

94. A.Green, 1982, "In Defence of Anti-racist Teaching: A reply to Recent Critiques of Multi-cultural Education", NAME, Multi-racial Education, Vol.10, No.2, pp.19-34.

Statistical base. We have agreed to advise the Department of Education and Science that we accept the principle of collecting statistics of ethnic origins of staff and students where these statistics have a specifically educational purpose as part of the general practice of collecting data.

Strengthening of inspectorate and administration. In order to provide the necessary support and direction for all who are working with the many aspects of our multi-ethnic education policy, there is a need for a creation of a new section working directly to the assistant education officer in charge of the community education and careers branch, who will take administrative responsibility for this area of work..... The establishment of a new inspectorate team of four inspectors plus a senior inspector is called for and this represents three additional inspector posts.

Specific early start projects. On the basis of accumulated experience and immediate identifiable needs, we have given approval in principle to two specific projects to be commenced as soon as possible:

(a) the Lambeth whole school project which is a development from the successful work with one school as the Authority's contribution to the Education for a multi-racial society project mentioned above. The project is to work with a group of multi-ethnic primary and secondary schools in central Lambeth.

(b) the resources project would develop a major resource bank of curriculum resources for multi-ethnic schools.

The main thrust of the multi-ethnic statement was to change attitudes at all levels, i.e. administrators, school governing bodies and teachers. However, the initial response was not encouraging, as Troyna points out:

95. ILEA, Multi-ethnic Education, 1977, "Joint Report of the Subcommittee and Further and Higher Education Subcommittee presented to the Education Committee", p.4.

Some school governing bodies passed resolutions condemning the policy either because they believed it sanctioned separatism and was therefore⁹⁶ divisive; or, because it appeared to be accusatory⁹⁶.

Moreover, the chief education officer acknowledged that the response to the multi-ethnic initiatives had been erratic.

In the 1979 Progress Report he states:

Since we launched our major initiative in November 1977, there have been encouraging signs, in all parts of the Authority, of a deepening consciousness of the educational opportunities that today's changing society can offer if the resolution and skill exist to take advantage of them. This trend has been accompanied by a whole range of developments, some of outstanding promise, and although there is much to be done and no grounds for complacency solid foundations have been laid. Unfortunately not everyone has been prepared to think and rethink about the implications for education of the changing society of inner London and greater efforts will be needed in this direction⁹⁷.

A survey of the information provided for parents by half the comprehensive schools in London revealed that less than 13 per cent mentioned multi-cultural education. In 11 of these cases the reference is exclusively made to a new agreed multi-racial RE syllabus in one borough. Moreover, this survey found

96. M. Troyna, 1982, The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, "The Inner London Education Authority (ILEA)", Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.33.

97. ILEA, Multi-ethnic Education: Progress Report, 1979, Joint Report of the Schools Subcommittee and Further and Higher Education Subcommittee presented to the Education Committee, p.1.

that just 23 schools had stressed multiculturalism as a high priority in the account of their educational philosophies⁹⁸. Troyna in his study of ILEA wrote:

Many of our respondents also suggested that senior ILEA administrators and inspectors were, at best indifferent, at worst, hostile to the policy statement, and that it was opposition from this source which impeded the realisation of one of Newsam's objectives: to establish greater liaison and consultation with minority group representatives⁹⁹.

In the nineteen eighties the ILEA introduced some new initiatives in order to strengthen its multi-ethnic education policy. In June 1982 a package of initiatives was introduced with the report of the education officer with a recognition that multi-ethnic education within the authority remains unsatisfactory and that "too many within the service see it as a marginal activity". The package included a draft statement on the ILEA's commitment to oppose racial discrimination, anti-racist strategies and the establishment of an ILEA Equal Opportunities Unit¹⁰⁰.

There is evidence to suggest that ILEA's commitment

98. A. Weeks, 21.5.1982, "The Conservative Curriculum", The Times Educational Supplement.

99. M. Troyna, 1982, "The Inner London Education Authority (ILEA)" in The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.34.

100. ILEA, 1982, The Education Officer's Report, Multi-ethnic Education in Schools (ILEA 2248).

to multi-ethnic and anti-racist policies became stronger in the nineteen eighties. In 1983 the authority demanded that all schools should produce a "whole school policy"¹⁰¹ on multi-cultural education and an anti-racist policy. Furthermore, controversial proposals to eliminate the "central pervasive" influence of racism in schools were considered. One of the proposals of the programme was the gradual overhaul of the school curriculum to give more status to the "black experience" and "black" culture. A paper circulated among members of the authority asserted that "Britain is a racist society", and this is reinforced by racism in schools. In addition, a discussion paper in geography, for intended distribution in schools stated that syllabuses concentrated too much on Third World poverty without considering its causes, particularly how Western governments and businesses contributed to it.

101. The initiative suggested by the ILEA for a "whole school policy" on multi-cultural education and racism is part of the authority's policy on "equal opportunities". This strategy also includes anti-sexist initiatives aimed at combating sexist views in schools and bringing about equality of opportunity in local authority employment. The policy on multi-cultural education involves the restructuring and the development of a multi-ethnic perspective with an emphasis on different ethnic cultures. Learning materials and lessons were designed to reflect the cultural and ethnic diversity of contemporary society. It also involves the modification of teachers' attitudes and expectations of ethnic minority children's academic ability. The anti-racist strategy for schools is part of the "whole school policy", which involves an agreed procedure on how to combat racial abuse and racist behaviour.

Textbooks were criticised for linking immigration to unemployment and homelessness. Under the new proposals all ILEA schools were instructed to review their curriculum and produce a "whole school policy on racial equality" by the summer of 1984¹⁰². It remains to be seen whether these new proposals and policies will have a significant impact on multi-ethnic education policies in London schools.

Manchester Education Authority, Multi-ethnic Education Policies in the Seventies and Eighties.

By 1978 a series of events prompted the Manchester Education Authority to develop an anti-racist approach. One important reason for this strategy was the revival of the National Front activities in the city. This is revealed in the following account given by the education officer for the critical review of the authority's provision:

Part of the pressure to do this at the moment is undoubtedly coming from the recent revival of activity by the National Front. Its importance is underlined by the national political debate about immigration policies. To date Manchester schools have recorded only one incident involving National Front activities close to school entrances and the Committee made public immediately their strong support for those teachers who firmly resisted attempts to distribute literature to pupils on school property. No other reports of incidents

102. Peter Wilby, The Sunday Times, 3.7.1983.

have been received from schools. A number of organisations have asked that the Education Committee should clearly state their opposition to any attempts by the National Front to infiltrate schools. It has acknowledged that the nature of parts of the current national debate and events beyond the scope of the education service are not at present helping schools to evolve good multi-cultural teaching¹⁰³.

Another complementary reason for the development of a multi-ethnic policy in Manchester was the publication of the ILEA's policy which showed how an LEA could respond not only to Section 71 of the 1976 Race Relations Act but also to criticisms made of the education service by ethnic minority groups¹⁰⁴. The 1978 multi-cultural report developed a "cultural understanding approach" which was based on the idea that teaching about different ethnic cultures enhances understanding of different ethnic groups and eliminates ignorance and misconceptions. Moreover, this approach promotes better relationships between different ethnic groups. The adoption of the "cultural understanding approach" by the Manchester Education Authority meant a shift away from the compensatory model which guided the authority's educational provision

103. Chief Education Officer (Manchester), 1978, Report to the Policy and Estimates Sub-Committee: Multi-cultural Education in Schools.

104. B. Troyna, 1982, "Manchester Education Authority" in The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.49.

before 1978. The compensatory model assumed that children, either from different ethnic groups or from a working class background, experience cultural deprivation due to their environment. The implicit idea in this model is that schools can compensate for these linguistic and cultural deficiencies of these children by initiating different educational programmes to satisfy "special needs".

In 1980, after two years of consultations involving community groups and teachers, the Manchester Education Authority made a statement which included a multi-cultural package based on a cultural pluralist approach¹⁰⁵. This package comprised three reports; the first two outlined the authority's existing provision and provided details on the two phases of the consultative exercise. The final report included recommendations for action and a statement declaring the LEA's commitment to a policy on education for a multi-cultural society. The authority's policy emphasised the benefits derived from the presence of ethnic minority groups in Manchester and the responsibility of the schools to foster

105. B. Troyna, 1982, "Manchester Education Authority" in The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.56.

good relations on the basis of mutual respect for different cultures.

A series of recommendations for action were included in the multi-cultural package; two of these were the decisions to appoint an Inspector for Multi-cultural Education and the establishment of an Ethnic Studies Unit. In addition it was recommended that the ethnic origins of pupils should be monitored, mother tongue provision should be expanded and five secondments (out of the total secondment of 40) should be reserved for teachers who wished to pursue further studies in multi-cultural education¹⁰⁶. The authority's multi-cultural package received the following criticisms:

While there are many who will applaud Manchester for specifically addressing itself to education for a multi-cultural society and an anti-racist approach to teaching.....it is nonetheless important to see what the policy is leaving out. It may be right not to focus narrowly on the question of performance and underachievement, but the larger questions of equality of opportunity remain. The commitment to education for a multi-cultural society does not of itself have implications for such questions as adequate language teaching and the rights of cultural minorities and it seems likely that, however much they might welcome the authority's anti-racist commitments, community leaders will still have much to be dissatisfied about on issues which affect their children's opportunities¹⁰⁷.

106. Chief Education Officer (Manchester), 9.6.1980, Report to the Policy and Estimates Sub-Committee: Education for a Multicultural Society.

107. J. Rex, 1982, "Introductory Note", The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.12.

The Muslim Association in Manchester, although it admitted that the education department was "now approachable" nonetheless asserted that there was "still a long way to go before we reach substantive decisions and effective policy understanding"¹⁰⁸. Troyna in his study of Manchester Education Authority wrote:

When originally contacted by the LEA, "in early 1980", the Muslim Association had specified three main grievances: the inadequate provision of mother tongue teaching; the establishment of single-sex schools, and a positive anti-racist stance. According to the General Secretary, none of these issues had been satisfactorily resolved¹⁰⁹.

Although the ethnic minorities in Manchester were disappointed with the absence from the multi-cultural statement of an anti-racist approach, nonetheless, the LEA encouraged schools to produce their own individual policies on racism.

One of the main obstacles preventing the realisation of Manchester's commitment to the policy of fostering good ethnic relations on the basis of mutual respect for different cultures has arisen as a result of the reorganisation of secondary schools in Manchester. This development in North Manchester reduced the provision for single sex

108. B. Troyna, 1982, "Manchester Education Authority" in The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.60.

109. Ibid., p.62.

education by two thirds, and only one single girls school was available in the area. The demands of Muslim parents for places at a single sex school were not met, because none of the multi-racial schools in North Manchester were included among the feeder primary schools for North Manchester High School for Girls. The authority attempted to satisfy those Muslim parents demanding single sex education for their girls by offering them places in another single sex school. However, this suggestion was not accepted by the Muslim parents because of the difficulties involved, such as travelling distance, and they subsequently removed their children from school and insisted that they remain at home. Troyna describes the situation as follows:

At the end of 1982 the situation had reached an impasse; on the one hand Muslim parents demanding either the allocation of places at North Manchester High School for girls or funding the establishment of a Muslim Voluntary aided school: on the other, local councillors fearing the possibility of "a white backlash" if special arrangement is instituted for Muslim pupils. In the light of Manchester's avowed commitment to "mutual respect for different cultures" in the provision of its education service, the Muslim parents have a legitimate grievance and, importantly in the context of this report, a peg on which to hang that grievance. How the Authority resolves this dilemma will demonstrate clearly the relationship between its policy and practice¹¹⁰.

However, the successful implementation of Manchester's multi-cultural policy depends on the stance taken by schools and teachers which will determine its future direction.

110. B. Troyna, 1982, "Manchester Education Authority" in The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, pp.64-65.

Walsall Education Authority and Multi-ethnic Education Policies in the Nineteen Eighties.

By the end of 1982, the Walsall Education Authority had produced a new statement about multi-cultural education. The reasons for this can probably be found in the publication of the Interim Rampton Report, and the urban disturbances of summer 1981 which suggested a need to assess the role of the schools in reducing alienation among black youth and in combating racism. However, these general factors were complementary to the main element, the shift in the control of the Labour party, which meant a change in the chairmanship of the Walsall Education Committee. This brought about a new leadership consisting of politicians who were determined to end "consensus" politics and force through policies based upon stated Labour policies, rather than compromising with the opposition. The Labour party, under this new leadership, put out a general document whose contents are described by Rex and Naguib in the following way:

This document prescribed a set of "positive discrimination" policies which were based upon a recognition of and opposition to social inequality in Walsall. Obviously this touched on minority rights and, specifically, minority rights in education. References were made in the document to support for mother tongue classes, measures to ensure that there is no racial discrimination in the appointment of black teachers, a policy of in-service training for teachers to make them more aware of the problems of racism, sexism and class

stereotyping and a policy of discrimination in favour of minority representation on school governing bodies¹¹¹.

Specific details of the multi-cultural policy was included in a statement issued in 1982 and consisted of three parts. The first part was a selective summary of the Rampton Report with an acceptance of some of its recommendations, i.e. the desirability of the collection of "data and comment from appropriate schools on the performance of West Indian children" and reference to informal discussions which have already been arranged between education officers and Afro-Caribbean representatives. The second part of the statement concentrates on the curriculum and strategies to bring about change. These strategies involved a clear directive from the Education Committee to all school governing bodies, a major conference for all head teachers, greater responsibility for inspectors and teacher-advisers to enable them to "deal with staff in their pastoral roles", continuing liaison with the CRC, courses to include whatever practical and possibly reference to multi-cultural implications and further development of multi-cultural resources. The final part includes discussions on "A Multi-cultural Approach to the Curriculum" and draws mainly on the ideas of Jeffcoate, Verma and Bagley who claimed that black pupils under-achieve largely because of their negative self-concept which is

111. M. Naguib and J. Rex, 1982, "Walsall Education Authority" in The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.82.

seen as the result of an ethnocentric bias in the curriculum¹¹². This characterisation of the curriculum refers to the allegation that teaching in British schools is dominated by Anglo-Saxon culture and values, and ignores ethnic cultures, especially black culture, with its own particular traditions and heritage. However, the notion that black pupils lack a positive self-concept has been challenged by black sociologists who do not accept the assumption that West Indian underachievement can be explained by low self-esteem¹¹³. It was fears about the negative consequences resulting from the ethnocentric biases in the curriculum that led to the introduction of Black Studies programmes in the seventies¹¹⁴. However, this strategy tended to locate the "problem" within the West Indian pupil's background, their culture and social environment, without questioning the nature of the British

112. M. Naguib and J. Rex, "Walsall Education Authority" in The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, pp. 87-88.

113. M. Stone, 1981, The Education of the Black Child in Britain: The Myth of Multi-racial Education, Fontana, London. See: D.N.Louden, 1981, "Comparative Study of Self-concepts among Minority Adolescents in English Multi-racial Schools" Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol.4, No.3, pp.153-71.

114. C. Bagley, K. Mallick and G. Verma, 1975, "Pupil Self-Esteem: A Study of Black and White Teenagers" in C.Bagley and G.Verma (ed) Race, Education and Identity, Macmillan, London. See: C.Bagley and B.Coard, 1975, "Cultural Knowledge and Rejection of Ethnic Identity in West Indian Children in London" in G.Verma and C.Bagley (eds) Race and Education Across Cultures, Heinemann, London, pp. 322-330.

education system¹¹⁵. In the eighties there have been different perceptions of the "needs" and the causes of academic failure of ethnic minority children. An emphasis on racism in schools and teachers' attitudes and expectations have been suggested as some of the main reasons for this academic failure¹¹⁶. This modification of perceptions provides an opportunity for challenging institutionalised racism and the restructuring of the curriculum in order to meet the "special needs" of different ethnic groups. These issues will be discussed fully in the next chapter.

In the case of the Walsall Education Committee there were some unresolved problems despite the introduction of the multi-cultural policy. These problems are connected with the "special needs" of certain ethnic minorities in relation to their religion and culture. Rex describes this situation as follows:

Two of the issues which arose in Walsall have some general interest in relation to other areas and particularly to Bradford. These are the role of Church schools and the question of mother tongue teaching. On the first issue whether a particular school had the right to limit its intake to "Church" pupils, even though it was in the heart of an immigrant area. The local authority responded with a compromise. On the one hand it required the school

115. H.V. Carby, 1982, "Schooling in Babylon" in The Empire Strikes Back. Race and Racism in 70s Britain, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Hutchinson, London, pp.186-188.

116. A. Rampton, 1981, "West Indian Children in our Schools" Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Ethnic Minorities, HMSO, London, P.19.

to take a limited number of non-church pupils. On the other it ran a limited bussing programme so that those who could not find places were bussed to non-church schools. On the question of mother tongue teaching the local authority saw that there is a need for such instruction and provided classes itself. These classes were thereby removed from association with religious organisations of the minority communities without being integrated with mainstream school curriculum. Taken together these issues pose the question of how religious minorities should control state-supported education¹¹⁷.

Another important issue is the specific demands of the minority communities. The demand for single-sex schools has not been pressed in Walsall except by a few individuals. But the issue which caused most concern was that of swimming lessons, Muslim parents were not prepared to allow their daughters to take part in these school activities. Matters came to a head when parents withdrew their daughters from school and complained to the local authority. The response of the local authority is described by Naguib and Rex:

Instead of being prepared to make an exception in the case of Muslim girls, the Director took a stand on the part that swimming was a curriculum matter and essential to the LEA carrying out of its educational function unlike the question of dress which did not otherwise affect the curriculum. Thus what the authority did on receiving the complaint was to have consultations with selected community leaders in order to explain rather than to negotiate about local authority policy on this matter. The

117. J. Rex, 1982, "Introductory Note", in The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.13.

Muslim girls have therefore been forced to accept swimming¹¹⁸.

This situation casts doubt about the possibility of implementing a successful multi-cultural education policy when the body formally constituted by the Council for consultation with the minority community is at odds with and is frequently bypassed by the LEA. Clearly certain issues remain unresolved. Firstly, this stalemate might be attributed to the beliefs and attitudes of the councillors, administrators and teachers who were confused and unable to formulate a clear and unambiguous policy for Walsall. Secondly, another impediment for a resolution of these issues is the stance taken towards multi-cultural education by Conservative councillors. The Conservatives have opposed any attempt to direct resources to meet the "special needs" of ethnic minority children in Walsall¹¹⁹. This rejection was based on the belief that it was a waste of public money and that minority people should be integrated through normal British provision on a colour-blind basis.

118. M. Naguib and J. Rex, 1982, "Walsall Education Authority" in The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.78.

119. Ibid. p.91-92.

Bradford Education Authority and Multi-ethnic Policies in the Seventies and Eighties.

The Bradford local education authority operates in an area in which the majority of its immigrants are Muslims. The immediate reaction of the educational administration was to adopt a policy of dispersal. However, one important feature of Bradford is that multi-cultural policies were influenced decisively by political facts. Rex writes:

One particular feature of the Bradford situation which must now be noted was the openness of its political parties to influence by the minority communities. Naturally enough Labour Councillors became more sensitive to minority views as they were faced with more and more immigrant voters in traditional Labour seats; but, from the early stage some Conservative Councillors had also seen the need to win minority support. Thus there was always the possibility of competition for minority electoral support and even some possibility of long-term co-operation to promote minority rights¹²⁰.

This situation in Bradford made it possible for minority groups to exert some pressure on the political parties because their survival depended on immigrant votes. That is why in 1979 the Labour majority abandoned bussing and at the same time developed its own Equal Opportunity policy, partly to implement Section 71 of the 1976 Race Relations

120. M. Naguib and J. Rex, "Bradford Education Authority" in The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.99.

Act, and partly as a response to ethnic minority demands. The effect of this pressure is revealed in the late seventies when an Immigrant Review Body was established in 1976 following the report of a working party on immigrant education. Politicians of both major political parties began to see the need for more consultations with minority groups¹²¹.

The main issues of concern in relation to ethnic minorities were connected with the religious and cultural practices of the Muslim community in Bradford. The demands of Muslim parents differed from those of Muslim communities in other areas of the country. These included single-sex education for Muslim girls, the withdrawal of Muslim pupils from certain school activities such as physical education, swimming and religious education, wearing Muslim dress and eating Muslim food. At one stage the Muslim parents protested and made it clear (in a document entitled "Muslim Parents Association Exposes the Conspiracy of Transformation of Muslim Children") that what really concerned them was the belief that Muslim children were being "systematically indoctrinated and methodologically transformed in the schools"¹²². The multi-cultural policy developed by Bradford in the eighties attempted

121. M. Naguib and J. Rex, 1982, "Bradford Education Authority" in The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.99.

122. Muslim Parents Association, 1982, Muslim Parents Association Exposes the Transformation of Muslim Children, Bradford.

to resolve these issues. The main concern of this policy was the need to be sensitive towards the culturally-specific demands of the Muslim community, accompanied with an emphasis upon the education of the white child as part of a strategy for creating a non-racist society.

An unresolved issue facing the local education authority was the demand for separate Muslim schools which was brought forward by the Muslim Parents Association and by the Council of Mosques in Bradford. They asked the LEA if they could run two first and two middle schools and one girls' secondary school designated as voluntary aided schools. These schools would include in their curriculum Islamic religious instruction, Arabic and Asian languages. The spokesman of the Muslim Parents Association stated that these schools would continue to admit English children and provide Christian religious instruction, but the heads of the schools would be Muslims¹²³. The response to the Muslims' demand was as follows:

The immediate reaction of the administrators, teachers and politicians was to deny that the proponents of this proposal were representative, to suggest that the proposal itself was divisive in a city working for racial integration and that the standards of such schools would be low because schools would be based upon authoritarian educa-

122. M. Naguib and J. Rex, 1982, "Bradford Education Authority" in The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.103.

tional practice¹²⁴.

This issue is of great significance because it involves the right of ethnic, cultural, racial and religious communities to run their own schools. Rex looks at this issue in terms of minority rights, and writes:

The right of the Anglican church to choose at least the minority of its pupils was not questioned, while some at least saw it as positively desirable that mother tongue teaching for Asians should be dissociated from religious control. Obviously in these circumstances a case appears to emerge for Asian religious minorities having the same rights as Anglicans, running their own schools for their own children and teaching mother tongue classes within their own religious and cultural context¹²⁵.

The Swann Committee came out against "separate" provision either in mother tongue or religious instructions. Any attempt by schools to foster a particular religious denomination or religious faith would undermine the perceived objective of British schools which is, according to the Swann Committee, the creation of a pluralist, multi-racial society. This stresses the idea that ethnic groups should strive for community-based, religious instruction if they wish to retain their identity and cohesiveness. The following extract clarifies the position taken by Swann:

124. M. Naguib and J. Rex, 1982, "Bradford Education Authority" in The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.103.

125. Ibid., p.13.

The confessional approach to religious education can be seen as very much in keeping with the assimilationist tradition since it regards the faiths of ethnic minority communities as inferior to Christianity and seeks therefore in a "missionary" spirit to replace these faiths with a commitment to the "superior" Christian religion..... We find ourselves in favour of the broader phenomenological approach to religious education as the best and indeed the only means of enhancing the understanding of all pupils, from whatever religious background, of the plurality of faiths in contemporary Britain bringing them to an understanding of the nature of belief and the religious dimension of human existence, and of helping them to appreciate the diverse and sometimes conflicting life stances which exist and thus enabling them to determine (and justify) their own religious position..... We believe that the phenomenological approach to religious education reflects most closely the aims underlying "Education for All", in laying the foundations of the kind of genuinely pluralist society which we envisaged at the opening of this report¹²⁶.

The Swann Committee was also against the establishment of separate schools as the following extract reveals:

The right of the ethnic minority communities to establish their own voluntary aided schools is firmly enshrined in law. We believe that the demand to exercise this right would much be diminished if the policies for "Education for All" which are advocated in this report are adopted. We do not believe that a situation in which groups of children are taught exclusively by teachers of the same ethnic group is desirable from the point of view of the children, the minority community or society as a whole. We are not therefore convinced that "separate" schools can be supported on these grounds. The establishment of "separate" schools would fail to tackle many of the underlying concerns of the

126. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, pp.474-497.

communities and might exacerbate the very feelings of rejection which we are seeking to overcome¹²⁷.

The Committee made the following suggestions in order to meet the concerns of some ethnic groups in the area of the single-sex educational provision:

Where there is parental concern about the education of girls, existing co-educational schools with multi-racial pupil populations could do more to ensure that in certain specific areas separate provision is offered on a sex basis as appropriate in the schools activities..... For some ethnic minority parents the demise of single sex provision may mean that there is no acceptable environment for education for their daughters. We hope the LEAs with multi-racial pupil populations will consider carefully the value of retaining an option of single sex education as part of their secondary school provision and the Secretary of State will also be sensitive to the wide ramifications of any decisions he may make on proposals which lead to the loss of single sex provision in multi-racial areas¹²⁸.

It remains to be seen whether these statements by the Swann Committee will satisfy the aspirations of some ethnic minority groups and deter them from demanding "separate" schools. The future response of these groups will depend on whether their ethnic, cultural and socio-economic aspirations are realised

127. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, pp.519-520.

128. Ibid., p.520.

within the present structure of British schools. It should be noted, however, that a minority on the Swann Committee was strongly in favour of establishing separate schools for some ethnic minorities.

In this chapter I have outlined the development of multi-ethnic education policies in four local education authorities. The implementation of multi-ethnic educational initiatives was met by opposition, indifference and sometimes hostility by teachers, administrators and (largely Conservative) councillors. In Bradford this opposition was expressed by the stand taken by a headteacher of a school with a large number of pupils of Asian background¹²⁹. His argument was that multi-cultural educational policies introduced by the Bradford education authority undermined the education of both ethnic minority children and children from the majority culture. His main concern was that these multi-cultural policies did not take into consideration the "needs" of children from the majority culture who find themselves as a minority in schools where children of ethnic minority background predominate¹³⁰.

Such arguments will appear again in our subsequent analysis of the attitudes and opinions of teachers in a London comprehensive school which forms the basis of the case study used in this thesis.

129. R. Honeyford, 1984, "Education and Race - An Alternative View" in Salisbury Review, London, pp. 30-32.

130. Ibid.

Chapter FourThe Debate over Academic Achievement.

The accumulation of evidence from both academic studies and surveys by local education authorities highlighted the problems associated with the academic achievement of ethnic minority children and contributed to the recognition that special educational needs may derive from racial and ethnic diversity. This evidence also led to questioning about the nature of the school curriculum and "school practices" in relation to the education of ethnic minorities¹. Research in this field was concentrated on the achievement of pupils of West Indian and Asian origin, and to a lesser extent on the attainment of other pupils originating from New Commonwealth countries, such as Turkish and Greek Cypriot children. Several basic explanations emerged concerning the educational experience of Afro-Caribbean and Asian minorities. Firstly, the most common explanation was that emphasising the issue of racial discrimination. It has been argued that the conspicuousness of dark skins singled out the West Indians and Asians as the subjects of racial hostility and discrimination. The issue

1. Select Committee on Immigration and Race Relations, "The West Indian Community", 1976-77, "Government Observations" HMSO, London, para. 14, p.7.

of "race" has been taken up by the mass media and has become a political issue drawing further attention to the debate on education and ethnic minorities. Secondly, another explanation was connected to the actual numbers of West Indians and Asians and the alleged problem^{of} absorbing them into British society. Thirdly, some emphasised the colonial connection and the relationship between the "mother country" and its former colonies which it is claimed was based on a special nexus of affection and antipathy, pride and guilt². However, if this were the dominant factor then one would logically expect that the Cypriots, Irish and Hong Kong Chinese would also have attracted the same degree of attention as the Afro-Caribbeans and Asians. This, however, did not happen.

Research on the academic achievement of ethnic minorities involves a comparison between the progress of school children from a particular ethnic minority with pupils from the white majority. It should be noted that this comparison does not give an indication of how these children achieve

2. R.Jeffcoate, 1984, Ethnic Minorities and Education, Harper Education Series, London, p.12.

their full academic potential. The Swann Committee pointed out the following in relation to this issue:

It is often supposed, naively, that there is a true measure of innate potential, namely a child's IQ (Intelligence Quotient), but this, as we shall see is not the case. It may be the best measure of potential that has yet been devised, but it is far from perfect and is influenced by a variety of factors. In short, there is not really a reliable indicator of a child's academic potential. Nevertheless, we are clear that many ethnic minority children are not achieving their full potential, regardless of how they compare with the white majority³.

Moreover, the data on attainment indicate the average performance of a group of children in comparison with another group, they do not take into consideration the differences in achievement within groups. Research on academic achievement reveals the average performance of different groups. The average performance of West Indian children as a group, for example, is lower than the average performance of the white group. This does not mean that all children of West Indian origin are achieving less well than children from the majority culture. In fact some children of West Indian origin are doing very well in British schools⁴. There are greater

3. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, p.59.

4. P. Figueroa, 1984, "Minority Pupil Progress" in M. Craft (ed), Education and Cultural Pluralism, Palmer Press, Sussex.

differences within groups than between groups regardless of their ethnic origin. Studies, for example, reveal that West Indian girls are performing at a higher level than boys of West Indian origin⁵.

The Academic Achievement of Children of West Indian Origin.

Various studies in the nineteen sixties and seventies indicated that children of West Indian origin were under-achieving in British schools⁶. In 1975 a study obtained scores on non-verbal group IQ tests from approximately 14,000 whites and 350 West Indian children in their last year at LEA primary schools. In addition, 105 white children and 100 children of West Indian origin were given individual IQ tests. These latter results are shown with the West Indian children divided into those born in the West Indies and those born in the United Kingdom. It was revealed that the West Indian children had lower scores than the whites, although it was also shown that the differences in scores diminish where the West

5. G. Driver, 7.1980a, "How West Indians do better in schools (especially girls)", New Society, pp.111-114.
See: S. Tomlinson, 1983, Ethnic Minorities in British Schools, Heinemann, London.

6. A. Little, 1975, "The Educational Achievement of Ethnic Minority Children in London Schools" in G.K.Verma and C. Bagley (eds) Race and Education Across Cultures, Heinemann, London, pp. 48-69.
See: J.McFie and J.Thompson, 1970, "Intellectual Abilities of Immigrant Children", British Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol.40, No.3, pp.348-351.
A.Little, 1975, "Performance of Children from Ethnic Minority Backgrounds in Primary Schools", Oxford Review of Education, Vol. 1., No. 2, pp.117-135

Indian children are born, and therefore receive all their education, in the United Kingdom⁷.

The National Child Development Study in a survey of all children born in a particular week in 1958 covered 10,000 white children and 6,000 children of various ethnic groups. At the age of 11 these children were given various educational tests including verbal and non-verbal IQ tests. The results reveal that the scores of the West Indians were significantly lower than those of the children of the white majority, being particularly low for those children resident in this country for less than four years. On the verbal and non-verbal tests the West Indian children who were in the United Kingdom more than four years scored 89.8 on verbal tests and 89.3 on non-verbal tests. The West Indian children who had been less than four years in the United Kingdom scored 83.7 on verbal tests and 81.0 on non-verbal tests⁸.

In the nineteen eighties a study of 2,300 school leavers

7. W. Yule, M. Berger, M. Rutter and B. Yule, 1975, "Children of West Indian Immigrants II. Intellectual Performance and Reading Attainment", Journal of Child Psychology, Psychiatry, Vol. 16, No. 1., pp.1-17.

8. See: The National Child Development Study organised by the National Children's Bureau, London. The information is taken from the report of the Swann Committee: M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, pp.129-149.

in five multi-racial schools, two from Northern England, two from the Midlands and one from the Home Counties revealed that the academic achievement of West Indian girls, in comparison with their British counterparts, was of a higher standard. West Indian boys and girls achieved examination results which were for the most part better than those obtained by English boys and girls. West Indian boys and girls have in some cases overtaken their English classmates in the course of their school career. Among white pupils the boys usually have better results at 16 plus than white girls, whereas West Indian girls did better than white boys and West Indian boys. Comparing the results for white and West Indian pupils in English language, mathematics and science, West Indian boys, English boys and English girls got the poorest results for those subjects⁹. The implications of this study are that West Indian girls, and sometimes West Indian boys, are achieving better than children from the white majority. These findings are not however substantiated and it is not possible to generalise for the whole West Indian group as the Rampton Report points out:

The NFER review we commissioned deals with Driver's research in detail and stated that "...generalisations on a national scale could not be made as a result of this study because the pupils involved were not a representative sample since the relevant

9. G.Driver, 7.1.1980a, "How West Indians do better in schools (especially the girls)", New Society, pp.111-114.

records were not available, either from a large number of LEAs which had initially been approached, or from within the schools themselves. In addition it was admitted that it was not possible to compare one school with another on progressive measures of attainment or even on pupil-generation in the same school with another". And "Although, it is true, he (Dr. Driver) acknowledges the limitations of the study ...it is also fair to point out that he does draw educational conclusions on the basis of statistical evidence which in many cases is found wanting in statistical terms¹⁰.

Further research highlights the academic performance of West Indian children as a group. The findings of the DES Leavers Survey (1981-82) published in the Swann Report revealed the following variation in achievement between West Indian pupils, Asian pupils and other school leavers:

- (a) In all CSE and GCE 'O' level examinations 6 per cent of West Indians obtained five or more higher grades compared with 17 per cent of Asians and 19 per cent of "all other leavers", in these LEAs;
- (b) In CSE and GCE 'O' level English Language 15 per cent of West Indians obtained higher grades compared with 22 per cent of Asians and 29 per cent of "all other leavers", in these LEAs;
- (c) In CSE and GCE 'O' level Mathematics 8 per cent of West Indians obtained higher grades compared with 21 per cent of Asians and 21 per cent of "all other leavers", in these LEAs;
- (d) At GCE 'A' level 5 per cent of West Indians gained one or more pass compared with 13 per cent of Asians and 13 per cent of "all other leavers", in these LEAs;

10. A. Rampton, 1981, "West Indian Children in our Schools", Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, Cmnd.8273, HMSO, London, p.10.

(e) 1 per cent of West Indians went to University compared with 4 per cent of Asian and 4 per cent of "all other leavers", in these LEAs;

(f) 1 per cent of West Indians went on to a full-time degree course in further education compared with 5 per cent of Asians and 5 per cent of "all other leavers", in these LEAs¹¹.

The findings of this survey reveal that there has been some statistically significant improvements in the relative performance of West Indian school leavers in each of the areas highlighted in this data when compared with findings of the DES School Leavers survey (1978-79). The following data will support this statement:

In all CSE and GCE 'O' level examinations the percentage of West Indians obtaining five or more higher grades has increased from 3 per cent in 1978/79 to 6 per cent in 1981/82;

In CSE English and 'O' level English Language, not only has the percentage of West Indians obtaining no graded result fallen from 31 per cent in 1978/79 to 25 per cent in 1981/82, but the percentage obtaining higher grades has also increased from 9 per cent in 1978/79 to 15 per cent in 1981/82;

In CSE and 'O' level Mathematics, not only has the percentage of West Indians obtaining no graded result fallen from 47 per cent in 1978/79 to 45 per cent in 1981/82, but the percentage obtaining higher grades has also increased from 5 per cent in 1978/79 to 8 per cent in 1981/82; and

At GCE 'A' level, the percentage of West Indians obtaining at least one 'A' level pass has increased

11. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, pp.62-63.

from 2 per cent in 1978/79 to 5 per cent in 1981/82¹².

Despite this improvement in examination results for the West Indian group, the Swann Committee points out:

And we hope that no one will be tempted to interpret them as an indication that there is no longer any need for concern about the performance of West Indian pupils. On the contrary, these further data strengthen our belief that, as we stated in our interim report, West Indian children as a group are underachieving....(and).... this should be a matter of deep concern not only to all those involved in education but also the whole community¹³.

The Academic Achievement of Pupils of Asian Origin.

Several studies carried out in the nineteen seventies and eighties revealed that children of Asian origin are achieving as well as indigenous children¹⁴. It has been widely accepted that Asian children respond differently to the school environment and that the length of stay in the United Kingdom is an important determining factor in their academic

12. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, p.63.

13. Ibid.

14. J. Taylor, 1976, The Half-way Generation: A Study of Asian Youth in Newcastle-on-Tyne, NFER, Windsor.

See: ILEA, 1967-81, Black British Literacy. A Study of Reading Attainment of London Black Children from 8 to 15.

S. Tomlinson, 1983, "The Educational Performance of Children of Asian Origin", New Community, Vol.10, No.3. pp. 381-392.

Hegarty and M.J. Taylor, 1986, The Best of Both Worlds: A Review of Research into the Education of Pupils of South Asian Origin, NFER, Nelson, London.

G. Verma and B. Ashworth, 1986, Ethnicity and Educational Achievement in British Schools, Macmillan, London.

progress¹⁵. A study carried out in 1976 revealed that Asians do better than English pupils on three measures of educational attainment. They did better in terms of the proportion continuing into full-time study after the age of fifteen, the percentage still in full-time education when interviewed, and the numbers who gained admission to higher education.

The Asian success was achieved despite the fact that 58 per cent did not come to Britain before the age of ten. This means that they were not fully educated in the United Kingdom. The study also reported a marked difference in social class between the fathers of the two groups. For instance, 55 per cent of Asian fathers were self-employed, 95 per cent were house owners, and 58 per cent owned more than one house. In contrast, 75 per cent of the English fathers were employees and 79 per cent were tenants¹⁶. However, Taylor suggests that class cannot provide a full explanation of the level of Asian achievement.

15. J. McFie and J. Thompson, 1970, "Intellectual Abilities of Immigrant Children", British Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol. 40, No. 3, pp. 348-351.

See: J. Taylor, 1973, "Newcastle upon Tyne: Asian Pupils Do Better than Whites", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 24, No. 4, pp. 431-447.

A. Little, C. Mabey and G. Whitaker, 1968, "The Education of Immigrant Pupils in London Primary Schools", Race, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 439-452.

16. J. Taylor, 1976, The Half-Way Generation: A Study of Asian Youth in Newcastle-on-Tyne, NFER, Windsor, pp. 159-165.

He argues that Asian pupils did well not because they were from the middle class but because they had middle class attributes and, above all, they received strong parental encouragement in terms of their school work¹⁷.

Taylor's research provides further insight into the character of Asian migration. Indians and Pakistanis, for instance, have been able in certain inner city areas to recreate something of their previous communal life: this enabled newly arrived immigrants from the subcontinent to enjoy security and warmth. Additional important reasons are also suggested to account for Asian academic success. The first factor relates to the castes to which Asian children belong: the Jat and Khatri castes are noted for their energy and ambition. The second factor is connected to parental attitudes: Indians and Pakistanis place great value on education and they appreciate academic success. The third reason is the supportive warmth of the Asian family¹⁸.

Evidence shows that the West Indian parents are also eager for their children to succeed in British schools. Research reveals that West Indians had a favourable view towards

17. J. Taylor, 1976, The Half-Way Generation: A Study of Asian Youth in Newcastle-on-Tyne, NFER, Windsor, p.159-165.

18. Ibid.

British education and that many of them migrated to Britain because they thought their children would receive the best education in the world¹⁹. However, the disillusionment with the British education system is shown by the support given by West Indian parents to supplementary schools²⁰.

The Swann report also revealed that information based on survey data obtained in 1978/9 and 1981/2 shows that Asian school leavers were achieving on a par with, and in some cases marginally better than, their peers from all other groups in the same LEAs according to the various measures used:

At GCE 'A' level the percentage of Asians gaining one or more pass in both years studied, mirrored exactly the "all other leavers" figures, 12 per cent in 1978/79 and 13 per cent in 1981/82;

In CSE and GCE 'O' level Mathematics the percentage of Asians obtaining higher grades in the 1981/82 exercise was the same as for "all other leavers", 21 per cent.

The same percentage of Asian leavers as "all other leavers" went to University in both 1978/79: 3 per cent, and 1981/82: 4 per cent.²¹

Swann concludes on this issue:

19. J. Bhatnagar, 1970. Immigrants at School. Cornmarket Press, London.

20. M. Stone, 1981. The Education of the Black Child in Britain. The Myth of Multiracial Education, Fontana, London.

See: H. Austin and L. Garrison, 24.2.1978. Article in The Times Educational Supplement.

21. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. "Education for All" HMSO. London, p.64.

While the evidence about school performance of Asian pupils is not unanimous, the majority of studies with the School Leavers Survey exercises, show an average level of performance, other than English Language, that is generally on a par with that of indigenous white children²².

The findings in relation to the academic performance of pupils of Asian origin do not indicate the relative academic attainment of subgroups based on country of origin, (i.e. Pakistan, East Africa and India,) religion, (i.e. Muslim, Sikh and Hindu,) and home language, (i.e. Punjabi, Gujerati and Urdu). The Swann Committee comments on this issue:

This lack of common approach to classification meant that we were unable to base any firm conclusion on the data we received on the relative performance of Asian sub-categories. In by far the majority of the schools which provided us with information, however, it was clear that pupils of Asian origin as a group were achieving in examination terms, very much on a par with their school fellows from other groups, except where they were suffering from linguistic difficulties. Children of Bangladeshi origin, however, have been shown in a number of instances to be performing markedly less well than their school fellows in other groups, both minority and majority²³.

The Academic Achievement of Other Ethnic Minority Children.

The lack of ethnically-based statistics and the absence

22. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. "Education for All", HMSO, London, p.65.

23. Ibid, pp. 65-66.

of systematic research on ethnic minorities originating from New Commonwealth countries provides little information on the achievement of other ethnic groups, such as Turkish and Greek Cypriot children. However, research carried out by the ILEA does provide some insight into the performance of other ethnic minorities in British schools. The following data reveals the performance of various ethnic groups in reading:

Table 6

Mean reading scores at 8, 10 and 15 years by ethnic group.

<u>Age</u>	<u>*UK</u>	<u>EIRE</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>IND</u>	<u>PAK</u>	<u>GC</u>	<u>TC</u>	<u>0</u>
8	98.1	94.8	88.1	89.6	91.1	87.3	85.4	93.2
10	98.3	97.9	87.4	86.6	93.1	87.8	85.0	93.9
15	97.8	96.6	85.9	91.4	94.9	87.6	84.9	95.4
N.	12,530	229	1,466	137	74	194	139	502

*UK-United Kingdom; WI-West Indies; IND-India; PAK-Pakistan; GC-Cyprus, Greek speaking; TC-Cyprus, Turkish speaking; 0-all other Immigrants.²⁴

The table shows that the standard scores for the UK group are roughly the same on all three occasions. This means

24. ILEA, 1976-81, Black British Literacy: A Study of Reading Attainment of London Black Children from 8 to 15, p.5.

that relative to the national norm expected from children of their age the UK group remained at roughly the same level. Among the other ethnic groups the West Indians and the Turkish Cypriots stand out: other ethnic groups had similar or slightly higher scores at 15 than at 8 or 10 whereas the West Indians and Turkish Cypriots had not. The Pakistanis and "other" immigrants at the age of 15 were approximately 3 points below the indigenous children. The West Indians, however, appear to have deteriorated by school-leaving age in comparison with other ethnic groups. At leaving, their average attainment is roughly the same as that of the Turkish Cypriot group, the group with the lowest attainment.

The data reveal that the indigenous children are at all times the highest scoring group and the Turkish Cypriots the lowest. There is only one exception to this pattern: at 8 years the positions of the Greek Cypriots and the West Indians were reversed, instead of being the second lowest group, the West Indians ranked above the Greek Cypriots²⁵. In 1981 the ILEA Language Census revealed a considerable difference in the relative fluency in English of Greek and Turkish speakers; 13.4 per cent of Turkish speakers were classified as "beginners", compared with 5.3 per cent of Greek speakers, and 41.1 per cent of Turkish Cypriots were classified as "fluent", in comparison with 58.1 per cent of Greek Cypriots²⁶.

25. ILEA, 1976-81, Black British Literacy: A Study of Reading Attainment of London Black Children from 8 to 15, p.5.

26. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, pp. 686-687.

The Debate on the Issues of Heredity and Environment.

The main exponent of heredity arguments is an American psychologist, A. Jensen, who developed his ideas on "heritability" in various publications²⁷. His main contention is that the emphasis on environmental factors and the educational programmes based on this analysis failed to meet the "needs" of the culturally and socially disadvantaged, and black children in schools. He writes:

Compensatory education has been tried and apparently has failed. Compensatory education has been practised on a massive scale for several years in many cities across the nation. It began with auspicious enthusiasm and high hopes of educators. It had unprecedented support from federal funds. It had theoretical sanctions from social scientists espousing the major underpinning of its rationale: "the deprivation hypothesis" according to which academic lag is mainly the result of social, economic and educational deprivation and discrimination - an hypothesis that met wide uncritical acceptance in the atmosphere of society's growing concern about the plight of minority groups and the economically disadvantaged²⁸.

Jensen claims that the theory which guided most of the compensatory education programmes assumes that all children,

27. A. Jensen, 1969, "How much can we boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" in Harvard Education Review, pp. 1-117.

See: A. Jensen, 1973, Heritability and Group Differences, Methuen, London.

A. Jensen, 1972, Genetics and Education, Methuen, London.

A. Jensen, 1973, Educational Differences, Methuen, London.

A. Jensen, Bias in Mental Testing 1980, Methuen, London.

28. A. Jensen, 1969, "How much can we boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" in Harvard Education Review, p.1.

apart from the few born with neurological defects, are basically alike in their mental development and capabilities and any differences in ability manifested in school can be explained in terms of social processes outside school, upbringing, motivation and parental education differences. In the context of differences of IQ scores between ethnic groups it should be emphasised again that the argument centres around average scores obtained by members of these groups in relation to the average scores found in other groups. Evidently individual scores within a group vary enormously. In this sense there is great variation in scores of IQ within the West Indian group and within the white group. Therefore, many West Indian children might have higher IQs than many children from the majority culture. It is when a comparison is made between the achievement of West Indian children as a group with the indigenous children's achievement as a group that West Indians are invariably seen to be scoring less than white children.

Jensen continues the argument about the influence of environmental factors on academic ability and questions the assumptions concerning its implications for educational policy. He writes:

Since educators, at least officially, assumed that race and social class differences in scholastic performance are not associated with genetic differ-

ences in growth rates or patterns of mental abilities but are due entirely to discrimination, prejudice, inequality of educational opportunity and factors in the child's home environment and poor culture, we have collectively given little if any serious thought to whether we could do anything differently if we knew in fact that all educational differences were not due solely to those environmental factors..... I believe we need to find out the extent to which individual differences, social class differences and race differences in cognitive development and differential patterns of relative strength and weakness in various types of ability are attributable to genetically conditioned biological growth factors..... Differences in rates of mental development and potential for various types of learning will not disappear by being ignored²⁹.

In developing his argument Jensen suggests that genetic factors are more important than environmental factors and that there is limited evidence that social environment influences human behaviour. He writes the following about the relationship of genetic factors to IQ:

The heritability of IQ as estimated from the average of all published studies of the subject is 0.80, which means that on the average the studies show that 80 per cent of the population variance in IQ is attributable to genetic variation, and 20 per cent to non-genetic factors³⁰.

However, the crucial importance of Jensen's argument in its implications for variations found in measured intelligence

29. A. Jensen, 1972, Educational Differences, Methuen, London, pp. 378-379.

30. Ibid., 349.

which allegedly derive from racial differences. Drawing from studies conducted in the USA³¹ Jensen states that blacks obtain 15 IQ points, on most standard intelligence tests, below the average for the white population³². He argues that this difference in IQ scores between blacks and whites can be explained almost entirely in terms of genetic factors.

There are two important arguments developed by Jensen which have relevance for the question of academic achievement of blacks in USA and ethnic groups in the United Kingdom. Firstly, he points out that blacks in USA were not only less "successful" than whites but also scored significantly lower on standard IQ tests, and concluded that it is not an unreasonable hypothesis that genetic factors are strongly implicated in black-white intelligence differences.³³ The British psychologist, H.J.Eysenck, also asserted that all the available evidence suggests the strong and overwhelming importance of genetic factors in producing the great variety and differences observed in our culture, and much of the difference between certain racial groups³⁴. In USA there has been substantial evidence for fifty years or more that

31. A.M.Shuey, 1966, The Testing of Negro Intelligence, Social Sciences Press, New York.

32. A. Jensen, 1973, Educational Differences, Methuen, London, p.362.

33. A. Jensen, 1969, "How much can we boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" in Harvard Education Review, p.1-117.

34. H.J.Eysenck, 1971, Race, Intelligence and Education, Temple Smith, London, p.130.

blacks on average obtain significantly lower scores than whites on standard IQ tests. Secondly, Jensen's arguments amount to the claim that there are no possible environmental factors which could account for the observed differences in IQ between black and white Americans. He points out that the difference between American blacks and whites is larger than that observed between whites and American Indians or Mexicans-Americans, who are poorer and occupy worse jobs than blacks. Thus:

Differences in IQ between American blacks and whites are not just due to differences in "socio-economic status" (SES), since even when one compares children from families of similar SES, there is still a large difference in IQ.... The difference between American blacks and whites is very much larger than that observed between whites and other ethnic minorities in the U.S. (e.g. American Indians and Mexicans) who are on average poorer and hold worse jobs than blacks; while some ethnic minorities (notably people of Japanese or Chinese origin) obtain higher scores than the white majority on nonverbal IQ tests³⁵.

35. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, p.131.

Arguments against the Genetic Interpretations

Jensen's argument asserts that black and white differences are not simply a consequence of socio-economic status (SES) because blacks of high SES have rather lower scores than whites with low SES. Equating for SES, he has claimed, reduces what is otherwise a 15-point or greater difference in IQ to no more than 2 or 3 points. This is consistent with the data surveyed by Shuey in 1966.³⁶ From 13 studies undertaken between 1921 and 1964 she concluded that the average difference in IQ between blacks and whites of similar socio-economic status was 12.80 points. Shuey also analysed a further 14 studies carried out between 1922 and 1958 which looked at blacks and whites living in similar neighbourhoods and the average difference was now found to be 10 points. Studies in Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore revealed that differences between blacks and whites of similar socio-economic status averaged between 4 and 6 points, considerably less than 9 and 10 points separating children from high and low socio-economic backgrounds³⁷. In this country the same pattern has been observed; the data from the National Child Development Study (cited earlier in this chapter) showed 15 points difference between West Indians and white children in total IQ. But this difference is reduced to 11

36. A.M.Shuey, 1966, The Testing of Negro Intelligence, Social Sciences Press, New York.

37. M.Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of the Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All" HMSO, London, P.132.

points by adjusting for the fact that a very much smaller proportion of West Indians than whites have fathers with non-manual jobs³⁸.

Jensen's argument that the poor performance of American blacks could not be attributed to their social circumstances (because other ethnic groups such as the Mexicans or American Indians who are poorer obtained higher scores) has some relevance for the state of academic achievement among different ethnic groups in the United Kingdom. Available evidence shows that in the mid-seventies children of Asian origin encountered considerable initial difficulties, but as soon as they overcame these problems, they adapted to the British school system and performed relatively well in tests of reading and mathematics in addition to making reasonable progress in public examinations³⁹. There is rather less information on their performance in IQ tests but the findings of some studies reveal that the length of stay in this country has a marked effect on their performance⁴⁰. The Swann Committee attempted

38. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, p.132.

39. A. Rampton, 1981, Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, HMSO, London, CMND. 8273, pp.6-8.

40. J.Essen and N.Ghodsian, 1979, "The children of immigrants; school performance", New Community, Vol. 7, No.3, pp.422-28.

to provide an explanation for the underachievement recorded for West Indian pupils:

We turn first to IQ where, we believe, we have been able to make an important contribution, thanks to an impressive research paper which we commissioned from Professor Mackintosh and Dr. Mascie-Taylor. The authors show that the often quoted gap between West Indian and White IQ scores is sharply reduced when account is taken of socio-economic factors - contrary to general belief, IQ scores, like school performance are related to these factors. It follows from their work that low West Indian average IQ scores are not a major factor in underachievement and as the authors point out, may well be of no more significance than the well-known average difference in IQ scores between twins and singletons within a family⁴¹.

In the same context the Committee emphasised the fact that West Indian children, like many white children, experience poverty and poor housing which are closely related to underachievement in school. However, this is not the only causal influence on poor academic results and Swann also mentioned other factors:

But, as we have seen members of the ethnic minorities suffer from an extra element of social and economic deprivation over and above that of the white majority - due as we discussed in the last section, mainly to prejudice and discrimination

41. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, P.81.

in the employment and housing markets, in the case of relatively recent arrivals, with language difficulties and incompatibility in qualifications⁴².

This emphasises the role of prejudice and discrimination experienced by ethnic minority groups in British society is clearly important. As Professor Little points out, the Committee does not advance the argument of black underachievement by playing down institutionalised racism, thereby reducing the pressure for change in the system⁴³. The issue is, however, complex and the Committee came to a balanced, if somewhat vague, verdict on the relative strength of the variables involved:

We have examined the research evidence about racial prejudice and discrimination in the educational system and their effect on ethnic minority children. We can only say that the findings are inconclusive when it comes to decide which factors may be important. We are left in no doubt, that the issues involved are complex and ill-understood and that much research⁴⁴ is needed if we are to understand the problem.

So far it has been argued that there is no support for the argument of Jensen that differences in measured intelligence, IQ, are genetically determined. The evidence emphasises

42. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, p.82.

43. A. Little, 21.3.1985, "Education for Whom?", New Society, p.452.

44. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, Education for All", HMSO, London, p.90.

the role of environmental factors in determining academic achievement. Professor Mackintosh and Dr. Mascie-Taylor have the following to say on this issue:

We considered the three types of indirect argument put forward by Jensen to support his claim that the differences between black and white IQ scores in the U.S. is probably largely genetic in origin, without finding much reason to accept that any of them applies to the case of West Indian children in the U.K. First, it turns out to be quite easy to find social and environmental factors that account for a significant part of the average difference between West Indian and White IQ scores in this country. Secondly, there is no evidence that West Indian children obtain lower IQ scores than other ethnic minorities suffering from comparable levels of social and economic deprivation. Finally, there is no reason to suppose that West Indian children differ from Asian children in the pattern of their scores on verbal and non-verbal tests, for both tend, if anything, to obtain rather lower scores on verbal tests. If non-verbal scores are taken as the less biased measure of intelligence, the differences between both minority groups and the indigenous majority are often quite small⁴⁵.

There are other points that need to be taken into consideration in relation to the evidence that West Indian children under-achieve and Asian children are doing better in British schools. Firstly, West Indian pupils are not an undifferentiated group. Jeffcoate argues that it could be possible that the educational attainment of Jamaican pupils might be below that of pupils originating from other Caribbean islands. Therefore the

45. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, p.139.

underachieving group may not be West Indians as a whole, but West Indians from a particular Caribbean island⁴⁶. This argument, although it is not supported by firm evidence, nonetheless, emphasises the point that the West Indian community is not homogeneous which is also true for other ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom. Secondly, ethnic groups of Asian origin are not homogeneous either, they may comprise individuals from certain geographical areas or simply consist of groups classified in terms of language and religion.

Mackintosh and Mascie-Taylor indicate the direction in which the evidence from the review of the research seems to point. They write:

Much of this difference in the IQ scores between West Indians and indigenous children appears to be related to differences between them in such factors as parental occupation, income, size of the family, degree of overcrowding, and neighbourhood. All of these factors are related to IQ among whites, and when they are taken into account, the differences between West Indian and indigenous children is sharply reduced, to somewhere between 1 and 7 points. The findings tend to argue against those who would seek to provide a predominantly genetic explanation of ethnic differences in IQ, but they equally imply that such differences are not due to a special set of factors unique to the West Indian experience. Although discrimination against West Indian families in this country may have an important indirect effect on their children's

47. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, Education for All", HMSO, London, pp.147-48.

IQ scores by ensuring that they live in impoverished circumstances, there is less reason to believe that such discrimination, whether by society as a whole or by teachers and IQ testers in particular has any direct effect on the West Indian child's performance. There is, moreover, relatively little evidence that specifically supports either this or the genetic position. The evidence is not compelling then, but on balance it does seem to point one way rather than others; ethnic differences in IQ scores are probably largely caused by the same factors which are responsible for differences in IQ within the white population as a whole. And much the same conclusion probably applies to ethnic differences in more specific measures of school performance such as tests of reading, of mathematics or public examinations. Here too, such differences as there are between different ethnic groups seems to be largely related to the same social factors that are related to differences within the indigenous populations. If therefore, we wish to affect the IQ scores of children from ethnic minorities in our society, or indeed their school performance, we might make a start by improving the social and economic circumstances of their families⁴⁷.

This approach repudiates the arguments of Jensen and Eysenck that the difference in average intelligence between ethnic groups can be explained in terms of genetic inheritance. Secondly, the findings emphasise the point that ethnic differences in IQ scores are caused by the same environmental factors which are responsible for the IQ differences among the white population. Thirdly, there is an emphasis on the need to improve social and economic conditions in order to enable ethnic minorities to reach a higher level of achievement in British schools. However, other factors are also important, such as processes operating within the school, teachers'

47. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, pp. 147-48.

attitudes, institutionalised racism and the nature of the curriculum. Moreover, the presence of double disadvantage reinforces the argument that ethnic minority children have "special needs" which require special educational provision. However, the debate on academic achievement will remain incomplete without a further analysis of a number of other elements which remain crucial to the performance of children from ethnic minority backgrounds.

Social and Racial Disadvantage.

The sociology of education has traditionally attempted to explain working class academic failure in relation to class⁴⁸, linguistic deprivation⁴⁹, streaming⁵⁰ and the working class value system⁵¹. It is argued that economic,

48. J. Douglas, 1964, The Home and the School, MacGibbon and Kee, London.

See: H.A.Halsey et al, 1980, Origins and Destinations: Family, Class and Education in Modern Society, The Clarendon Press, Oxford.

49. B. Bernstein, 1961, "Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning" in Halsey, Floud and Anderson, Education, Economy and Society, New York.

See: W. Lapov, 1973, "The Logic of Nonstandard English" in Young, Tinker, Taylor... the Myth of Cultural Deprivation, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

50. J. Douglas, 1964, The Home and School, MacGibbon and Kee, London.

51. H.H.Hyman, 1967, "The Value Systems of Different Classes" in Social Mobility in Industrial Society, S.M.Lipset and R. Bendix (eds) University of California Press, Berkeley.

class and social disadvantage leads to cultural deprivation which, in turn, deprives working class children of the necessary skills and motivation for academic success in British schools. Schools were perceived as middle class institutions which ignore working class culture and tend only to offer working class children academic failure⁵². Ethnic minority children encounter similar economic and social deprivation as is experienced by working class children. However, ethnic minorities also experience an additional problem - racial disadvantage which derives from the dimension of race.

The systematic experience of double disadvantage by ethnic minority groups in British society has resulted in the development of the concept of an 'underclass' to analyse their situation within the class structure of society. This concept suggests that such groups are systematically at a disadvantage compared with the indigenous working class and therefore form a separate underprivileged class. However, this interpretation is subject to considerable controversy. The traditional Marxist position would argue that immigrant workers are an integral part of the working class because of their relationship to the means of production. It is argued that they are members of the 'proletariat' and that they suffer from similar disadvantages

52. N. Keddie, 1971, "Classroom Knowledge" in Young, Tinker, Taylor... The Myth of Cultural Deprivation, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

to those experienced by indigenous manual workers. Westergaard and Restler, however, reject the idea of an "underclass", maintaining that:

Coloured people are not uniformly concentrated at the bottom of the economic order. They are certainly handicapped in the labour market, as they are in a wide range of other respects; but in no way so as to make them, en bloc, an "under-class"⁵³.

Other "Marxists" argue that although ethnic minority groups share some social and economic disadvantages with the indigenous working class, nonetheless their subordinate position is distinctive enough to make them an "underclass", a class beneath the working class⁵⁴. Castles and Kosack state that immigrant workers do not own the means of production and therefore are members of the working class but they do not spread evenly throughout the working class. They rather form the lowest stratum of the working class carrying out unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. They write:

Immigrant workers and indigenous workers form the working class in contemporary Western Europe, but it is a divided class. The Immigrants have become concentrated in the unskilled occupations, and the indigenous workers tended to leave such jobs. Immigrants have lower incomes and inferior housing and social conditions. The two groups are more or less isolated from each other, through differing positions and short-term interests⁵⁵.

53. J. Westergaard and H. Restler, 1976, Class in a Capitalist Society, Penguin Books, Harmondworth, p.356.

54. A.A. Sivanandan, 1982, A Different Hunger, Pluto Press, London.

55. S. Castles and G. Kosack, 1985, Immigrant Workers and the Class Structure in Western Europe, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp.476-77,

Despite the different conceptions of the position of the ethnic minority groups in relation to class structure, there is general agreement that these groups experience additional disadvantages to those encountered by the white working class⁵⁶.

The adverse circumstances experienced by ethnic minority children outside school has, therefore, a negative impact on their academic performance. The importance of social circumstances is stressed in the studies of Mackintosh and Mascie-Taylor for the Swann Committee⁵⁷.

Another factor which prevents ethnic minority children from achieving in British schools is language.

Language and Ethnic Minorities.

The discussion on language involves three interrelated issues: the "interference" of dialect forms of English in learning processes; the problems related to the fact that some ethnic minority children speak a language at home which is different from English (i.e. the teaching of English as a second language in schools); and, finally, mother-tongue teaching. It must be stressed from the outset that language is something acquired in the process of socialisation and is

56. D.J.Smith, 1977, Racial Disadvantage in Britain. The PEP Report, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

See: C.Brown, 1984, Black and White Britain. The Third PSI Report, Heinemann, London.

57. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, p.147.

part of a child's culture. In this context it has been argued that because ethnic minority children are brought up in a language which differs from English this may prevent them from subsequently acquiring the form of English which is required for success in public examinations and in other spheres of life.

That West Indian children learn a different language at home, Creole, which is entirely different from standard English has clear implications for the learning process in school. The nature of Creole as a form of oral expression has been explained as follows:

What is important in this context is that West Indians tend to speak a dialect of English at home known as Creole. This developed during the period of slavery to facilitate communication between the planters and slaves and indeed among the slaves themselves, who often came from different language communities. The vocabulary is mainly English, but the sound system and grammar are very different, exhibiting to some extent the influence of West African languages⁵⁸.

The potential difficulties involved in Creole "interference" arises both out of the problems of comprehending and of producing written work in standard English. However, there are considerable arguments concerning the actual validity of the interference hypothesis. Research undertaken at Birmingham University revealed that most of the West Indian children in an infant school were able to modify their dialect quickly and without systematic teaching to the point where they achieved a classroom dialect intelligible to their English peers and teachers. The researchers concluded that Creole

58. A. Pilkington, 1984, Race Relations in Britain, University Tutorial Press, Slough, p. 136.

may not act as a significant break on comprehension⁵⁹. Moreover, tests conducted in eight junior school classes with children, aged between 7 - 9, indicated that where West Indian children did have difficulty in oral comprehension, Creole was not the main cause⁶⁰.

This conclusion has been disputed by Edwards whose own research led her to the view that the language problem faced by West Indians in British schools has been underestimated⁶¹. Edwards used the Neale analysis of reading ability on two groups of children, 40 English and 40 West Indian aged 11-12 from three secondary schools in Reading, who were tested on their reading and comprehension of difficult passages. The children in each group were subdivided on the basis of their reading performance into poor, average and good readers and then comprehension scores were compared. This comparison found no significant differences among the two groups of poor readers, but West Indian average and good readers had lower scores than their English counterparts. Some supplementary tests have shown that those who scored poorly on the comprehension tasks were strongly influenced by Creole.

On the basis of this evidence, Edwards concluded that

59. J.Wight and R.Morris, 1970, Teaching English to West Indian Children. Schools Council Working Paper 29, Methuen, London.

60. J.Wight, 1971, "Dialect in School", Educational Review, Vol. 24, No. 1.

61. V.K.Edwards, 1976b, "Effects of Dialect on the Comprehension of West Indian Children", Educational Research, Vol. 18, No. 2.

there was a relationship between dialect interference and underperformance in comprehension tasks⁶².

In the writing of standard English there is some evidence that the dialect affects the production of written work in standard English by West Indian children. In this context concern has been shown about the writing where both spelling and grammar may exhibit the influence of Creole. The recurrence, for instance, of certain non-standard grammatical features, such as the omission of the plural and possessive "s" reveal dialect interference⁶³. The study by Edwards which was published in 1979 highlights the issue of dialect interference and suggests that this factor may have contributed to West Indian underachievement in schools. Edwards writes:

In one respect, then, the Creole-speaking child may be at an even greater disadvantage than, for instance, the Punjabi- or the Chinese-speaking child in the British school. Both child and teacher accept that they are speaking different languages, are prepared for difficulties and adjust their communication techniques accordingly. But in the case of the Creole-speaking child there are many situations in which there may be complete misunderstanding or, more likely, partial understanding. The common assumption that West Indians speak "English" may lead both speaker and addressee to think that the message has been communicated successfully when this is not in fact the case⁶⁴.

62. V.K.Edwards, 1976b, "Effects of Dialect on the Comprehension of West Indian Children", Educational Research, Vol. 18, No. 2.

63. J.Wight, 1971, "Dialects in School", Educational Review, Vol. 24, No. 1.

64. V.K.Edwards, 1979, The West Indian Language Issue in British Schools, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p.61.

Edwards develops her argument by pointing out the specific problems created by Creole interference and emphasises the crucial role of the teacher in the process of learning:

It is possible to argue in this case, however, that the main obstacle to educational success is not the language differences themselves but people's attitudes towards these differences. It is impossible to estimate the proportion of West Indian children who find themselves at a disadvantage because of their different linguistic background. There may well be many children who are completely bidialectal, and many who are sufficiently bidialectal for Creole interference not to constitute a major educational problem. But, by the same token, there are also many children who show evidence of considerable linguistic interference and whose language difficulties are aggravated or, at least, perpetuated by the teachers who either do not understand or are unsympathetic towards their special problems⁶⁵.

The writer continues by stressing the importance of the West Indian language in British schools:

It is the responsibility of the school to create an atmosphere of acceptance of all children in its care and this involves an acceptance of their language. Ironically, appreciation of the child's dialect is the most likely route to the acquisition of standard English: building on linguistic competence leads to confidence; denigrating language leads to introversion and rejection. The linguistic and social stereotyping of West Indians is so widespread that very positive measures must be taken in all aspects of the curriculum to counteract the damage which has been done⁶⁶.

The Swann Committee considered the language needs of children of West Indian background in the context of the

65. V.K.Edwards, 1979, The West Indian Language Issue in British Schools, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, pp.81-82.

66. Ibid., pp.126-27.

different approaches adopted in British schools and the impact that they might have on the educational performance of these children. The Committee identified three educational approaches towards the language needs of West Indian children. The first approach was based on the assumption that the language of West Indian children was inadequate for the process of learning. This belief led to efforts by teachers to replace the child's language with standard English thereby damaging his linguistic development and self-image. The Committee cites evidence that shows that these methods still persist amongst some teachers. The second approach identified by the Swann Committee is the dialect interference strategy. This involves the belief that although the West Indian children's language is not inferior, nonetheless, it is sufficiently different from standard English to cause potential difficulties in the learning situation. The third approach is the one that emphasises the value of all dialects and languages as an important part of the child's linguistic repertoire⁶⁵. The Swann Committee suggests the following:

The third approach...now recognised as being particularly appropriate to West Indian children is one that values all languages and dialects as an important part of children's linguistic repertoire. The intention is not to change or replace any particular dialect but to develop a sharper awareness of, and interest in, the different language forms that the child can use, thus avoiding confusion between them... An underlying principle

65. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, pp.421-22.

is that whereas both the "deficit" and the "dialect interference" approaches focus on what the child cannot do, the "repertoire" approach focuses on what the child can do and builds constructively on the considerable linguistic strengths the child brings to the classroom⁶⁶.

This "ideal" approach in relation to the encouragement of linguistic diversity involves a number of problems. Some of these difficulties are related to appropriate funding and on whether teachers have the necessary skills to translate this "ideal" into practice.

The second issue involves children from different ethnic minorities who speak a language at home which is different from English. Asian, Cypriot, and other ethnic minority children face linguistic difficulties in schools because English is not their mother tongue. This difficulty was recognised and measures were taken (although inadequate) as I have demonstrated in chapters two and three of this thesis. Language centres and the teaching of English as a second language were used as the most appropriate means for meeting the linguistic needs of these children. However, the teaching of English as a second language, either in language centres or on a withdrawal basis in schools, has been questioned because it means "separate provision". The Swann Committee opposed "separate provision" for the following reason:

We have already emphasised our fundamental opposition

66. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, pp.422.

to the principle of any form of "separate provision" which seeks to cater only for the needs of ethnic minority children since we believe that such provision merely serves to establish and confirm social and racial barriers between groups⁶⁷.

The Committee favoured teaching English as a second language within the mainstream school as a part of a comprehensive programme for language education for all children. Thus they recommended:

- A change from the provision of E2L by withdrawal whether this has been to language centres or to separate units within schools.
- The needs of English as a second language learners should be met by provision within the mainstream school as part of a comprehensive programme of language education for all children.
- For the child from a home where English is not the first language⁶⁸ pre-school provision can be particularly valuable.

The issue of mother tongue teaching and the British education system will be further discussed in the following chapter which deals with multi-cultural education.

Identity Studies and Black Underachievement.

A number of identity studies which are relevant to the issue of black underachievement have been carried out in the

67. M.Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, p.392.

68. Ibid., p.426.

United States and Britain⁶⁹. These studies concentrated on an analysis of the level of group consciousness of black Americans and members of ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom. Socio-psychological concepts such as identity, self-concept and self-esteem are used in these studies. The assumption which preoccupies such research is that American and British societies have strong racist tendencies because of historical factors, such as the American experience of slavery and the British imperial tradition. Certain attitudes have developed in both societies causing racial prejudice and discrimination against black people. It is further claimed that blacks, having been forced to play a passive, servile and inferior role, came to believe it to be a reflection of their self-image⁷⁰. Black Americans have internalised the negative views which the dominant society held of them in the process of socialisation. Referring to the British case this process leads to "misidentification" and the "rejection" of their "blackness"⁷¹. The outcome of all this

69. See American Studies: D. Moynihan, 1965, The Negro Family. The Case for National Action. (The Moynihan Report), USA Government Dept. of Health and Social Welfare.

M. Radhke et al, 1953, "The Role of the Parents in the Development of Children's Racial Attitudes", Child Development Vol. 21, No. 13. See British Studies: D. Hill, 1970, "The Attitudes of West Indians and English Adolescents in Britain", Race, Vol. 11, No. 313. C. Bagley and B. Coard, "Cultural Knowledge and Rejection of Ethnic Identity in West Indian Children in London in G. Verma and C. Bagley (ed) Race and Education Across Cultures. pp. 322-30.

70. T. Pettigrew, 1964, A Profile of the Negro in America, Van Nostrand.

71. D. Milner, 1975, Children and Race, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

is that black children acquire a low self-concept and low self-esteem. Some identity studies attempted to explain academic underachievement of ethnic minority children directly in terms of these negative self-concepts and low self-esteem⁷².

As early as 1966 Coleman explained black academic failure in America in terms of family background, inadequate motivation and poor self-concept⁷³. In Britain Little, in a study of academic achievement of London immigrant children, suggested that low economic and social status affects the identity of these children and that the negative self-concept of immigrant pupils influences the level of their academic achievement⁷⁴. During the nineteen seventies it was realised that the relationship between underachievement and poor self-concept was more complex. This is illustrated by a study carried out in 1975 by Bagley and Verma which concentrated on children of Afro-

72. C. Bagley, K. Mallick and G. Verma (ed), 1975, "Pupil Self-esteem: A Study of Black and White Teenagers" in C. Bagley and G. Verma (ed) Race, Education and Identity, Macmillan, London.

See: C. Bagley and B. Coard, 1975, "Cultural Knowledge and Rejection of Ethnic Identity in West Indian Children in London" in G. Verma and C. Bagley (ed) Race and Education Across Cultures, Heinemann, London, pp. 322-30.

B. Jeffcoate, 1979, A Positive Image. Towards a Multi-racial Curriculum, Writers and Readers Publishing Co-op., London.

73. J. Coleman, 1966, Equality of Educational Opportunity. The Coleman Report, USA Government Dept. of Health, Education, Welfare.

74. A. Little, 1975, "The Educational Achievement of Ethnic Minority Children in London Schools" in G. Verma and C. Bagley (ed) Race and Education Across Cultures, Heinemann, London, pp. 48-64.

Carribbean and Asian background⁷⁵. The findings of this study revealed that the relation between prejudice and self-concept in ethnic minority groups in British schools is more complex than it had been thought before. They discovered a significant correlation between poor self-esteem and anti-white attitudes in West Indian males. However, it was found that West Indian girls with a high level of self-esteem tended to be anti-white, whereas the opposite was true for the West Indian males. The attitudes of the high self-esteem girls were based on an objective appraisal of the facts of racism but in contrast the attitudes of the boys were based on alienation associated with low self-esteem. The researchers concluded that their findings supported American research in this field.

They also pointed out that isolated black pupils were more likely to internalise negative views of blacks transmitted by socialising agencies. The researchers explained the low self-esteem of males in terms of the historical position of the West Indian family. They argued that slavery led to a matriarchal, authoritarian family which devalued males. This meant that the female took over most of the responsibility for bringing up the children whereas the father was an insignificant figure within the family. If these attitudes towards the importance of the female in the traditional West Indian

75. C.Bagley, K. Mallick and G.Verma, 1975, "Pupil Self-esteem: A Study of Black and White Teenagers" in C.Bagley and G.Verma (ed) Race, Education and Identity, Macmillan, London.

family are still prevalent within the West Indian community in Britain then they might explain the high self-esteem and confidence of girls and the poor self-esteem of boys. The same study reported that self-esteem among both girls and boys in the Asian community was high⁷⁶.

Another study, carried out in the eighties, reported similar observations in relation to the variation of academic performance between West Indian boys and girls and their indigenous counterparts. The high academic attainment of West Indian girls was also explained in terms of the matriarchal character of the West Indian family which meant that West Indian girls were more disciplined, worked harder and did better than boys at school⁷⁷.

The identity studies in the nineteen sixties and seventies contributed to an awareness of the importance of ethnic identity and self-concept. Moreover this emphasis influenced the development of educational programmes such as Black Studies⁷⁸, designed specifically to have a multi-ethnic character and which aim at strengthening ethnic identity and developing a positive

76. C. Bagley, K. Mallick and G. Verma, 1975, "Pupil Self-esteem: A Study of Black and White Teenagers" in C. Bagley and G. Verma (ed) Race, Education and Identity, Macmillan, London.

77. G. Driver, 17.1.1980, "How West Indians do better at schools (especially girls)", New Society, pp.111-14.

78. An archetypal version of Black Studies was introduced in Tulse Hill School, South London, with the purpose of meeting the motivational needs of black children.

self-concept among ethnic minority children.

However, several of the assumptions that formed the basis of these early identity studies have been questioned. Certain black sociologists have been particularly critical of those American and British studies which insisted that black Americans and black British had a poor self-concept and a low self-esteem⁷⁹. They also questioned the claim that black underachievement in British schools can be explained in terms of these concepts. In this context a comparative study by Loudon illustrates the changing perceptions in identity and self-concept⁸⁰. Loudon carried out a study on self-concept among ethnic minority and majority group adolescents in English multi-racial schools. On the basis of his findings he suggests that American studies may not be relevant to the UK situation, arguing that the experience of ethnic minorities in the UK is different in certain crucial respects from that encountered by racial minorities in the USA. Loudon writes:

79. F.Dhondy, May 1978, "The Black Explosion in Schools", Race Today, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 43-48.

See: C.Mullard, 1980, "Racism in Society and Schools", History, Policy and Practice. Occasional Paper No. 1, Centre of Multi-cultural Education, University of London.

D.N.Loudon, 1981, "Comparative Study of Self-concepts among Minority Adolescents in English Multi-racial Schools", Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp.153-71.

M.Stone, 1981, The Education of the Black Child in Britain: The Myth of Multi-racial Education, Fontana, London.

80. D.N.Loudon, 1981, "Comparative Study of Self-concepts among Minority Adolescents in English Multi-racial Schools", Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp.153-71.

The bulk of the studies reviewed so far are mainly American, and there are many reasons why such findings may not be strictly relevant for United Kingdom populations. In the first place, there are differences in their numbers, geography, concentration, culture and perception of the society. Secondly, most minority groups in this country are children of immigrants whilst in the United States, they were long established citizens. Thus in both its qualitative and quantitative features the situation facing British minority groups is not identical to that in the United States⁸¹.

Moreover, he points out that since the sixties a new wave of black pride and cultural development has been taking place. This new black consciousness manifested itself in phrases such as "Black is beautiful" and "I am black and I am proud"⁸². Louden claimed that blacks who have a positive self-concept will evaluate themselves differently from the way in which they respond to the question, "myself as English people see me". The findings of his study reveal that both Asian and West Indian adolescents evaluated their own group as favourably as they regarded English people, and that previously held negative beliefs are beginning to be reversed. A new sense of worth has grown out of the black movement. Thus Louden's research shows that despite racial prejudice and discrimination, Asian and Afro-Caribbean groups have a positive self-concept.

Another black sociologist, Stone is also critical of

81. D.N.Louden, 1981, "Comparative Study of Self-concepts among Minority Adolescents in English Multi-racial Schools", Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 4, No. 3, p.158.

82. Ibid. p.165.

the identity studies⁸³. She claims that the self-concept theory is inadequately formulated and the results of the identity studies are conflicting and contradictory. More specifically, she questions the conclusions reached in the work of Moynihan⁸⁴, Radhke⁸⁵, and Clark and Clark⁸⁶, who confirmed the idea that black self-hatred is the logical result of the inferior status of Afro-Americans. Stone supports the same argument put forward by Loudon, and claims that the early development of negritude, as a defence against colonialism, was reinforced by the advent of the black power movement and the growth of the influence of the Rastafarian ideology among young West Indians in Britain. She drew support for this statement from Giles research in London's multi-racial schools⁸⁷, which found that black power carries some force among West Indians in British schools. She writes:

83. M. Stone, 1981, The Education of the Black Child in Britain: The Myth of Multiracial Education, Fontana, London.

84. D. Moynihan, 1965, The Negro Family. The Case for National Action, (The Moynihan Report), USA Government Dept. of Health, Education and Social Welfare.

85. M. Radhke et al, 1953, "The Role of the Parents in the Development of Children's Racial Attitudes", Child Development, Vol. 21, No. 13.

86. R.Clark and M.Clark, 1947, "Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children, M.Newcomb and L.Hartley (ed) Readings in Social Psychology, Reinhart and Winston, New York.

87. R.Giles, 1977, The West Indian Experience in British Schools: Multi-Racial Education and Social Disadvantages in London, Heinemann, London.

To many young black people born in Britain the Rastafarian's religious and social movement offers them an alternative to the dispossessed, marginal alienated, non-status position offered by the dominant white society.... My main concern here has been to establish that an alternative view of black culture and self-concept exists and has always existed within all contemporary societies in which African people live. This phenomenon has been completely ignored by social scientists in writings on black children, self-concept and schooling, whether they be negative or positive. In this context, is white society a "credible" source of information to the black child or adult? Would its views largely accord with the views blacks have of themselves?

These arguments attempt to change perceptions about black identity and self-concept. They also try to establish the point that black Americans and West Indians in the United Kingdom are developing a common consciousness and pride about their culture as a means of survival in predominantly white-dominated societies. The development of this awareness depends on how blacks perceive their position in society and how far rivalries based on religion and culture will be overcome and a united response be achieved⁸⁹. In the nineteen sixties and seventies, although West Indian migrants experienced racial prejudice and discrimination there was only a limited reaction. Troyna writes:

88. M.Stone, 1981, The Education of the Black Child in Britain: The Myth of Multi-racial Education, Fontana, London, pp.84-85.

89. D.G.Pearson, 1977, "West Indian Communal Associations in Britain: Some Observations", New Community, Vol. 5, No.4, pp.371-80. See: P.Polland, 1972, "Jamaicans and Trinidadians in North London", New Community, Vol. 1, No. 5, pp.370-77.

Given this situation and the feelings of disillusionment and discontent amongst the migrants, their response remained curiously muted. Various explanations have been put forward for this. For instance, it may be that conditions in Britain though severe, were an improvement on those experienced at home. Similarly it seems plausible that, because many of these migrants saw themselves primarily as transient rather than permanent settlers, they were more resilient and prepared to submit to the iniquities of British racialism. There is also evidence to suggest that a unified, active response was unlikely because these newcomers were much more heterogeneous than their "common" skin colour suggests. Inter-island rivalries were and still are important to the West Indian migrants. This passive approach may, in turn, have been directed to the thought that vastly improved social and economic conditions would be available to their children who would, after all, be born and brought up in this country.

It remains to be seen whether the common experience of unjust treatment in British society will induce West Indians to move from being a disparate and divided racial group into a cohesive and politically mobilised ethnic community.

That there is no consensus of views on the notion of black identity and self-concept can also be illustrated by Troyna's study of West Indians in Bristol. Troyna's research reveals that the degree of strength of black identity is determined by the various responses of black youth to white racialism. These responses affect the attitudes of black pupils towards British schools and academic work. Troyna discovered three main groups of young blacks: the "mainstreamers", the "compromisers" and the "rejectors". The "mainstreamers" were the pupils found in

90. B. Troyna, 1979, "Differential Commitment to Ethnic Identity by Black Youths in Britain", New Community, Vol. 7, No.3, p.407.

the upper streams of the school. Troyna writes:

"Mainstreamers" were actively engaged in reducing the salience of their blackness as a social identity, preferring instead to promote other facets such as sporting or academic abilities. The primary aim of the "mainstreamers" was to gain acceptance into the wider society and this demanded their rejection of the oppositional features of the black community, retaining only those parts which would "bridge the gap" towards assimilation. This gradual drift away from the subordinate group towards absorption into the mainstream was represented, in part, by their involvement in ethnically-mixed peer groups both within and beyond the school. For them, immersion in ethnically homogeneous groups would lead to direct confrontation with the society to which they were aspiring⁹¹.

The "compromisers" tended to oscillate between the perspectives of the "mainstreamers" and those of young blacks who were involved in the more oppositional parts of the community. The "compromisers" spread in different streams of the school but they did tend to concentrate in the upper streams. They shared the views of the "mainstreamers" and they were ambitious in terms of academic success and "good qualifications". These children had internalised the fears of the indigenous people, and they were reluctant to accept forms of cultural and ethnic diversity brought about by the black migration to Britain. They even agreed that there were too many blacks in this country⁹².

91. B.Troyna, 1979, "Differential Commitment to Ethnic Identity by Black Youths in Britain", New Community, Vol. 7, No. 3, p.410.

92. B.Troyna, 1979, "Differential Commitment to Ethnic Identity by Black Youths in Britain", New Community, Vol. 7, No.3, p.410-11.

The "rejectors" were usually found in the lower streams of the school, and the very best they could aspire to was a working class job. They agreed that racialism was endemic in Britain and they were immersed in activities and pursuits which revolved "around the overt political messages disseminated in reggae music"⁹³. These youths belonged to exclusively, ethnically-homogeneous and intra-stream peer groups and showed contempt and hostility towards black pupils in the upper streams of the school. On the basis of his research, Troyna argued that black youth culture is not a monolithic and undifferentiated entity which contradicts the view expressed by Stuart Hall that the second-generation of blacks are immersed in a common culture⁹⁴. Troyna writes:

This is a false and misleading claim. Faced with "endemic racialism" these youths develop various adaptive responses. Some certainly do assert their blackness and are assuming less conciliatory responses to the wider society than, say, many of their parents. On the other hand, many young blacks - and particularly those who are successfully negotiating entry into the wider society - are engaged in a process in which a drastic de-emphasis of their black identity is taking place. The salience of blackness to these children then is not a constant; it is inextricably connected with how they perceive their present and future position in an endemically

93. B.Troyna, 1979, "Differential Commitment to Ethnic Identity by Black Youths in Britain", New Community, Vol. 7, No. 3, p.412.

94. S.Hall, C.Critcher, T.Jefferson, J.Clarke and B.Roberts, 1978, Policing the Crisis, Macmillan, London.

racialist society⁹⁵.

Teachers' Expectations in Relation to the Academic Potential of Ethnic Minorities.

Another important factor connected to the academic achievement of ethnic minority students is the attitudes and expectations of teachers. Research in this field is still limited, because earlier studies concentrated on the social environment of these children, without critically examining school practices, the curriculum and teachers' attitudes. However, several studies do shed light on this issue and highlight teachers' perceptions of the ability and behaviour of ethnic minority children.

Brittan in 1976 obtained postal questionnaire data from 510 teachers at 171 primary schools, and 339 teachers at 25 secondary schools. In this study she described the willingness of teachers to make generalisations about children of West Indian origin and their tendency to produce contradictory stereotypes. Black pupils, for example, were described as lazy/passive/withdrawn, but also as boisterous/ aggressive/disruptive, general descriptions which teachers were not willing to make of white or Asian children. Brittan pointed out that teachers considered that the cause of difficulties lay in the children's home environment or innate characteristics⁹⁶. She also stressed that "it is clear

95. B.Troyna, 1979, "Differential Commitment to Ethnic Identity by Black Youths in Britain", New Community, Vol. 7, No.3, p.413.

96. E.M.Brittan, 1976, "Multiracial Education; Teachers Opinions of School Life, 2: Pupils and Teachers", Educational Research, Vol. 18, No. 3, p.190.

that teachers perceive West Indian pupils as of low ability and as creating discipline problems" and that some answers to her questionnaire "can only be interpreted as racist"⁹⁷.

The Interim Rampton Report suggested the following in relation to racism and academic achievement of children of West Indian origin:

Many West Indians insisted to us that the major reason for underachievement of their children at school was racism (racial prejudice and discrimination) and its effects both in schools and in society generally. Many other people who gave evidence to us mentioned racism as a contributory factor⁹⁸.

The report notes, however, that teachers with racist views are in a minority. Nevertheless, the following statement is made in relation to teachers' attitudes and expectations of the academic ability of West Indian children in British schools:

We have, however, found some evidence of what we have described as unintentional racism in the behaviour and attitudes of other teachers who would be misleading to describe as racist in the commonly accepted sense. They firmly believe that any prejudice they may have can do no harm since they are not translated into any openly discriminatory

97. E.M.Brittan, 1976, "Multiracial Education; Teachers Opinions of School Life, 2: Pupils and Teachers", Educational Research, Vol. 18, No. 3, p.190.

98. A.Rampton, 1981, "West Indian Children in our Schools". Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, Cmnd.8273, HMSO, London, p.12.

behaviour. Nevertheless, if their attitudes are influenced in any way by prejudices against ethnic minority groups, this can and does, we believe, have a detrimental effect on the children whom they encounter.... Again it has been repeatedly pointed out to us that low expectations of the academic ability of West Indian pupils by teachers can often prove a self-fulfilling prophecy. Many teachers feel that West Indians are unlikely to achieve in academic terms but may have high expectations of their potential in areas such as sport, dance, drama and art. If these particular skills are unduly emphasised there is a risk of establishing a view of West Indian children that may become a stereotype and teachers may be led to encourage these pupils to pursue these subjects at the expense of their academic studies⁹⁹.

The Committee concluded that while racism, intentional or unintentional, may not be the only factor which contributes to the underachievement of West Indian pupils, it can and does have an important bearing on their performance in schools. The report urged teachers to be prepared to examine and reappraise their own attitudes and behaviour, to challenge all manifestations of racism and to play a leading role in attempting to change the attitudes of society as a whole towards ethnic minorities¹⁰⁰.

Further research illuminates the attitudes and expectations

99. A. Rampton, 1981, "West Indian Children in our Schools". Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, Cmds. 8273, HMSO, London, pp.12-13.

100. Ibid., p.14.

of teachers towards the ability and academic potential of West Indian pupils. Cashmore's study reveals the extent to which teachers' encouragement to these children to take up careers which do not require academic ability can be harmful. He conducted an inquiry amongst black youths in London and Birmingham. On the basis of the findings, he claims that black school leavers have a positive orientation towards sport activities because of their teachers' influence and encouragement. Moreover, Cashmore argues that black youths tend to receive a particular treatment in British schools. This interest in sport is also reinforced by the perceptions of their alternatives in the conventional occupational sphere which is rather limited due to racial prejudice and discrimination¹⁰¹.

Another recent study emphasises the "social processes" in society and schools which prevent pupils of ethnic minority background from realising their educational and vocational ambitions. This report also stresses the role of teachers' attitudes and expectations in relation to these pupils' abilities. The study deals with the educational and work experience of 15 to 18 year olds from minority ethnic groups. It was commissioned by the Department of Education and Science (DES) as a complement to the work of the Swann Committee and carried out by a research team at Keele University. The sample

101. E.Cashmore, 1983, "The Champions of Failure: Black Sportsmen", Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 90-100.

included 593 young people, 157 pupils of South Asian and 110 of Afro-Caribbean origin, who reached the age of 16 in the school year 1981-82. The researchers attended 23 comprehensive schools in Bradford, Birmingham, Bedford and London. The findings of this inquiry stressed that the determination of young people of Asian and Afro-Caribbean origin to leave school with the type of qualifications needed to find jobs was hampered by "processes" both in British society and schools. The report focused on the importance of teachers' expectations of the academic potential of ethnic minority pupils by noting the following:

In schools, both at and below sixth-form level, ethnic minority pupils may be placed on courses and entered for examinations at levels below those appropriate for their abilities and ambitions. Teachers may be unwilling to accept the existence of these processes, or to even redress them where they are aware of them. And when schools fail them, young black people can find it difficult to enter colleges for further education. In society at large, the effects of racial discrimination upon employment prospects appear to be severe. Even when young people do attain appropriate qualifications, they do not obtain jobs in equal proportions to whites either before or after participating in schemes¹⁰².

The report, moreover, includes an account which shows teachers making racist remarks to black pupils and recorded interviews which reveal the anger and resentment of these pupils at the

102. University of Warwick, Multicultural Studies in Higher Education, 1985, The Educational and Vocational Experience of 15-18 Year Old Young People of Ethnic Minority Groups, Warwick University, Coventry, pp.431-32.

teachers' attitudes. Other evidence suggests that the academic potential of black pupils is not recognised due to "overt" and "covert" expectations, traditions and the "ethos" of schools, a suggestion reinforced by the fact that black young people tend to do better at further education colleges. The study points to the effect of racial prejudice in relation to the academic underachievement of children of West Indian origin:

Furthermore, the ethnographic study of the two additional schools in a further LEA suggests that certain special factors might operate to the disadvantage of Afro-Caribbean pupils in some schools. If teachers hold views antagonistic to particular racial groups and if in any resulting conflict such teachers are supported by the authority structure of the schools, the consequences are likely to be detrimental to the attainment of most, if not all, pupils of that group. If racial prejudice operates among teachers low examination achievements could be even less adequate than usual as an indication of a young person's occupational capacity¹⁰³.

The report recommends that schools should try to remedy the low level of confidence of black pupils by allowing all children a chance to develop their most marketable skills. It is essential to avoid the process of "ghettoising" these pupils by providing "soft option curriculum" in which they can "succeed"¹⁰⁴. The inquiry urged the Department of

103. University of Warwick, Multicultural Studies in Higher Education, 1985, The Educational and Vocational Experience of 15-18 Year Old Young People of Ethnic Minority Groups, Warwick University, Coventry, p.435.

104. Ibid., p.442.

Education and Science (DES) to rethink its policy on examinations and curriculum in schools, bearing the ethnic minorities in mind and emphasising the identification and development of their skills. In addition, the DES should look at teacher training to ensure that students develop the necessary sensitivity for dealing with ethnic minority pupils¹⁰⁵.

Summary and Conclusions:

The discussion and analysis conducted in this chapter enable the following conclusions to be reached: Firstly, taking into consideration the arguments for and against heredity and environment and the evidence surrounding this issue, it is claimed that achievement in terms of measured intelligence is not genetically determined. Socio-cultural factors are more relevant in explaining the differential academic achievement of indigenous and ethnic minority children in the United Kingdom.

Secondly, it has been suggested that "double disadvantage" - i.e. the combination of racial and social disadvantage experienced by some ethnic minority groups reinforces the deprived position of these children in the British education system. Socio-economic factors exert a considerable influence on the academic under-achievement of some children from ethnic minorities.

103. University of Warwick, Multicultural Studies in Higher Education, 1985, The Educational and Vocational Experience of 15-18 Year Old Young People of Ethnic Minority Groups, Warwick University, Coventry, pp. 431-458.

Thirdly, language was considered to be an important element in explaining the academic attainment of children of West Indian background. The evidence suggests that these children are handicapped in the process of learning and acquisition of linguistic skills because of the interference of Creole and the failure of British schools to recognise and appreciate West Indian language as part of the culture of these children. Similarly, other ethnic minorities experience linguistic difficulties because they speak a language other than English at home. It is argued that schools should welcome linguistic diversity and formulate a language policy which takes into consideration the linguistic needs of all children.

Fourthly, the discussion on the relevance of identity and self-concept revealed that there is no simple relationship between these factors and black underachievement.

Fifthly, it has been emphasised in this chapter that teachers' attitudes and expectations play an important role in the development of the academic ability of ethnic minority children. They are also relevant in explaining the underachievement of some minority pupils and are linked to stereotyping and institutionalised racism. This issue is also connected to the processes operating within British schools and to the nature of the curriculum. This last factor will be considered in more detail in the next chapter.

Chapter Five.The Multi-cultural Curriculum: Quot Homines, Tot Sententiae.

The debate over the introduction of a multi-cultural curriculum must be seen against the background of the development of multi-cultural education in general. During the last two decades policies have been evolved to deal with the educational needs of ethnic minority children perceived in accordance with the prevailing assumptions about ethnic relations in British society. The origins of the multi-ethnic policy began with plans put forward to assist "coloured young immigrants"¹, and these policies led gradually to the development of a more comprehensive multi-ethnic education strategy. This type of education stressed sensitivity towards the variety of different ethnic groups in British schools and their special disadvantages in the educational system. Not only did it make explicit the importance of ethnicity and its implications for the educational programmes of ethnic minority children, but it also emphasised the necessity for an education that would prepare all children for life in a multi-ethnic society. At present, the type of multi-ethnic education acceptable to most teachers and educational institutions, as well as the Department of Education and Science (DES) and the Local Education

1. D. Milner, 1981, "The Education of the Black Child in Britain: A Review and a Response", New Community, Vol. 9, No. 2, p.291.

Authorities (LEAs) is that which stresses the idea of culture and cultural pluralism². However, the concept of multi-cultural education is surrounded by different definitions and interpretations and there is no consensus about the meaning of this type of education. Rex suggests the following clarification:

Certainly it involves a deliberate move away from the notion that minorities are to be provided for simply as part of a general programme for the disadvantaged. Nonetheless, although "Multi-Cultural Education" became a widely accepted slogan, there was considerable uncertainty as to what it actually meant. To some it meant the whole set of policies to provide for the immigrant minority child. To others it was seen as something more specific being concerned with bringing minority cultures into the curriculum. Within these options, moreover, there were many alternative possibilities. Multi-cultural education might be thought of as something which applied to the curriculum for all children or it be thought of as something which was provided for minority children only. If it was taken to mean the latter, it might or might not be seen as something whose main function was to improve performance and achievement. In some cases, moreover, the central meaning which was attached to the term was that it referred to a set of policies³ designed to deal with West Indian underachievement³.

One explanation underlying the diversity of interpretations is related to the different demands of ethnic minorities in connection with the education of their

2. B. Bullivant, 1981, The Pluralist Dilemma in Education, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, p.412.

3. J. Rex, 1982, "Introductory Note", The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.9.

children. Although it is true that some minority groups wish to retain their separate ethnic and religious identity and expect schools to show understanding and support, nonetheless, there is a common demand that the British schools must provide a good general education for their children. The West Indian community has been particularly concerned with the education of their children because, as we mentioned previously, a disproportionately greater number of them have been placed in schools for the educationally subnormal (ESN). This concern was expressed by the complaints of black parents in Haringey who protested against this practice⁴. This shows that most West Indians wish their children to receive an education in the mainstream British schools and not in separate institutions. Although there are some specific demands by certain ethnic groups concerning various aspects of the education of their children, nonetheless as Rex points out, there are many common attitudes:

First there is the demand of a quite simple and direct kind that education should be as good as possible an education, so that children entering the world of employment or higher education should have the best opportunities possible. Secondly, there appears to be widespread demand for mother-tongue instruction. Thirdly, there are some specific demands arising most strongly amongst Muslim parents for appropriate recognition of minority customs. Finally there is concern that the schools play a supportive role in the moral education of children, supportive that is, of the kind of morality which

4. F.Dhondy, May/June 1978, "Teaching Young Blacks", Race Today, pp. 80-85.

parents see themselves as trying to inculcate in their homes⁵.

This Swann report emphasised similar demands by the West Indian and Asian communities which are relevant to the development of a multi-cultural curriculum and the modification of school practices in order to enable British schools to respond to the educational and pastoral needs of ethnic minority children, as the following extract reveals:

Asian parents, teachers and community representatives begun to make known their concerns about their children's education. Whilst sharing some of the concerns already voiced by the West Indian community about, for example, the balance and content of the curriculum, the need for more teachers drawn from their own community, and above all, the pervasive influence of racism both within schools and the wider society, the Asian community has also broadened the debate considerably by raising two further issues: firstly, the responsibility of the education system for the maintenance and teaching of the children's "mother tongue" languages: and secondly, whether existing schools can provide an educational environment which parents will find acceptable in terms of their religious beliefs, for example, in relation to religious education and pastoral matters⁶.

5. J.Rex, 1982, "An Introductory Note", The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.4.

6. M.Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, Education for All", HMSO, London, p.202.

The Swann Committee also considered other implications for the educational process of diverse ethnic groups in the schools and British society. There is a need, it suggested, for a multi-cultural curriculum, for more teachers of ethnic minority background and for the educational process to play a role in combating racism both in schools and society. There is also concern about mother tongue instruction and the role of the school in relation to religious and moral education. These issues raised by the ethnic communities should be incorporated in the development of a multi-ethnic policy.

It was generally recognised that the changes in the ethnic composition of the pupil population necessitated a modification of the school curriculum and a re-examination of the British education system. As Little notes:

The issue facing the educational system in Britain as far as multi-racialism or multi-ethnicity or multi-culturalism is concerned is the following. How far has a system designed to meet the needs of a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant society to change when the society which contains within it elements that are not white, not Anglo-Saxon and not Protestant. That, I think, is the essential issue. It seems to me that the educational system has got to do (and by the educational system I mean the educational policy makers, the politicians, the administrators and above all the professionals) is to ascertain how the educational system can devise means of helping pupils who are not WASP to develop, grow up and enter the wider society. How far has the system got to be modified, because some of the youngsters going through the schools are black or brown? How far must it change because pupils

have come from backgrounds that are not Anglo-Saxon, from religious backgrounds which are Hindu or Sikh or Muslim and are not Protestant⁷?

Thus to meet the educational requirements of a more differentiated pupil body necessitates a modification of the learning materials in a variety of subject areas and the adding of different languages to the school curriculum. Another important issue related to the development of a multi-ethnic education policy is the participation of more teachers of ethnic minority background in the educational process, as Little points out:

....it is important that the professional body should maintain all elements of our society in terms of ethnicity and race. It is a significant question; many would maintain it is the most important question. For then, unless and until one gets more black and brown teachers, we will not get a positive identification of the minority communities with the education system⁸.

The final question relates to the issue of mother tongue teaching. On this point it is suggested by Little that facilities should be provided to maintain mother tongue teaching by the ethnic communities themselves⁹.

7. A. Little, 1980, "Address to a Conference", Education in Multi-Ethnic Britain, Goldsmiths' College, London, p.3.

8. A. Little, 1980, "Address to a Conference", Education in Multi-Ethnic Britain, Goldsmiths' College, London, p.4.

9. This issue will be extensively discussed later in this chapter in relation to the conception of multi-cultural education formulated by the Swann Committee.

This proposition is controversial as is the whole debate about bilingual teaching. If multi-cultural education means that ethnic cultures should be reflected in the school curriculum, and that linguistic diversity should be respected and fostered, then logically mother tongue maintenance and bilingual teaching should be adopted by British schools. It has been argued that mother tongue is part of the child's ethnic culture and its maintenance contributes to the preservation of the ethnic and cultural identity of minorities. However, there are some considerations that need to be taken into account in relation to this position.

Firstly, it can be said that multi-cultural education is an ideal with some of the parts of its objectives impossible to implement because of practical difficulties. Thus for example, mother tongue maintenance might not be possible because of the problem of having to meet the linguistic needs of a number of children from diverse ethnic groups due to the lack of adequate resources. Secondly, the provision of bilingual teaching might be objected to on the grounds that it promotes separate provision and prevents the development of a truly pluralist approach. Thirdly, it has been argued that the aim of schools should not be the preservation of ethnic cultures but the promotion of an education that appreciates cultural and ethnic diversity. The Swann Committee pronounced against the introduction of bilingual education and mother tongue

maintenance for similar reasons:

Where we differ from the view taken by some advocates of mother tongue provision is in the role which we see for mainstream schools in the maintenance and use of ethnic minority community languages. We find we cannot support the arguments put forward for the introduction of programmes of bilingual education in maintained schools in this country. Similarly we regard mother tongue maintenance, although an important educational function, as best achieved within the ethnic minority communities themselves rather than within mainstream schools but with considerable support from and liaison with the latter. We are however wholeheartedly in favour of the teaching of ethnic minority community languages within the language curriculum of maintained secondary schools, open to all pupils whether ethnic minority or ethnic majority¹⁰.

The Committee also favoured a change from the provision of English as a second language (E2L) by language centres and separate units in the school to a policy which would provide such teaching within the mainstream school¹¹.

Different Interpretations of the Concept of Multi-cultural Education.

The full range of interpretations concerning the nature and objectives of a multi-cultural curriculum can be found in the statements of the four local education authorities discussed earlier¹², the academic writings on this type

10. M.Swann, 1985. The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All" HMSO, London, p.406.

11. Ibid., p.771.

12. The multi-cultural statements of these authorities are fully illustrated and discussed in chapter three.

of education¹³, various government documents¹⁴ and the pronouncements of the Swann Committee. Each interpretation emphasises different elements which it considers to be crucial to meet the objectives of multi-cultural education. The main elements stressed are "culture" and "cultural understanding"¹⁵, anti-racist teaching¹⁶ and the ideal of equality of opportunity. The Swann Committee points to the desirability of an education which meets the needs of all children within the present multi-ethnic society. I will now consider some of the most influential interpretations of multi-cultural education in greater detail.

One major approach has been described by Jeffcoate who emphasises the role of culture and "cultural understanding" as the main elements of the curriculum. He defines a multi-

13. R.Jeffcoate, 1979, Positive Image. Towards a Multi-cultural Curriculum, A Chameleon book published by the Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative, London.

14. DES, 1977, Education in Schools: A Consultative Document, Cmnd. 6869, HMSO, London.

15. The Cultural understanding approach places it emphasis on developing a curriculum that incorporates aspects of different ethnic cultures. The teaching of these cultures (it is argued) will lead to more understanding and (to the gradual) elimination of ignorance and prejudice.

16. Anti-racist teaching stresses the importance of a curriculum which incorporates learning materials which expose misconceptions about races, immigration, and thereby attempt to combat racism in schools by changing white attitudes.

racial curriculum" as follows:

A curriculum whose choice of content reflects the multicultural nature of Britain and the world and draws significantly on the experience of British racial minorities and cultures overseas¹⁷.

He puts forward the following criteria for the selection of learning materials to be included in a multi-cultural curriculum. Firstly, an insular preoccupation with Britain and British values is to be avoided and a more international perspective is needed. Secondly, pupils should have access to accurate information about racial and cultural differences and similarities. Thirdly, people from ethnic minorities should be represented as individuals with every variety of human quality and attribute. Stereotyped attitudes are unacceptable. Fourthly, other cultures and nations have their own validity and should be described in their own terms¹⁸. While he envisages a school curriculum which reflects the multi-cultural reality of contemporary society and incorporates the experience of minority cultures, nonetheless, he is against an "undue emphasis on race". He writes:

The most elaborate constitutes what I have called elsewhere the "pathological" foundation for developing a multiracial curriculum - "pathological", because it is premised on the assumption that British society suffers from an endemic malaise,

17. R. Jeffcoate, 1979, Positive Imager, Towards a Multi-cultural Curriculum, A Chameleon book published by the Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative, London, p.26.

18. Ibid. pp. 32-33.

racism, which has acquired the status of a cultural norm and moulds children's attitudes to the extent illustrated in the previous chapter. Because the influence is so pervasive and pernicious, the argument runs, schools have a clear duty to ensure that they utilise the eleven years children spend compulsorily under their aegis to make a concerted response by promoting racial self-respect and inter-racial understanding¹⁹.

Moreover, in the following extract he makes his point clearer and explains why he is against "anti-racist teaching":

There are substantial dangers (indoctrination, counterproductive effects, for instance) in schools annexing territory - children's attitudes - which is not by common consent properly theirs. At the time of writing the article it was not uncommon to be told by representatives of minority communities that the self-image of black and brown children was no business of the schools and that it was presumptuous of them ever to have imagined it might be. It is equally arrogant and presumptuous, I would now say, for schools to stipulate as a curriculum target that children should respect other races and cultures²⁰

Jeffcoate has been criticised precisely because of his emphasis on the concept of "culture" and his rejection of "anti-racist teaching". This brand of multiculturalism is thought to fail because it does not challenge one of the most fundamental influences on ethnic relations facing minorities - racism. The proponents of this view argue that the origins and influences of racism should be the primary consideration of education. Thus Lynch argues:

19. R. Jeffcoate, 1979, Positive Image, Towards a Multicultural Curriculum, A Chameleon book published by the Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative, London, p.26.

29. Ibid., p.30.

Racist attitudes and low teacher expectations arising from negative and demeaning stereotypes do exist and have to be come to terms with and changed. This, in turn, will require fundamental changes of attitude, the first step along the road to which is the recognition of the social and ethnic discrimination legitimised by the educational system which we have constructed. To make such a statement is not to place in question the immense good will of the vast majority of teachers, not to label them as racists, but rather to draw their attention to their role in servicing a system which has institutionalised racial and social discrimination so effectively²¹.

In my opinion this line of argument has some validity in the sense that the objective of a multi-cultural curriculum should not only be to expose children to different ethnic cultures but it should challenge racism and prepare all children for living in a multi-ethnic society.

Another conception of multi-cultural education emphasises the element of "anti-racist teaching" and its proponents argue for an "interventionist" approach in the classroom. One of the supporters of this approach, Green, writes:

This is not to try to create that kind of utopia of a happy and cooperative world, nor is it simply a matter of passively allowing schools to reflect the diversity and richness of our plural society. It is a matter of engaging positively and decisively with the struggle against racism in schools not with the illusion that in itself will change society, but as a necessary part of a broader struggle....The important thing about multicultural education is that it should be a dynamic and political process not merely

21. J. Lynch, 1981, "Educational Theory and Practice of Multi-cultural Education", in Teaching in the Multi-cultural School, J. Lynch (ed), Ward Lock Educational, London, p.7.

a reselection of different cultural artefacts. It is about changing white attitudes more than adding this or that topic to the printed syllabus. I am arguing for a thoroughly "interventionist" approach to multicultural education where combating racist attitudes is an explicit objective²².

Such an argument is based on the premise that there is racial prejudice and discrimination in British Society and that the challenging of white racist attitudes is an integral part of the educational process. Another important point is the notion that multi-cultural education is not an education for ethnic minority children only but that white pupils will also benefit because of its impact in changing narrow and mis-conceived attitudes.

A third variant of multi-cultural education is the one put forward by the Swann Committee. This approach takes the view that "special needs" and multi-cultural education should be part of an "education for all". In other words the "special educational needs" of ethnic minority children should be conceived within a broad perspective of an education for all children. This point is illustrated in the following extract:

We believe that much of the confusion which exists in the multicultural field derives from the fact that there are two distinct dimensions to the debate - on the one hand, meeting the educational needs of ethnic minority pupils, and on the other, broadening the education offered to all pupils to reflect the multi-racial nature of British society. Whilst these two

22. A. Green, Spring 1982, "In Defence of Anti-racist Teaching: A Reply to Recent Critiques of Multi-cultural Education", NAME, Multi-Racial Education, Vol. 10, No. 2, p.31.
See: P.Dodgson and D.Stewart, 1981, "Multiculturalism or Anti-racism", NAME, Multi-racial Education, Vol.19, No.3, pp.68-72.

issues are clearly inter-related and, in our view, complementary, we believe it is now possible and indeed essential to see them within a new and broader perspective - that of offering all pupils a good, relevant and up to date education for life in Britain and the world as it is today²³.

However, the Swann Committee does not see British schools as institutions which provide the teaching of different "cultures" as the following extract reveals:

The role of education cannot be and cannot be expected to be to reinforce the values, beliefs and cultural identity which the child brings to school - indeed such an education would surely be as rooted in one culture as much of the traditional Anglo-centric curriculum is at present.... It must be recognised that seeking to "preserve" a culture is in any case self-defeating since all cultures are dynamic and are continually changing. The cultures of the countries of origin of ethnic minority communities have indeed often undergone considerable change and development since the original migrant left. It is clear that many British-born ethnic minority youngsters are now developing a cultural identity which is rather different from that of their parents and grandparents, in which elements of their cultural background and their religious and linguistic heritage are blended with, but by no means subsumed by the influences of the majority community's way of life²⁴.

This idea is part of the overall view expressed by the Swann Committee in relation to the notion of "separate" provision. It also concerns bilingual teaching and mother tongue

23. M.Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, p.315.

24. Ibid., pp. 321-23.

maintenance and goes as far as "cultural preservation".

"Separate" provision according to this view creates barriers between different ethnic minorities and prevents the realisation of the new approach of education envisaged by the Swann Committee. The substance of this new approach to education, is summarised as follows:

The fundamental change that is necessary is the recognition that the problem facing the education system is not how to educate children of ethnic minorities, but how to educate all children.... Education has to be something more than the reinforcement of the beliefs, values and identity which each child brings to school. It is necessary to combat racism, to attack inherited myths and stereotypes, and the ways in which they are embodied in institutional practice.... Multicultural understanding has to permeate all aspects of a school's work. It is not a separate topic that can be welded to existing practices.... Only in this way can the schools begin to offer anything approaching the equality of opportunity for all pupils which it must²⁵ be the aspiration of the education system to provide.

However, it is doubtful whether the type of education envisaged by the Swann Committee will meet the "needs" and aspirations of ethnic minority children, as one critic remarks:

I can appreciate the rhetoric, but wonder whether the scale of the issues and priority given to them can or should be the same in all schools or local authorities, regardless of ethnic composition. This and the limited discussion of the resources needed to achieve racial equality strike me as the main danger of a report that may not only be too long,

25. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, pp.363-64.

but gives less priority to "special needs" than they deserve to justify a policy of "education for all". Look what happened to class inequalities under the banner of secondary education for all 40 years ago²⁶.

The Critique of Multi-cultural Education.

Several important criticisms have therefore been levelled against the various concepts of multiculturalism. These need to be considered in greater detail to form the basis of many of the arguments analysed in my case study. One of the most fundamental onslaughts against multi-cultural education derives from the work of certain black sociologists who claim that this type of education is simply a method of social control and is, therefore, another, subtle form of racism²⁷. A second basic criticism considers multiculturalism as a "myth" diverting attention away from the fundamental educational needs of black pupils²⁸. A third criticism, although it emphasises the importance of knowledge and education as a means of exerting power and control (as the black sociologists argue), nevertheless, is included in this section because it considers the impact of multi-cultural education on different ethnic minorities, not only black pupils. Moreover it examines the role of this

26. A. Little, 21.3.1985, "Education for Whom?", New Society, p.450.

27. C.Mullard, 1980, "Racism in Society and Schools", History, Policy and Practice, Occasional Paper No. 1, Centre of Multi-cultural Education, University of London.
See: F.Dhondy, May/June 1978, "Teaching Young Blacks", Race Today, pp.80-85.

28. M.Stone, 1981, The Education of the Black Child in Britain. The Myth of Multiracial Education, Fontana, London.

type of educational approach in relation to acquisition of the necessary skills needed for social and economic advancement²⁹. Finally there are those who argue that multi-cultural education is harmful to the indigenous children³⁰ and that the retention of the traditional curriculum would be beneficial for all children³¹.

There are those who criticise the concept of multiculturalism on the grounds that racism is a permanent ideological and political feature of British society. This view suggests that schools are agents of socialisation which play a crucial role in transmitting racist views and stereotypes about black and white people alike. Moreover, multi-cultural education is seen as another method of social control:

This model in its articulated practices is none other than a more sophisticated form of control which successfully attempts to distort and redefine the reality of racism in schools and society³².

The same argument points out that by attempting to include certain aspects of the ethnic group's culture in the curriculum

29. B. Bullivant, 1981, The Pluralist Dilemma in Education. Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

30. R. Honeyford, Winter 1984, "Education and Race - An Alternative View", Salisbury Review, pp. 30-31.

31. T. Hastie, 6.3.1981, "Encouraging Tunnel Vision", The Times Education Supplement, pp. 20-21.

32. C. Mullard, 1980, "Racism in Society and Schools", History Policy and Practice, Occasional Paper No. 1, Centre of Multi-cultural Education, University of London, p.18.

schools are trying to take over and destroy the minority communities' sense of identity and cohesiveness³³. Thus:

As interpreted and practised by many, multi-racial education has appeared to become an instrument of control and stability rather than one of change, of the subordination rather than the freedom of blacks in schools and/or society as a whole. In the context of schools and against a wider societal background of institutionalized racism, multi-racial education programmes from the assimilationist view on English teaching to the integrationist's stance on multicultural and black studies, have in fact integrally contributed to the increased alienation of black youth. To be told, however politely, that your culture and history count for nothing is to invoke responses ranging from the low self-esteem and lack of confidence.... to political opposition and resistance. To be told that your culture and history count something only within the pedagogic boundaries of the school curriculum and outside the school gates in a white dominated world of work and politics is to foster the response of a "blacks only for the black studies class". To be goaded to integrate politically and then in practice to take up your place at the bottom of society with as much of your culture intact as is permitted is, to extend Gus John's conclusion, a madness that not even a mad and subordinated black can any longer contemplate. Simply, what multiracial education, as viewed in British schools, is teaching black pupils is that they will always remain second-class citizens; and, ironically, that in order to survive or exist as blacks it is necessary to resist racist authority within and outside school³⁴.

Moreover, this type of education cannot support these black children who come into conflict with the dominant ideology because most black children's aspirations are antagonistic

33. M.Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, p.204.

34. C.Mullard, 1982, "Multiracial Education: From Assimilation to Cultural Pluralism" in Migration and Schooling, ed. J.Tierney, Holt Education, Rinehard and Winston, London, p.131.

to "white ideology"³⁵. Many black children refuse to work and achieve in British schools because they consciously recognise that these institutions are part of the state apparatus which is oppressing them³⁶. The proponents of this view assume mistakenly that the refusal to work is a collective initiative of resistance and rebellion against the authority of the school. However, Willis demonstrates that the refusal to work in schools is a process of socialisation that prepares the male child for a place on the factory floor or on the dole and the female child for a life of domesticity³⁷. Moreover Willis examined the cultural meaning of counter-school groups, as previously explored by Hargreaves and others in a different theoretical context³⁸, and argued that a rejection of the forms of knowledge, thought and action associated with the expectations of schools and teachers is not pathological or ignorant. "The lads culture", for instance, is involved in making its own realistic judgements about the best chances of survival in a class society and about how best to approach an impoverished future of manual work³⁹. Dodgson and Stewart

35. "White ideology" can be interpreted as the attitudes and values of white people towards black people which have been influenced by the ideas of a racial superiority, nurtured during the period of the British Empire.

36. F.Dhondy, 1978, "Teaching Young Blacks", Race Today, May, 1978.

37. P.Willis, 1977, Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs, Farnborough, Saxon House.

38. D.Hargreaves, 1967, Social Relations in a Secondary Modern School, RKP, London.

39. P.Willis, 1983, "Culture Production and Theories of Reproduction" in L.Boston and S.Walker (eds) Race, Class and Education, Croom Helm, London, p.110.

support this interpretation and argue that:

Far from being a collective and organised act of resistance the black child's refusal to work plays into the hands of the state. Disruptive behaviour which gives the child a sense of resistance to the values that school represents ultimately denies the child the knowledge which would make positive resistance in future possible, at the same time prepares him or her⁴⁰ for a life of ineffective struggle against subjugation⁴⁰.

Another type of argument conceives educational policy as incapable of meeting the needs of black children since blacks as a group are considered to be an alien group, as Carby puts it:

Contemporary debate is still locked into a framework of assessing the educational "failure" of the black child. Under-achievement is assumed and tested to be proven. A general consensus appears to exist that testing will prove the "evidence" needed to be able to make "compensatory provision"; argument occurs only over how this testing is to be implemented. Black parents dissent and argue that their children now in school were born here and should no longer be treated as an alien sector of the school population. However, as we have seen, educational policy and practice actually constitutes black children as an alien group that present "problems" that are external to normal schooling"⁴¹.

A related argument points to the irrelevance of multi-cultural education as far as the black community and black youth are concerned:

40. P.Dodgson and D.Stewart, 1981, "Multiculturalism or Anti-racism", NAME, Multi-racial Education, Vol. 19, No.3, p.45.

41. H.V.Carby, 1982, "Schooling in Babylon", The Empire Strikes Back, Race and Racism in 70s Britain, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Hutchinson, London, p.205.

Multiculturalists had visions of classrooms as microcosms of a race relations paradise. Proponents of community policing strategies are concerned to reap a harvest of information from the seed-beds of schools and youth clubs. Meanwhile, black youth recognise liberal dreamers and the police for what they are and act. They determine the terrain on which the next struggle will be fought - the street, the day. Intensive policing of all areas of black life, domestic, public, social and educational testifies to the political strength and resilience of black culture. Black communities as a whole have withdrawn their consent to being governed in an increasingly authoritarian and racist way. Black youth have led the way in the redefinition of who's got the problem⁴².

There are those who see multi-cultural education as simply another form of "compensatory" education designed to respond to the disadvantages of black pupils in terms of negative self-concept and low self-esteem. Maureen Stone puts it:

MRE (Multiracial education) is conceptually unsound its theoretical and practical implications have not been worked out and it represents a developing feature of urban education aimed at "watering down" the curriculum and "cooling out" black city children while at the same time creating for teachers, both radical and liberal, the illusion that they are doing something special for a particularly disadvantaged group. Many of the ideas of MRE draw upon the social-pathology analysis of the black personality, life-style and family arrangements. Although explicitly rejecting labels of inferiority it argues instead for "difference" - meaning exactly the same thing.... The aims of multiracial education are tied in with the cultural deprivation theory which aims to compensate working-class children for being culturally deprived (middle-class culture) and black children for not being white. It takes schools and teachers away from their central concern which is basically teaching or instructing children in the knowledge

42. H.V.Carby, 1982, "Schooling in Babylon", The Empire Strikes Back. Race and Racism in 70s Britain, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham University, Hutchinson, London, p.208.

and skills essential to life in this society. It effectively reduces choice and creates dependence on experts and professionals which⁴³ undermine the individual's own capacity to cope⁴³.

This researcher questions the assumptions that black children have a poor self-image and negative self-concept. She claims that black people derive the means to sustain a sense of self from many sources and do not rely on negative and hostile views. Her own research suggests that:

From the data presented we saw that West Indian children in the total sample had average self-concept scores and average-to-high self-esteem and thus the need for self-concept enhancement⁴⁴ of all West Indian children must be questioned⁴⁴.

Stone has been criticised for her total dismissal of explanations related to the attitudes and motivation of West Indian children. As Green comments:

There are no easy answers as to why black kids "fail" in school, and therefore it is hard to argue how a multicultural curriculum might improve their performance. Maureen Stone dismisses all theories that address the question of the motivation or attitudes of West Indian children by labelling them all deprivation theories. She provides no adequate explanation of her own. She blames indulgent, child-centred liberal pedagogy and yet cannot explain why this should be particularly detrimental to West Indian kids when it is applied to all groups, in as much as it is applied at all (and that is probably less than she thinks). She rightly condemns racism in schools,

43. M. Stone, 1981, The Education of the Black Child in Britain, The Myth of Multi-racial Education, Fontana, London, pp.102-03.

44. Ibid., p.246.

but fails to examine how this operates or why it should affect West Indian and Asian children differentially⁴⁵.

Stone's analysis can also be criticised on the grounds that every child has the right to see his or her culture reflected in the school curriculum. She appears to ignore the humiliation produced by this omission. Her representation of multiculturalism as an ineffective theory is too glib and others quite legitimately consider it to be a human right both in its attempt to promote equal opportunity and as a basis for sound pedagogy⁴⁶.

A third major critique of multi-cultural education conceives knowledge and education to be a means of exerting control over ethnic groups. Bullivant maintains that:

From the point of view of adult members of ethnic groups within a pluralist society, programmes of "multicultural" education that cater for their life styles and culture maintenance have an obvious attraction, which might be even shared by some of their children. However, the components that make these programmes, their place in the school curriculum, and the way they are devised provide almost unlimited opportunity for the dominant knowledge managers from the Staatsvolk to exercise hegemony over the life chances of children from ethnic backgrounds. In short, the obvious popularity of the

45. A.Green, 1982, "In Defence of Anti-racist Teaching: A Reply to Recent Critiques of Multi-cultural Education". NAME, Multiracial Education, Vol. 10, No. 2, p.30.

46. D.Milner, 1981, "The Education of the Black Child in Britain: A Review and a Response", New Community, Vol.9, No. 2, pp.289-93.

naive multicultural approach in all case studies may be due to this very fact: they are ideal methods of controlling knowledge/power, while appearing through symbolic political language to be acting solely from the best motives⁴⁷ in the interests of the ethnic groups themselves⁴⁷.

Bullivant develops his argument by an analysis of those features of British society which are relevant to the debate on multiculturalism. Firstly, he questions the notion that Britain is a multi-racial society:

The British case is also interesting because of the obvious competition between models of society none of which seem to be an accurate true claim. The assertion that Britain is multi-racial, put forward by the National Association of Multiracial Education (NAME), or multicultural, as proposed by some educationists, just does not square with the demographic reality of Britain. Only 3 per cent of the population comes from racially different stock and only 4 per cent (including those who are racially different) of the population has cultural variations. Such small percentages scarcely warrant the use of the term "multi"-. To maintain the fiction that Britain is composed of many (multi-) groups who are racially or culturally different is simply question-begging and ideological⁴⁸.

Such a criticism has some validity when statistical evidence is taken for the whole of the United Kingdom, but as I have argued earlier⁴⁹, there are some largely inner city areas of Britain

47. B.Bullivant, 1981, The Pluralist Dilemma in Education, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, p.241.

48. Ibid., p.230.

49. See Chapter One, pp. 9-12.

where there is a high concentration of ethnic groups that makes them truly multiracial. Secondly, the central point of Bullivant's thesis is that multiculturalism does not make a distinction between two basic functions. On the one hand, the teaching of culture, customs, heritage and life styles and, on the other, the promotion of educational success and academic qualifications which will enable ethnic minority children to acquire a good occupational position in society. The issue of life chances is concerned with knowledge as a means to acquire power. This distinction can be confused by multi-cultural programmes which stress the teaching of life styles of the different ethnic groups and neglect equality of educational opportunity.

The distinction between life chances and life styles is the heart of the pluralist dilemma. It is the former that has to do with control over "knowledge/power" but this fact is obscured by educational programmes and models of society that stress life styles thereby coming to "non-decisions" about the more important issues of equality of opportunity through the various "systems of opportunity and freedom". Naive, romantic pluralists contribute to the problem when they stress educational programmes and curricula and emphasise only life-style concerns. This is easy to do, as they appeal to the vision of society that stresses its "niceness" and one big-happy-family "holism", rather than the competitive nastiness of the real world. This is far less romantic, but much more pertinent for education⁵⁰.

Bullivant thus argues that multiculturalism is a smoke-screen giving the appearance of providing ethnic groups with

50. B. Bullivant, 1981, The Pluralist Dilemma in Education, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, p.233.

what they want but in effect has no impact on the structure of power relations in society⁵¹. In contrast he emphasises the importance of equipping ethnic minority children with the necessary skills to compete for those positions with the highest financial and social rewards. This poses the problem of whether multi-cultural education can provide such opportunities for children, when it emphasises the teaching of life styles. However, in practice it is difficult to divide knowledge into those areas which are concerned with life styles and those geared to the promotion of "life chances". Clearly ethnic minority children would benefit from both types of knowledge and the two are not mutually exclusive. Although Bullivant neglects some of the recent developments in multi-cultural education in the United Kingdom, nonetheless, his arguments and propositions reveal the contradictory responses of British society to the demands of ethnic and racial pluralism. His observations about the importance of access to "life chances" by ethnic minorities and his scepticism as to whether this desired objective can be realised through multi-cultural education is an important contribution to the debate about the meaning and objectives of multiculturalism.

A fourth criticism levelled against multi-cultural education concerns its implementation in the classroom. It is claimed that many supporters of multi-cultural education

51. B. Bullivant, 1981, The Pluralist Dilemma in Education, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, p.233.

have an unrealistic and exaggerated view of the importance of racism in British society. As Hastie puts it:

The M.E. (Multi-ethnic brigade) tend to have a simplistic view of life, in which there are only two categories of anything, the wholly good and the wholly bad. For example, because there are some people in Britain who are so morally or mentally crippled that they are racist, the M.E. brigade immediately insists that Britain is a racist country. This is as absurd as saying that because some men batter their wives then no husbands cherish their wives....In fact thousands of peaceful inter-racial encounters take place every day at work, at school, in the market place, shops and pubs, encounters where race is rightly ignored as something irrelevant. If those with an expressed desire for racial harmony would spend more time publicizing the many examples of it all around us rather than concentrating on the deplorable exceptions to the rule, then genuine friendships⁵² and racial concord would be much easier to foster⁵².

This writer is also critical of the way history is taught in London schools. He writes:

To those with some knowledge of history, the M.E. brigade's classroom materials are a travesty of the truth. For example, pupils are given the impression that India was one big, happy, prosperous family till the wicked Raj came along and "ruled" India. No mention is made (ever) of the fact that in 1930s the tiny Raj (135,000 British, including soldiers) ruled hundreds of millions of Indians only with the active cooperation of the Indian ruling class, a class which welcomed the support of British arms when "troublemakers" arose to threaten that class⁵³.

Such criticism continues with the assertion that the teaching

52. T.Hastie, 1981, "Encouraging Tunnel Vision", "The Times Educational Supplement", 6.3.1981, pp. 20-21.

53. Ibid.

of the history of slave trade has been biased and that an undue emphasis has been laid on the Atlantic slave trade:

Now every history teacher knows that West African societies had exported slaves across the Sahara to North Africa even in Classical times, and that this trade intensified after the Islamic conquest, which linked West Africa more firmly to the Mediterranean and the Middle East....There is no hint that the Atlantic Slave Trade was a joint Afro-European enterprise, which would have been totally impossible without the active cooperation and participation of the African ruling class.... I am not insisting upon dragging in African responsibility for the slave trade to suggest that the two wrongs make a right. What is important is that all children in our multiracial schools should be aware that there are two wrongs⁵⁴.

The first assertion about the absence of widespread racism in British society is dispelled by the evidence demonstrated by several sociological studies⁵⁵. It can be argued against the criticism of bias in the teaching of the history of slavery that the reasons the account of the Atlantic Slave Trade is so prominent in history lessons with a multi-ethnic perspective is because of its scale and its important consequences which are still apparent in the western world today. The multi-ethnic inspector of ILEA has shown awareness of these criticisms and that some materials recommended by his team could be

54. T.Hastie, 1981, "Encouraging Tunnel Vision", The Times Educational Supplement, 6.3.1981, pp. 20-21.

55. D.J.Smith, 1977, Racial Disadvantage in Britain. The PEP Report, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.
See: E.J.B.Rose, 1969, Colour and Citizenship, Oxford University Press, London.
C.Brown, 1984, Black and White Britain: The Third PSI Survey, Heinemann, London.

seen, in the case of history particularly, as encouraging teachers to put the whites and the British too often in the role of the evil-doer. He points out:

There is a possibility that individual teachers could over-react and by over-reacting shift the bias from one side to another. This occurs where people involved do not have the full knowledge they require. Our work is to extend that knowledge⁵⁶.

The fifth criticism of multi-cultural education derives from the argument that this type of education would damage the education of both indigenous and ethnic minority children as a result of its emphasis on separate linguistic and cultural identity in the educational process. This view was expressed by the headmaster of a middle school in Bradford with about 90 per cent of pupils of South Asian origin. His first target was not multi-cultural education but its champions. Despite being in charge of a predominantly Asian school, he claimed it was difficult to write truthfully about his situation:

It is very difficult to write honestly and openly of my experiences and the reflections they evoke, since the race relations lobby is extremely powerful in the state education service. The propaganda generated by multi-racial zealots is now augmented by a growing bureaucracy of race in local authorities. And this makes freedom of speech difficult to maintain. By exploiting the enormous tolerance traditional in this country, the race lobby has so managed to induce and maintain feelings of guilt in the well-disposed majority, that decent people are not only

56. D.Lister, 6.3.1981, "Increasing Awareness of Racism"
The Times Educational Supplement, p.21.

afraid of voicing certain thoughts, they are uncertain even of their right to think those thoughts. They are intimidated not only by their fear of giving offence by voicing their own reasonable concerns about the inner cities, but by the necessity of conducting the debate in a language which is dishonest⁵⁷.

Above all he attacked the practice of many Asian parents of taking their children to visit Pakistan for weeks in the middle of the term. Honeyford maintained that:

A very high proportion of Asian immigrants have a habit of sending their children to the Indian sub-continent during term time with obvious, deleterious educational consequences. Not only is the practice inadvisable, it is almost certainly illegal, though no local education authority has had the courage to bring a test case, and the Department of Education and Science turns a blind eye⁵⁸.

The language used in his criticism of multi-cultural education was thought to be offensive to Asians with the use of an abundance of racial stereotyping. Honeyford continues his intemperate language with racist undertones when he writes about a meeting called at his school to explain to Asian parents the importance of regular school attendance. He points out:

57, R. Honeyford, 1984, "Education and Race -an Alternative View", Salisbury Review, London, p.30.

58. R.Honeyford, Winter 1984, "Education and Race - an Alternative View", Salisbury Review, London, p.31.

The hysterical political temperament of the Indian sub-continent became evident - an extraordinary sight in an English School Hall.... A half-educated and volatile Sikh who usurped the privilege of the chair by deciding who was to speak. The confusion was made worse by the delays occasioned by the need for interpreting - many of the audience had no English, though there have been freely available English classes in the area for at least a decade⁵⁹.

In order to reinforce his argument, he attacks the country of origin of most of the parents:

These people, who now so vehemently accused the authorities of denying them a right which, in reality was a privilege no other parents, and no other group of immigrants had contemplated claiming - these people enjoyed rights, privileges and aspirations unheard of in their country of origin. Pakistan is a country which cannot cope with democracy; under martial law since 1977, it is ruled by a military tyrant who, in the opinion of at least half his countrymen, had his predecessor judicially murdered....Pakistan, too, is the heroin capital of the world. (A fact which is now reflected in the drugs problems of English cities with Asian populations)⁶⁰.

Basically, Honeyford criticises not only multi-ethnic theories but also the consequences that he argues flow from there.

Moreover, he firmly rejects the thesis supported by research⁶¹,

59. R.Honeyford, Winter 1984, "Education and Race - An Alternative View", Salisbury Review, London, pp. 30-31.

60. Ibid.

61. A.Rampton, 1981, "West Indians in our Schools", Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Ethnic Minorities, Cmnd. 8273, HMSO, London, p.19.
See: E.Cashmore, 1983, "The Champions of Failure: Black Sportsmen", Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol.6, No. 1, pp.90-100.
University of Warwick, 1985, The Educational and Vocational Experience of 15-18 Year Old Young People of Ethnic Minority Groups, Warwick University, Coventry.

that schools and curricula should be partly blamed for black underachievement in British schools. He writes:

My main argument was that the fashionable way of explaining comparative black pupil failure in British schools as a function of teacher prejudice and an alien curriculum was almost certainly bogus. There is not a scrap of evidence to support such belief. The roots of black educational failure are, in reality, located in West Indian family structure and values, and the work of misguided radical teachers whose motives are basically political⁶².

His main argument against the introduction of multi-ethnic education is about the damage done to the minority of white children who find themselves in Asian majority schools. The emphasis on separate cultural and linguistic identity for pupils of South Asian origin would work to the detriment of the indigenous school population. He has also argued that a multi-ethnic education policy would harm Asian children because it fails to prepare them adequately to cope with life in British society. Thus:

At no point in all this sound and fury does the plight of those white children who constitute the "Ethnic Minority" in a growing number of inner-city schools merit even a mention. Yet their educational "disadvantage" is now confirmed. It is no more than common sense that if a school contains a disproportionate number of children for whom English

62. R.Honeyford, Winter 1984, "Education and Race - An Alternative View", Salisbury Review, London, p.31.

is a second language (true of all Asian children, even those born here), or children from homes where educational ambition and the values to support it are conspicuously absent, i.e. the vast majority of West Indians - a disproportionate number are fatherless) then academic standards are bound to suffer⁶³.

Honeyford's argument that children from the majority culture become educationally disadvantaged in schools with a large number of children from ethnic minority background is similar to that used by white parents in Southall during the sixties. These parents claimed that the presence of children of immigrant background undermined the education of children from the majority culture⁶⁴. The same point has been made in a study of multi-ethnic curriculum completed in 1983. It was reported that headteachers of certain schools expressed their anxiety about the implications of the presence of ethnic minority children in British schools. Eighty-five per cent of the schools provided information on the question of how far white British children have been affected by the presence of such children. Twenty-five per cent of the headteachers and 40 per cent of those from schools with fewer than 10 per cent of ethnic minority pupils, said that white British children had not been affected or had been affected

63. R. Honeyford, Winter 1984, "Education and Race - An Alternative View", Salisbury Review, London, p.32.

64. See chapter two for a full account of the white parents' response to the presence of ethnic minority children in Southall schools and the subsequent introduction of the policy and dispersal.

very little. However, 10 per cent of schools commented that there had been a detrimental effect on white pupils, generally because of the language and other particular needs of minority pupils took up a disproportionate amount of teachers' time⁶⁵. The same study reported that many schools pointed out:

The white pupils are and have been for 14 years in the minority. It has a noticeable effect on the brightest who seem to mix fairly well but inwardly subconsciously must resent their situation since most of them leave as soon as possible leaving the less able whites to stay on for exams.... Some staff consider that the progress of these children in middle-schools with a high percentage of immigrant children may have been retarded, hence, the need for extra help at the high school stage⁶⁶.

However, an earlier study carried out by ILEA in 1969 did not support the argument that the presence of children of ethnic minority background might undermine the education of white children. This study included all eight year olds (over 30,000 children in ILEA schools). These children were given a group reading test by their teachers who also completed a questionnaire about their education and home background. The findings of this survey reveal non-immigrant children to be affected at the extremes of immigrant concentration; children in schools with less

65. A.Little and R.Willey, 1983, Studies in the Multi-ethnic Curriculum, Schools Council, London, p.185.

66. Ibid., p.61.

than 10 per cent of immigrant children have reading age approximately one year in advance of those children in schools with over 60 per cent of immigrants. However, the variation between these extremes is slight, white children in schools of between 10 and 50 per cent immigrant pupils attain very much the same level.

Furthermore, the relationship between immigrant concentration and performance is not straightforward. Children in schools of low immigrant concentration come from predominantly higher status occupational background and the schools are also lower in the index of multiple deprivation. On the other hand, children in the high concentration schools are predominantly working class in origin and the schools are high on the index of multiple deprivation. This study emphasises the importance of multiple deprivation in relation to the academic achievement of children in such schools. The ethnic mix of the school has a slight influence on the performance of children from the majority culture but other factors are more significant⁶⁷.

There are further objections to Honeyford's views. Firstly, his assessment of the consequences of the introduction of multi-cultural education in British schools are

67. A. Little and C. Mabey, 1973, "Reading Attainment and Social and Ethnic Mix of London Primary Schools", London: Urban Patterns, Problems and Policies, D. Donnison, D. Eversley and others, Heinemann, London, pp.274-312.

unsubstantiated and divisive. It is based on his own impressions without any support from educational research. His campaign against multi-cultural practices has great significance as it has powerful political sponsorship and has the potential to impede changes in the curriculum and educational process⁶⁸. Secondly, his assertion that multi-cultural education is harmful for the academic achievement of children of South Asian origin and indigenous children is not based on empirical research. Thirdly, multi-cultural education, which stresses the recognition and appreciation of different ethnic cultures and involves the introduction of anti-racist initiatives in all schools, should work to the benefit of both white and ethnic minority children⁶⁹.

So far the different factors which led to the development of a multi ethnic educational policy and the evolution of a multi-cultural curriculum have been discussed. In addition, an analysis of the different conceptions and interpretations of multi-cultural education was carried out with an emphasis on the prominent features of this type of education, such as "culture", "anti-racist teaching" and "political mobilisation", and including the recent stress on the development of an education for all children. Moreover,

68. C.Billingham, 3.5.1985, "Honeyford's Views", The Times Educational Supplement, p.22.

R.Butt, 24.5.1985, "Multicultural Consequences", The Times Educational Supplement, p.4.

69. M. Swann, 1985, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All", HMSO, London, pp.226-28.

the critique of multi-culturalism which claims that it is another "sophisticated" method of social control introduced to contain "black resistance" in schools and that this type of education is irrelevant and harmful for the education of both indigenous and ethnic minority children was discussed and rejected.

It is necessary at this point to summarise some of the arguments put forward to justify the introduction of multi-cultural educational programmes in schools and the need for the development of a curriculum with a multi-cultural perspective. Firstly, multi-cultural education is based on the belief that knowledge is the product of different cultures and civilizations and that the diverse human experience should be part of the educational process. Secondly, the ideals of equality of opportunity and the creation of a true multi-cultural society cannot be realised without a modification of the content and the objectives of the curriculum. Thus Rex claims:

We have thought useful at all times to judge local authority policies not simply as a more or less adequate response to parents' or children's demands, but in terms of the adequacy as a means of implementing certain social, educational and political ideas to which Britain is supposed to be formally committed. Two such ideals are important. One is the recognition of the right to equality of educational opportunity for all children. The other is the attempt to create a multi-cultural society. These two ideals have to be taken together. The claim to be creating a multi-cultural society when there is no guarantee of equality of opportunity, is to risk offering minority children an education which is different and inferior. To promote

equality of opportunity without allowing for cultural pluralism is to move towards a policy of forced assimilation⁷⁰.

Thirdly, the change in the ethnic composition of the school population in some areas of the United Kingdom is a compelling factor which demands the modification of the British education system and the curriculum in order to reflect this cultural and ethnic diversity. The linguistic, pastoral, religious, and cultural needs of children from different ethnic groups should be recognised in the curriculum and the aspirations of ethnic minorities should become part of the educational process.

The debate concerning the interpretation and justification of multi-cultural education reveals the divergence of views about the future direction of educational policy. One influential argument points out that while multi-cultural education may be an inappropriate policy for promoting equality of opportunity and enhancing the 'life chances' of ethnic minority children, nevertheless there are alternative plans to achieve such goals. For example, Bullivant argues that ethnic minority children should be exposed to knowledge which helps them to acquire the necessary skills to obtain better positions in society. The solution suggested is the establishment of separate schools for different ethnic minorities which is already taking place in Canada and Australia⁷¹. However, as mentioned earlier, the

70. J. Rex, 1982, "Introductory Note", The Development of Multi-cultural Education Policy in Four Education Authority Areas, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham, p.5.

71. B.Bullivant, 10.11.1983, The Pluralist Dilemma in Education Revisited, Goldsmiths' College Seminar.

Swann Committee pronounced against separate schools because, in its opinion, such "separate provision" raises barriers, thereby dividing and isolating ethnic minorities from the wider society.

The debate on multi-cultural education poses some fundamental questions on issues related to the presence of children from diverse ethnic groups in British schools. These include the relevance of multi-cultural educational programmes for the reduction of racism in schools and society; the role of this type of education in promoting the academic achievement of ethnic minority children; and how far a multi-cultural curriculum can broaden the horizons of all children and contribute to the creation of a genuine multi-cultural society. Multi-cultural education is a dynamic process and its implementation is already taking place in many British schools. In the following chapters the implications involved in developing an educational multi-ethnic policy in a particular London school will be analysed in greater detail.

Chapter Six. The Development of multi-cultural education in an Inner London Secondary School: Teachers' perceptions of a multi-ethnic education policy.

Our review of the literature on the political and institutional responses to the education of children from ethnic minority groups has revealed a marked change in perceptions. The initial reaction of the established institutions the House of Commons, the Department of Education and Science (DES), Local Education Authorities (LEAs) and the schools themselves was determined by the goals of assimilation and "integration". These policies towards the education of ethnic minority children aimed at assimilating the children into schools without consideration of ethnic and cultural differences. But assimilation policies failed to meet the educational needs of these children and were unable to promote the objectives of a multi-ethnic society. The accumulation of evidence in relation to academic underachievement of a significant section of ethnic minority groups and the increasing demands of ethnic minorities for educational process to take into consideration their ethnic and cultural aspirations produced a shift towards an acceptance of ethnic diversity and "cultural-pluralism".

The case study of an inner London secondary school, undertaken as an integral part of this investigation, illustrates the response of one particular institution to social change derived from the varying ethnic composition of British schools and the shift in perceptions concerning the educational needs of children from ethnic minority groups. A central focus of this study was the teachers' attitudes towards multi-ethnic education and the

problems faced in the implementation of such a programme in the school.

This school was chosen to be studied for three main reasons. Firstly, the researcher is a member of the teaching staff. Naturally, there are both advantages and disadvantages involved in studying a school in which the investigator has been associated for more than fifteen years. My personal involvement and active participation in the multi-ethnic educational initiatives of the school might prevent unbiased reporting of the issue. I was aware of the danger that when an attempt is made to study and measure attitudes there is always the possibility that the respondents may not reveal their true opinions on a particular issue and thus prevent reliable research findings being obtained.¹ Moreover, I realised the difficulty involved in this research, due to the possibility that the teachers in the school might respond positively to a questionnaire set out by a colleague who was known to be favourably disposed towards multi-cultural education.

However, these disadvantages are counter-balanced by several advantages. One of these derives from the fact that my involvement in multi-ethnic educational initiatives enabled me to use my knowledge of the different aspects of these activities to gain a better understanding of the responses of this institution to the challenge of formulating and implementing a multi-ethnic education policy. My participation

1. C.Moser, 1963. Survey Methods in Social Investigation. Heinemann. London.

See A.N.Oppenheim, 1968. Questionnaire Design and Attitudes Measurement, Heinemann, London.

in these educational activities of the school placed me in a better position to provide an account of the development of a multi-ethnic education strategy. Also the fact that I served more than fifteen years in this institution would make it easier to achieve an adequate response to the questionnaire used for obtaining information on teachers' perceptions towards implementing a multi-cultural educational strategy. The most important considerations for choosing this school are the twin advantages of facilitating access to research material and allowing the maximum use to be made of participant observation.²

Secondly, this school is situated in an inner London borough which is distinguished by a significant concentration of different ethnic groups. It was considered important in connection with the purpose of this case study to examine the response of the school to the ILEA's multi-ethnic educational policies and illuminate the impact of these initiatives on the institution's attempts to come to terms with the changing ethnic mix of the pupil population.

Thirdly, this school is typical of the other secondary schools in South East London (Lewisham) in the sense that it has a significant number of pupils of West Indian origin and a smaller percentage of children from a variety of ethnic groups originating from New Commonwealth countries, such as Cyprus, India and several African states. It is also similar

2. See appendix 1 pp.350-385 for further discussion on this issue.

to other schools in Lewisham as far as the social class make up of the school is concerned. It recruits a large number of working class children from neighbouring council estates and a small percentage of middle class pupils from West Lewisham and Bromley, an outer London borough.

A brief description of the school.

The school is situated on the Southern-eastern edge of London. It is a large coeducational comprehensive school with one thousand and nine hundred pupils. In terms of its intake this institution recruited sixty pupils of "band one", one hundred and thirty from "band two" and forty eight children from "band three" in the academic year 1985-86.³

The school is oversubscribed and is the fourth most popular secondary school in Inner London.⁴ This popularity is due to several factors. In the early nineteen seventies the headteacher and the senior staff made an effort to improve the image and the reputation of the school.

The main concern was to enhance the standard of discipline

3. The ILEA banding system is used in conjunction with parental choice in the allocation of pupils to secondary schools. On the basis of primary school judgement and the performance in general intelligence test and verbal reasoning, pupils are divided into three broad groupings. Band one represents those 25 per cent of pupils who, at the age of ten, appeared above average; band two, the 50 per cent of pupils who appeared average; and band three, the 25 per cent of pupils who at that age appeared below average. All secondary schools are expected to receive a balanced intake consisting of 25 per cent band one pupils, 50 per cent band two pupils and 25 per cent band three pupils.

4. ILEA, "Secret League Table of Examination Performance"
London Standard 20.3.1986.

and behaviour in order to raise academic performance. This goal was achieved by the involvement of the senior teaching staff in discipline inside and outside the classroom. The head teacher tried to reduce the high turnover among teachers by providing more opportunities for promotion. This improved the relationships between teachers and pupils despite the large numbers of students. The stability of the teaching staff also contributed to the raising of the standards of discipline and behaviour. Yet another reason for the popularity of the school was that it was perceived by parents to be a "traditional" institution because of its retention of the principle of streaming.

The pupil's position in the three bands indicated earlier, is considered in the process of placing children in various graded learning groups. This reinforced the image of the school in Lewisham as an institution with discipline and order.

The former headteacher and the senior teaching staff, carried out a publicity drive by frequent visits to local primary schools and they established a working relationship with the headteachers of these schools. This campaign was reinforced by the promotion of various activities in drama and sports and other events which actively involved the parents in the area. The reputation of the school as an institution which provided variety of extracurricular activities for children, was established. The introduction of an increasing number of subjects for study in both the lower school and the sixth form enabled the students to have a wide range of choice in both the academic and practical spheres.

The sixth form consists of approximately one hundred and eighty students. About forty-five sixth formers follow GCE 'A' level courses while the other students follow GCE 'O' levels, CSE courses and the Certificate of Extended Education (CEE). About two hundred and forty students from the fifth and sixth forms are entered for GCE 'O' levels each year. In the summer of 1985, for example, one hundred and twenty-six students passed one or more CSE in grade 2/3; ninety-nine students achieved one to four passes in CSE grade one and 'O' levels grade A-C, out of three hundred and forty-nine students in the fifth year group.⁵ In terms of performance in examination results the school occupies the 118th place among approximately one hundred and forty ILEA secondary schools.⁶ The performance score was developed to provide a measure of pupils' performance in all subjects taken in the GCE 'O' level and CSE examinations. Points are assigned for different grades, ranging from seven points for an A grade at GCE 'O' level to one point for a grade five at CSE. The actual score of schools is calculated by adding the total number of points scored by the fifth years in accordance with the scale given in the following table:

TABLE 7

Performance Scale for 15-16 Year Olds.

Exam.	A	B	C	D	E	-	-	U
'O' Level	A	B	C	D	E	-	-	U
CSE	-	-	1	2	3	4	5	U
Points	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0

7

5. Achievement of all students in the Summer 1985 Examinations, 1985. Document published by Sedgemoor School.

6. "LEA, Secret League Table of Examination Performances". London Standard. 20.3.1986.

7. ILEA. School Examination Results in the ILEA. 1984. The Information Section, Research and Statistics Branch.

In order to facilitate the comparison of performance in examination results of different schools three variables are used to obtain the score. These factors are the proportion of children of band one⁸, the proportion of girls and the proportion of children taking free school meals. Thus two schools with the same characteristics on these variables will have the same predicted performance score. A school with a large percentage of pupils in band one, with a high proportion of girls and a low proportion of children receiving free school meals will receive a high predicted performance score in examination results.

There are a number of explanations for the disparity between the popularity of the school with parents and its low performance score in examination results. A statistical technique cannot take into account all the factors or local circumstances which are related to examination performance. Furthermore the actual performance score can be deflated in some schools where a large proportion of the students take other examinations, such as City and Guilds or those validated by the Royal Society of Arts.⁹ Although the school improved the standards of behaviour and discipline it has not achieved the expected academic results. Possibly the school has to cultivate an academic ethos which encourages students to produce better examination results. So far the right balance between academic work and other activities has not been realised.

8. See Footnote on Page 260.

9. School Examination Results, Predicted And Actual Scores.
A Briefing Note by the Headteacher of the school. 1986.

The school is distinguished by the relative stability of its core teaching staff, with sixty out of one hundred and fifteen full-time members having served more than ten years in the school. There is also a low turnover of teachers which has been even decreased during the falling of school rolls. A greater concern to retain their present positions and to safeguard their tenure in the current educational climate also clearly plays a part in bringing about this situation.

The ethnic composition of the school.

Information provided by the ILEA Language Census reveals the proportional distribution of the twelve main language groups found in Inner London schools. In 1983 the total number of foreign language speakers was 50,363, Bengali with 9,098 speakers accounted for 18 per cent of all foreign language speaking pupils in ILEA schools. The remaining languages were as follows: Turkish - 4,316; Gujerati - 3,632; Spanish - 3,466; Greek - 3,410; Urdu - 3,316; Punjabi - 3,022; Chinese - 2,825; Italian - 2,422; Arabic - 2,345; French - 2,167 and Portugese - 1,861.¹⁰

The school has a significant minority of West Indian students. These pupils make up approximately 20-25 per cent of the school's population. However, in the last three to four years the proportion of West Indian children has declined because of the restriction of the catchment area to a radius of one and a half miles. There are also other children from different ethnic backgrounds but

10. ILEA, 1983. Language Census. p.4.

they make up a smaller proportion of the total student body. A survey carried out by the school in October 1984,¹¹ to find out the number of children who speak any other language than English at home, showed that there were twelve pupils whose home language was Turkish (from Turkish-Cypriot background), seven with Greek (Greek-Cypriot background), six with Spanish, three with Punjabi and a range of other tongues including Italian, German, Croat, Hindi, Chinese and Hindustani. This survey revealed that some 2 per cent of the school population speak a language other than English at home.

As far as the racial and ethnic composition of the teaching staff is concerned, there were thirteen teachers originating from the New Commonwealth countries, five Asians, five West Indians, two Turkish Cypriots and one Greek Cypriot. In addition there were ten teachers of Welsh background, four Irish and two teachers of Jewish origin out of the total of one hundred and thirty teachers.

During the last three years (1983-6) the number of West Indian teachers has been reduced. There are now only two teachers of West Indian origin in the school, the remaining three teachers having moved to other schools because of promotion.

The response of an Inner London secondary school to the formulation and implementation of a multi-ethnic, anti-racist policy.

The passage of the 1976 Race Relations Act¹² encouraged Local

11. Language Information Survey, October 1984. A survey carried out by the school in order to find out the number of children who speak any other language than English at home.

12. Race Relations Act. 1976. HMSO, London.

Education Authorities to develop strategies to meet the educational needs of children from ethnic minority groups. The Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) prepared two policy documents in 1977 and 1979 which served as guidelines for schools under their jurisdiction to initiate and develop multi-ethnic education policies. In the 1977 ILEA policy statement on multi-ethnic education the following priorities were stressed:

The Authority serves a city where the presence of people of diverse cultures with different patterns of belief, behaviour and language is of great importance. All have the right to co-exist as equals and in so doing they will be dependent, as people in any cohesive society must be, on mutual respect and support. Their future will do much to determine the future of the city and the quality of life within it. Recognising this, we have reaffirmed our determination to sustain a policy which will ensure that, within a society that is cohesive though not uniform, cultures are respected, differences recognised and group identities are secure. To this end the authority will undertake a radical reappraisal of its practices and respond to, what it finds. Such a policy is the basis of an effective comprehensive education service in the multi-ethnic London of today.¹³

The 1979 progress report attempted to identify the major objectives for developing education in a multi-ethnic society. These objectives were to prepare all pupils to live and work "harmoniously" in a system of equal opportunity. The aim was to build upon the strength of cultural diversity, to define and combat racism and discriminatory practices to which it gives rise, and to meet the particular needs

13. Multi-Ethnic Education. 1977. "Joint Report of the Sub-Committee and Further and Higher Education Sub-Committee presented to the Education Committee". p.4.

of all people having regard to their ethnic, cultural and linguistic attachment.¹⁴

These external pressures were reinforced by other forces within the school, notably the demands of a small but articulate group of fifteen to twenty "activist" teachers who were committed to the goals of multi-ethnic education. These teachers were drawn mainly from the Humanities such as English, History, Social Science and Social Education. The reason why such teachers were attracted to these initiatives might be in part due to the fact that these subjects have been traditionally thought to be more appropriate for the development of a multi-ethnic perspective. The subjects deal with human relationships and social problems and one might assume that teachers of the Humanities would be more sensitive to the educational needs of children of ethnic minority background. Most of the "activists" occupied the lower rungs of the school hierarchy. Two or three of the "activists" held "middle management" positions as Heads or Deputy Heads of their departments.

The three teachers of New Commonwealth origin, one Greek Cypriot, one West Indian and one Asian were in favour of multi-ethnic education and pressed for changes in the

14. ILEA. 1979. Multi-Ethnic Education. "Joint Report of the Schools Sub-Committee and Further and Higher Education Sub-Committee presented to the Education Committee".

school curriculum. They noted that a disproportionately large number of minority children found themselves in the lower academic streams of the school. No evidence, based on any survey carried out in that period (1978-79) documented the academic achievement of West Indian pupils. However, these students dominated the teaching groups of the Social Education Department and the remedial classes of the school for a number of years. Two thirds of both the Social Education groups and remedial classes consisted of West Indian pupils. This observation was confirmed by the teachers who took these classes during 1978-79. The Social Education Department catered for the needs of the fourth and fifth year pupils who were classified either as "behavioural" problems or as pupils with special learning difficulties. These pupils were kept in separate classes¹⁵ and an attempt was made to prepare them for CSE examinations in different papers such as English, Mathematics, Social Sciences and technical subjects.

During the late seventies, those teachers committed to multi-ethnic education were expressing concern about the prospect of race relations in the school. Although there was no evidence of any intensive strife, either in the classroom or in the playground, nonetheless the social climate at this time contributed to an increased awareness of racial prejudice and discrimination. The publication

15. The practice of keeping these pupils in separate classes was discontinued after 1982 with the appointment of a new Headteacher. There is now an intensive teaching of Mathematics and English in the renamed Special Needs Department, but in other subjects pupils are taught in the mainstream school.

of research on the extent of prejudice and discrimination,¹⁶ the accumulating evidence of black underachievement¹⁷ and the increase of indiscipline¹⁸ of pupils of West Indian origin schools all reinforced this impression. These factors did not lead to any major racial incidents in the school or to an intensification of indiscipline among pupils of West Indian background for several reasons. Firstly, in the period 1978-79, there was a large number of West Indian students in the school and this created a feeling of confidence and security for these pupils. Secondly, despite the fact that West Indian pupils were underachieving academically, there were other avenues to acquire success in the school. A number of West Indian students were distinguishing themselves in drama, athletics and sports and this tended to compensate for their failure in academic subjects.¹⁹ Moreover, those who might cause trouble in the mainstream school were isolated in the Social Education Department and remedial classes. Here "behaviour" problems were easily controlled in smaller classes and through a continuous contact with a limited number of teachers.

16. W.W.Daniel. 1968. Racial Discrimination in England. Penguin Books. Harmondsworth.
See D.J.Smith. 1977. Racial Disadvantage in Britain. The PEP Report. Penguin Books. Harmondsworth.

17. See chapter four pp.161-212 for the debate on black underachievement.

18. A Green. 1982. "In Defence of Anti-Racist Teaching": A Reply to Recent Critiques of Multi-cultural Education". NAME Multiracial Education. Vol.10. No. 2. pp.19-34.

19. E.Cashmore. 1983. "The Champions of Failure: Black Sportsmen". Ethnic and Racial Studies. Vol.6. No.1 pp.90-100.

An indication of the increasing concern about racism in schools could be seen in the foundation of the All-London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism (ALTARF) organisation during the late nineteen seventies. This group argued in favour of anti-racist teaching and the raising of the consciousness of teachers about their own levels of racism.²⁰ My own impression, which was shared by the other "activists" in 1978, was that there was an undercurrent of resentment among West Indian pupils in the school. This was revealed in my informal discussions with some of these students, members of the sixth form, who expressed their indignation at incidents which they perceived as examples of racial prejudice outside school. They also complained about the way in which they were placed in the bottom academic streams in the lower school which downgraded their academic ability, perceiving this as evidence of racial prejudice and discrimination. These internal pressures induced the small group of "activists" to meet in 1978 in order to discuss such difficulties and devise strategies to respond to the educational needs of children of West Indian background. It should be noted that the main concern of this group of teachers was the academic underachievement of West Indian children, since these pupils were the largest ethnic minority in the school.²¹

20. S.Tomlinson. 1983. Ethnic Minorities in British Schools. Heinemann, London. p.96.

21. In the late nineteen seventies there were heated discussions in the staffrooms about the "problems" of children of West Indian origin in British schools and the accumulating evidence of black underachievement.

The immediate response of the Headteacher and other senior staff to the attempts by the "activists" to mobilise support for multi-ethnic educational initiatives was one of reluctance to perceive these pupils as having special educational needs. However, the Social Science Department prepared an educational programme which included topics emphasising ethnic and cultural diversity and factual information on the issues of immigration and race relations. This was an attempt to influence all children by challenging misconceptions about the experiences and situation of ethnic minority groups. When the document was shown to the Deputy Headteacher of the school, he objected to any multi-ethnic emphasis in the curriculum, using the phrase "when in Rome do as Romans do", thereby implying that immigrants should try to conform to the culture of the "host society". The Headteacher was clearly "apprehensive" about allowing the introduction of multi-ethnic learning materials in the social studies lessons (prepared by two teachers, one West Indian and one Greek Cypriot), because he felt that the discussion of "race" might exacerbate the situation and lead to what he termed an "explosion".

The "activists" then began to meet regularly and the dominant themes of these informal meetings were the teachers' attitudes towards West Indian children and the reasons for their low academic achievement. By the end of 1978, the "activists" had also devoted a considerable amount of time to discussing the various conceptions of multi-ethnic education and how they might be applied to the particular

problems of the school.

In the early attempts to develop multi-ethnic educational strategies it is of special interest to mention the response of a small number of teachers of West Indian and Asian background, to these initiatives. Only one West Indian and one Asian teacher participated in the informal meetings of the "activists", while the other two West Indian and four Asian teachers did not take part in either the activities or the meetings of the group of teachers who were in favour of multi-ethnic education. One of the West Indian teachers had only recently joined the staff and, in my view, was apprehensive about taking part in these informal meetings because the "activists" were discussing issues which might be construed as a challenge to the authority of the headteacher and the senior teaching staff. The other West Indian teacher (in private conversations with the author) revealed his view that the school "management" at this time had little commitment to a multi-ethnic education policy and that this type of education was certainly not their first priority. He expressed the opinion that teachers who involve themselves in multi-ethnic educational initiatives were not improving their chances for promotion and career development. These two West Indian teachers, who did not participate in the initial stages of this venture, took part in subsequent initiatives of the working party appointed by the Headteacher to look into the development of multi-ethnic education in the school.

As far as the Asian group of teachers was concerned, apart from a single exception, they showed no interest and did not involve themselves in the early attempts to introduce multi-ethnic education in the school. The Asian teachers were mostly specialists in science and mathematics and did not see any point in developing a multi-ethnic perspective in their subject area. As the quantitative material of this case study will reveal, science and mathematics teachers did not believe that it was possible to develop a multi-cultural perspective in their subject.

The first working party on multi-ethnic education.

At the end of 1978, the Headteacher called a working party to look into the policy of multi-ethnic education and consider initiatives for implementing this type of education. The teachers who were strongly in favour of multi-ethnic education strategy joined the working party since the invitation for participation was extended to any teacher who was interested in the issue. The working party was chaired by the Second Deputy Headteacher of the school. Apart from the "activists" the other members of the working party who did not have strong views on multi-ethnic education, joined mainly, as some of them subsequently explained to the author, in order to enlarge their knowledge of this new educational approach.

The "activists" dominated the membership of this body which consisted of twenty members. After five sessions

held in September and November 1978, the working party produced a document²² which included a definition of multi-ethnic education and an account of how different departments might approach the development of a multi-ethnic perspective in their subject area. The following definition of the concept of multi-ethnic education was agreed by the first working party:

Multi-ethnic education reflects the nature of Britain's multi-ethnic society in the curriculum regardless of a school's area or intake. It encourages pride in the diversity of cultures available in such society and notes the language problems of all groups and provides methods of overcoming them in learning situations. It makes a child aware of the benefits available to him through the cultural group he meets every day.²³

The document included current work done towards multi-ethnic education by the English, Social Sciences, Home Economics, Remedial, General Education and Arts departments. The English Department attempted to broaden the list of reading materials by including literature from a wide variety of cultural and national traditions.²⁴

The General Education department, through its weekly

22. See document in the Appendix. pp.417-423.

23. Multi-Ethnic Education: Report of the Working Party. Document published by the first Working Party on Multi-ethnic Education.

24. Books like Myths and Legends, Memories and Melting Pot (Short Stories by West Indian Pupils) Out for Stars (Caribbean Poetry) Nine African Stories. To Kill a Mocking Bird, Passage to India, Connexions - Foreign Places - Foreign Faces.

topics, used materials dealing with the physical aspects of "races" and consideration of marriage, religion and leisure patterns of different ethnic groups. Racial prejudice, discrimination and other issues linked to race relations were also discussed in lessons.²⁵

The Home Economics Department made an effort to introduce children to different foods following the aims outlined in the Report of the first working party:

Part of our role as Home Economics Teachers is to allow the children to taste foods which are new to them. At present this involves mainly English foods but we are discussing ways in which we can present foods from other cultures.²⁶

The Remedial Department perceived its multi-ethnic approach in terms of reinforcing a positive self-image:

Our work is essentially child not subject orientated. Dealing with pupils who have learning problems we are constantly relating education towards small groups and individual pupils. We have to simplify ideas and present knowledge in very small sections, helping pupils to unlearn that which is wrongly remembered and to develop their own individual strengths. Our child-orientated approach means that we try to give each pupil a positive self-image and a secure place within their peer group. This cannot be done without respect for each other and each other's culture.²⁷

25. Multi-Ethnic Education. Report of the Working Party. 1978. Document published by the first Working Party on Multi-Ethnic Education. pp. 2-3.

26. Ibid. p.5.

27. Ibid. p.4.

This document²⁸ prepared by the first working party on multi-ethnic education was presented to a staff meeting by its chairman, the second deputy headteacher of the school. This first report included the following recommendations:

Teachers should be encouraged to stimulate in their pupils an awareness of their ethnic background in all disciplines. All pupils to be encouraged to learn more about their heritage.

Colleagues to be encouraged to take account of the cultural character, behaviour patterns and personality of pupils in the manner in which they present their subject. With the teachers' help and support and sympathetic understanding each can develop his/her personal integrity.

Many teachers will feel a need to increase their background knowledge on ethnic minorities. To this end it is recommended that departments use some of their resources on means whereby teachers can familiarise themselves with the cultures they meet in their pupils.

The attention of all staff is drawn to N.A.M.E. the National Association of Multiracial Education, where various resources are available at the Lewisham Teachers' Centre.²⁹

At the conclusion of that staff meeting it was generally agreed that different departments should continue to develop a multi-cultural perspective in their subject on a "voluntary" basis. The "activists" thought that in the long run such a "permissive" approach would inevitably prove ineffective both in terms of meeting the educational needs of children from ethnic minority groups and also as far as the implementation of a multi-ethnic education policy was concerned. The "permissive" approach was considered ineffective because

28. Multi-Ethnic Education. Report of the Working Party. 1978. Document published by the First Working Party on Multi-Ethnic Education. p.2.

29. Ibid. p.2.

it exerted no pressure on either apathetic or hostile departments to participate actively in the development and implementation of multi-cultural educational programmes in the school. Furthermore, there was no demand that departments should scrutinise their curricula, revise existing or develop new learning materials with multi-ethnic perspectives.

Thus the development of multi-ethnic education was slow and uneven in the period between 1979-82. Some departments, in which leadership was provided in curriculum development, saw some movement towards the implementation of multi-ethnic initiatives. The English and Social Science departments, for example, had a clear commitment to multi-ethnic education. The English department pursued their own work by concentrating on books with a multi-ethnic content and by encouraging awareness of ethnic diversity. The following extract from the Report of the Working Party illustrates the multi-cultural approach of the English department:

Making sure that other cultures are equally considered and valued in the presentation of work and not ignored or added as an afterthought. In setting topics, e.g. religious festivals, music, life styles etc. scope should be given for these cultural differences. Reading material should be the work of writers from other cultures in book boxes, and reading lists. Being aware of the "image" of the other culture that is presented in the books. Looking for books where people from other cultures are portrayed as the successful "hero" rather than always the down-trodden or oppressed. In the right context, i.e. with an older class known well to the teachers and using carefully selected material, the topic of "prejudice" could be treated as a matter for study in order to give support and work out positive

ways of dealing with it for those discriminated against and to increase awareness amongst the white pupils of what it is like to be a member of an ethnic minority.³⁰

The English department used a number of films which dealt with issues of immigration and the multi-ethnic diversity of British society in order to stimulate discussion in English lessons.

The Social Science department continued the development of a multi-ethnic perspective in the teaching of Social Studies, Sociology, Politics and Economics. The Department used materials developed by the ILEA Resource Centre which included the recent history, geography and social structure of Caribbean islands. In the Remedial and General Education Departments some developments were taking place on the basis of the statements of these departments mentioned earlier.

In order to find out about the perceptions of teachers concerning different aspects of multi-ethnic education, a survey was carried out in the school during 1982-83. The shift in perceptions among institutions providing leadership and funding for education produced greater acceptance of ethnic and cultural diversity and this had implications for curriculum developments in British schools. However, curriculum changes and the development of a multi-ethnic,

30. Multi-Ethnic Education. Report of the Working Party. 1978. Document published by the Working Party on Multi-Ethnic Education. p.2.

anti-racist perspective in different subject areas depended on the stance taken by teachers. The purpose of this survey was to gain deeper insight about teachers' views and to illuminate the implications that these might have for implementing a multi-ethnic education strategy.

Section A.

Teachers' attitudes to the main objectives of a multi-cultural curriculum.

One hundred and one out of one hundred and thirty teachers in the school participated in the survey. Twenty-nine teachers refused to answer the questionnaire.³¹ The replies to the questionnaire will be analysed in these sections considering, respectively the objectives, the content and the implications of implementing a multi-ethnic education policy.

The discussion in this section is focused around the following themes:

- (1) The introduction of a multi-cultural curriculum;
- (2) Does multi-cultural education promote inter-cultural understandings;
- (3) Can multi-cultural education meet the educational needs of children from ethnic minority groups?;
- (4) Will multi-cultural education secure greater equality of opportunity?;
- (5) Who should make decisions in relation to the choice of multi-cultural learning materials?;
- (6) Is multi-cultural education equally applicable to all subjects?;
- (7) The multi-cultural curriculum and public examinations.

31. See Appendix 1 pp.380-385 for analysis of the different categories of teachers who refused to answer the questionnaire.

The analysis, of the findings of this survey is carried out on two levels. Firstly, the responses of the teachers to precoded questions are analysed with a critical assessment of their implications for multi-cultural education. Secondly the teachers replies are cross-tabulated with a series of crucial variables including the sex, age, birthplace, the number of years in teaching, and the professional association of membership of the respondents.

(i) The introduction of a multi-cultural curriculum.

There has been an ongoing debate about the content and objectives of a multi-cultural curriculum. The teachers in this school were asked whether the curriculum should reflect the cultural diversity of contemporary British society. Out of the one hundred and one respondents who completed the questionnaire, eighty teachers agreed with this proposition, whereas twenty-one teachers were undecided. The response to this question does not mean that there was a consensus on all aspects of multi-cultural education. The analysis of the replies which will take place later in this chapter indicates that there is a greater variation of attitudes in relation to the objectives and content of a multi-cultural curriculum and the implementation of a multi-ethnic education strategy.

It can be argued that the curriculum should include other dimensions apart from cultural and ethnic diversity. One respondent, for example, suggested that the curriculum "should reflect the class nature of society and the resultant conflict of interests".

Another declared that: "the curriculum should also incorporate working class culture as well as middle class culture". Thus some teachers felt that the curriculum should take into account the class nature of British society. Certain definitions of a multi-cultural curriculum do embrace not only ethnic cultures but also class and regional cultures, although such a wide interpretation is not always the case. Clearly this raises many problems concerning the selection of areas of knowledge to be included in the curriculum which ultimately involves an examination of the fundamental objectives of the British school system.³²

A further issue is whether the curriculum should be determined by the character of the different social and ethnic group composition of each individual school. One respondent draws attention to this important aspect of curriculum content claiming that, "some consideration must be taken of the make up of each individual school's intake".

(ii) Can multi-cultural education promote inter-cultural understanding?

Many supporters of multiculturalism argue that an understanding of the cultural background of ethnic minorities living in the United Kingdom would lead to the reduction of false perceptions and racism, and ultimately contribute to an

32. N.Keddie. 1973. "Classroom Knowledge". The Myth of Cultural Deprivation. Penguin Books.

See. D. Lawton. 1975. Class, Culture and the Curriculum. Routledge and Keagan Paul. London.

improvement of race relations in British Society.³³ This view stresses the role of education and schools combating racism and preparing children to live in a multi-ethnic society. However, some scholars argue that there is not yet convincing evidence that the introduction of multi-cultural educational programmes will make a contribution to reducing racist attitudes.³⁴ This is an extension of the argument that the educational process alone cannot reduce racism in schools. The elimination of racial prejudice and discrimination must be a combined effort of all outside agencies such as the mass media, police, employers and parents which would involve fundamental changes in attitudes prevalent in British society. Moreover, educational programmes may need to be supplemented by "positive discrimination" in all spheres of society.³⁵ In this survey a question was asked about the role of multi-cultural education in reducing prejudice:

What do you think about the following objectives of multi-cultural education? This type of education promotes inter-cultural understanding.

The replies revealed that about a third of the respondents

33. M.Swann. 1985. The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "Education for All". HMSO. London.

See. J. Lynch (ed) 1981. "Educational Theory and Practice of Multi-Cultural Education" in Teaching in the Multi-Cultural School, Ward Lock Education. London.

34. G.W.Allport. 1979. The Nature of Prejudice. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Massachusetts.

See. B. Bullivant. 1981. The Pluralist Dilemma in Education. Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

35. Lord Scarman. 1981. The Scarman Report, The Brixton Disorders 10-13 April, 1981. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

strongly agree with the proposition, almost a half mildly agreed with it, while only a tiny minority (less than 3%) strongly disagreed. Thus most teachers (86%) supported the idea that this type of educational approach would further inter-cultural understanding. Despite such a large majority in general favour of the idea various unstructured comments indicated a lack of consensus about the long-term effectiveness of multi-cultural education. About one-third of the teachers were sceptical about the role of education in combating racist attitudes.

As it is argued earlier one of the main objectives of multi-cultural curriculum is to eliminate ignorance about the cultural experience of different ethnic groups in British society and thereby enhance understanding of diverse ethnic backgrounds. The following statements emphasise the importance of knowledge in reducing misconceptions about different cultures:

Lack of knowledge produces fear.

It is by knowing about different cultural values that an awareness of each will be developed.

Lack of knowledge leads to ignorance and alienation.

Exposure to different cultural values is likely to reduce the possibility of notions of superiority and prejudice.

This is a multi-cultural country: everyone will benefit from knowledge of other cultures.

Ignorance of other cultures often leads to groups hating others because they do not understand.

If this had been included in the curriculum much of the false stereotyping presented by the mass media and other agencies would be dismissed by the general public.

We live in a multi-cultural society and ignorance of other people's cultures breeds contempt.

Ignorance breeds ignorance.

It would provide an insight if only very carefully selected and planned methods of teaching are used.

Some of the views expressed in this study were less optimistic about the contribution of multi-cultural education to promoting understanding and tolerance. One respondent expresses doubts about the desired outcome in the following terms: "Ignorance leads to ignorance, but I am not yet convinced about how far knowledge leads to tolerance". Two respondents suggested other reservations: "Inter-cultural understanding should develop incidentally, it cannot be forced". And: "This has to be done very carefully, any compulsory participation will aggravate existing prejudice". Such suggestions emphasise the importance of persuasion to realise the objectives of a multi-cultural curriculum. It is stressed that this educational approach needs the cooperation of teachers and pupils so compulsory implementation should be avoided in case it results in a backlash.

Some scholars have argued that the introduction of anti-racist educational programmes do not necessarily reduce misunderstanding and racial prejudice.³⁶ Certain

36. G.W.Allport, 1979. The Nature of Prejudice. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Massachusetts.
See. B.Bullivant. 1981. The Pluralist Dilemma in Education. Allen and Unwin. Sydney.

respondents supported this view:

"I think there is little evidence that the study of multi-cultural material promotes understanding in every case often it seems to reinforce prejudice.

It seems to me that the statement overestimates the likely return of such an output.

I have reservations since the wrong approach or a partly planned course might have the opposite effect.

It would reinforce prejudice.

Too much weight is given to material that is ethnically-orientated. Over-consumption is almost as bad as the original discrimination. Minorities do not necessarily make good material.

These replies raise the genuine complexity of the issue and suggest that careful planning of the strategies for the implementation of multi-cultural programmes is required. It should be noted that although there is not yet convincing evidence that the dissemination of knowledge necessarily reduces prejudice or changes attitudes, nonetheless, there is no evidence to support the opposite assertion that anti-racist educational programmes actually reinforce prejudice.

So far the teachers who expressed views supporting the usefulness of multi-cultural education in promoting inter-cultural understanding concentrated on the role of educational programmes in challenging stereotyped and racist attitudes in school. However, it can be argued that the way in which education changes attitudes is

conditioned by forces operating outside the school such as parents, mass media and peer groups, which exert a powerful influence in shaping children's attitudes. This view was supported by several teachers:

Children are probably affected by parental attitudes.

I think it would be a start, but I feel home influences on "understanding" are stronger than the school influence, therefore the effects of multi-cultural education must be looked on as a long-term thing.

Education (school) is only one dimension of a multi-faceted process. Consequently I do not feel that it would be strong enough to totally counter-act the impact of racism, racialism, nationalistic ethnocentrism, etc. prevalent and presented by the mass media.

The influence of home, prejudices, etc. will still probably outweigh the influence of school in most areas.

Effect of education would depend on parental attitudes and peer group attitudes.

The influence of the school is limited. Quite often children are well integrated in school but they conform to home influences and the poor influence of where they live.

These quotations indicate that a number of teachers in the school doubted whether the introduction of multi-cultural education would promote inter-cultural understanding. They felt that the contribution of the educational process in countering powerful external influences might be minimal. However, school may be an important agency of socialisation in the sense that it is through the curriculum and school practices that the culture of society is presented to young people. The value system of society is

imparted to pupils through the teaching of different subjects and children's attitudes and behaviour are shaped, at least to some degree, through this process. It is, therefore, possible to initiate relevant strategies and introduce educational programmes with an anti-racist content in order to combat the racism in schools which is fostered by outside forces. How far the school will take a stand and play an active role in combating racism, thereby preparing young people for life in a multi-ethnic society, will depend on the teachers' attitudes towards this issue.

Certain characteristics of the respondents sex, age, place of birth, length of teaching experience and professional association membership were analysed in relation to the replies on multi-cultural education. It was assumed that teachers from the majority culture would be more sceptical about the usefulness of multi-cultural education in combating racial prejudice than teachers originating from New Commonwealth countries. The former teachers would probably take this view because of the absence of convincing evidence that educational programmes make a significant contribution in changing attitudes. By contrast teachers from the New Commonwealth might have more faith in the role of education in shaping children's attitudes and beliefs. This faith might be due to the fact that in their countries education is highly valued and schools might have more influence in educating and correcting the behaviour of young people.

Nine New Commonwealth teachers strongly agreed and four mildly agreed with this proposition. All thirteen teachers of Commonwealth background supported the suggestion that multi-cultural education promotes inter-cultural understanding. These teachers were born in countries such as India, Pakistan, Cyprus, the West Indies, Zimbabwe and Hong Kong. The data show that there is greater variation in the response of teachers from the majority culture. Approximately 30% strongly agreed, 60% mildly agreed and 15% disagreed with the proposition.

(iii) Can multi-cultural education meet the "special needs" of children from ethnic minority backgrounds?

In reply to the question, "does multi-cultural education respond to the "special needs" of ethnic minority children?", 75% of the teachers answered positively. 25% agreed strongly, 50% mildly, only 2% registered strong opposition, while 4% were mildly opposed.

A further analysis of the findings was undertaken to see whether teachers in the 20-30 and 30-40 age groups were more convinced that multi-cultural education would meet the educational needs of ethnic minority children than teachers in the 40-50 and 50-60 age groups. I assumed that younger teachers might be more flexible and readily prepared to accept innovations in the curriculum and teaching practices to take account of the alterations in the ethnic mix of the classroom. Older teachers on the other hand might be more set in their ways and less flexible in their attitudes towards these issues.

These teachers were educated in the nineteen fifties and sixties, a period which stressed uniformity instead of cultural and ethnic differences in schools. In contrast younger teachers were educated and started their careers in the nineteen seventies and eighties, a period characterised by an emphasis on ethnic and cultural diversity. Such a change would have had some influence on the educational courses used to prepare teachers for working in a multi-ethnic society.

The data collected in this study revealed that 25% of the 20-30 age group and 33% of the 30-40 age group strongly agreed with the proposition that multi-cultural education would meet the needs of children from ethnic minority groups. On the other hand, about 30% of the teachers in 40-50 age group and 20% of the teachers in the 50-65 age group also strongly agreed with the statement put forward in this survey. The findings suggest that the generational factor is not an important variable in determining attitudes towards this area of multi-cultural education.

(iv) Will multi-cultural education secure greater equality of opportunity for ethnic minority children?

Another major objective of a multi-cultural curriculum is to enhance the educational opportunities for children from ethnic minority groups. The concept of equality of opportunity when applied to the sphere of education, denotes a situation where all children are in a position to achieve their maximum educational potential regardless of their social class, ethnic,

racial and religious background. Thus every child should have adequate facilities and encouragement to unfold his or her potential and make use of the opportunities that exist in British schools to achieve desired educational qualifications. The extent of academic underachievement has already been demonstrated earlier and it is clear that certain sections of ethnic minority pupils are underachieving in comparison with pupils from the majority culture³⁷ In this survey an attempt has been made to explore teachers' perceptions on this issue, by asking them whether "Multi-cultural education would serve as a means to provide greater equality of opportunity for ethnic minority children". Of the sample, 20% agreed strongly, and 37% agreed mildly with the proposition, whereas 13% disagreed with it. Approximately 30% of the respondents did not know. Thus a majority of the teachers supported the idea but a significant minority were either undecided or opposed. This issue provoked a considerable amount of unstructured comment in comparison to other areas of the questionnaire. Twenty-two teachers qualified their replies in the following manner:

It is not clear how multi-cultural education would bring greater equality.

I do not think there is much correlation between job opportunities (in general) and specific types of curriculum.

What on earth does 'equality of opportunity' mean? Multi-cultural education is not going to reduce any racist attitudes outside school.

37. See chapter four esp. pp. 161-217 for information on the academic underachievement of pupils from ethnic minority groups.

It all depends on the attitudes of the children involved. I don't know how successful it would be at the moment.

If minority children have to compete with indigenous children in exams, they will need to concentrate on the subjects and ideas of those they are competing with.

If teachers treat pupils as individuals there should be no question of "greater equality".

These comments illustrate the complex relationship between multi-cultural education and equality of opportunity. There are a number of studies which show that the 'failure' of some ethnic minority pupils might be explained by teachers' expectations and racism in schools.³⁸ The introduction of multi-cultural education might enable teachers to examine their attitudes and raise their expectations of the academic ability of these children. However, some of the replies raise the question of whether a concentration on multi-ethnic learning materials will actually prevent children from learning the necessary skills to pass public examinations and compete successfully in the job market. It is argued by Maureen Stone and others that the effort spent in teaching and acquiring knowledge of a multi-ethnic perspective, which is not relevant to examination success nor to the acquisition of

38. A. Rampton. 1982. "West Indians in our Schools" Interim Rampton Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. Cmnd.8273. HMSO. London.

See. Multi-Cultural Studies in Higher Education. University of Warwick, 1985. The Educational and Vocational Experience of 15 to 18 Year Old Young People of Ethnic Minority Groups. University of Warwick.

basic academic skills, could impede children from obtaining vital educational qualifications.³⁹ There is always a danger that this type of curriculum might become a second class education for ethnic minority children in multi-racial schools situated in inner city areas. As a Conference on multi-ethnic education suggested:

A significant number of schools had developed their own syllabuses, leading to Mode 3 examinations, because they felt existing Mode 1 syllabuses were restrictive in the themes presented for study. Such schools were largely, though not exclusively, in multi-ethnic areas, and so their work had little influence on schools in mono-ethnic areas.... It was hoped that the new 16+ examinations would reflect the multi-cultural society, as examinations legitimise fields of study, indicating what is and is not considered important by the education system. Multi-cultural syllabuses were largely examined in Mode 3, which often in the eyes of employers and of higher education carried less status than Mode 1 examinations; the importance of the multi-cultural perspective would not be demonstrated unless it informed the mainstream and Mode 1 examinations.⁴⁰

The Mode 1 examination is mainly controlled externally by the Examination Boards which prepare the subject syllabus and examination questions. The external examiners also mark the answers to examination questions. In contrast, the Mode 3 examination is controlled by the teachers in the school who write out the subject syllabus, and set and mark the examination questions. The Mode 3 syllabus is usually approved by the

39. M.Stone. 1981. The Education of the Black Child in Britain. The Myth of Multi-racial Education. Fontana, London.pp.103-104.

40. Schools Council, 1981. "Examining in Multi-Cultural Society"
A Report of the Conference held at the Schools Council, London.p.9.

relevant Examination Board. The development of multi-cultural syllabuses in Mode 3 examinations by multi-racial schools can easily acquire inferior status and be seen as being directed towards ethnic minority children and less motivated pupils.

In addition to the view that a multi-cultural curriculum will be ineffective as far as the promotion of equality of opportunity is concerned, it is also claimed that socio-economic factors outside school will militate against any attempts by the school system to further educational equality for ethnic minority groups:

I think there are strong social and political pressures which outweigh multi-cultural education.

Only perhaps in the long term since those responsible for the opportunities open to ethnic minorities would remain untouched by the impact of this education. Therefore the status quo remains.

In the school this may happen but in the world of work innumerable barriers would have to be removed before the ambition of these children can be realised in terms of promotion.

Multi-cultural education will never totally compensate for deprivation in the socio-economic background of these children but it is of value in developing self-confidence and self-awareness in the right hands.

In schools this would be the case but it would take a number of years for the effects to work through the "system" outside school.

Multi-cultural education might help to promote a better image of minority groups but the whole equality of opportunity argument is used to cover basic inequality in the system.

These respondents highlight the importance of the system of control and distribution of opportunities that exist in a class society which obstructs children of ethnic minority

background, as well as some children from the majority culture, from realising their occupational ambitions. This is a valid point and in the case of ethnic minority children the factor of racial discrimination will be an additional barrier to realising their aspirations.⁴¹

Another respondent made the point that the encouragement of cultural identity will lead to separate provision and undermine education standards:

To encourage a strong cultural identity can only cause "ghettoism".

This is a controversial issue which is the subject of considerable debate. For the desirability of separate schools for some ethnic groups is not easy to determine. It has been argued that if Church Schools are allowed to exist then it is difficult to deny the demand of certain ethnic minorities to have their own separate schools in order to preserve their religious and ethnic identity.⁴² There has also been a movement for separate schools for black pupils because of the alleged inability of the British school system to provide educational opportunities

41. R. Boudon. 1973. Education, Opportunity and Social Inequality. Wiley, London.

See. J. Westergaard and H. Restler, 1976. Class in Capitalist Society. Heinemann, London.

D.J. Smith. 1977. Racial Disadvantage in Britain. The PEP Report, Penguin, Harmondsworth.

42. J. Rex. 1982. "An Introductory Note", in The Development of Multi-Cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations. Birmingham. pp. 20-41.

for these pupils.⁴³ Although this issue is as yet unresolved, the Swann Committee came out against the idea of separate schools for ethnic minority groups because such a move would undermine a pluralistic approach in education.⁴⁴

Supporters of the multi-cultural educational approach claim that the introduction of the policy in British schools will "increase motivation and achievement among pupils" of ethnic minority background. One respondent claimed that the introduction of multi-cultural education would improve "individual identity and make a contribution to the development of a positive image". Another teacher suggested that a positive change would take place in the learning situation when children's experience are reflected in the curriculum:

Proper learning is likely to take place when everyday experience and perceptions of all pupils are valued and incorporated into the curriculum.

Another points out that the introduction of this type of education will induce teachers to learn more about ethnic minorities and re-think their teaching approach including the content of the curriculum. A comparison of teachers of New Commonwealth background and teachers of the majority culture was carried out in order to see whether there was

43. B.Troyna. 1982. "The Inner London Education Authority" (ILEA) in The Development of Multi-Cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas. Research Unit of Ethnic Relations, Birmingham. pp.20-41.

44. M.Swann. 1985. The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. "Education for All". HMSO. London. pp. 474-497.

any significant difference in their support for the proposition that a multi-cultural curriculum would promote equality of opportunity. It was hypothesized that teachers from New Commonwealth backgrounds would support all the major objectives of multi-cultural education including the introduction of anti-racist initiatives in the school. On the other hand teachers of the majority culture might perceive the issue in a somewhat different way particularly as the survey and observational material revealed that there were diverse views about the usefulness of multi-cultural education.

While 50% of the teachers of New Commonwealth background strongly agreed with the idea, a further 30% were mildly in favour. In contrast teachers from the majority culture were divided in their support with 15% agreeing strongly, a third agreeing mildly, and only 7% being in disagreement.

(v) Who should make the decisions about the choice of Multi-cultural teaching materials?

Another issue concerning the development of a multi-cultural curriculum is who should participate in the decision-making process about the selection of multi-ethnic learning materials for different subject areas. The teachers were asked the following question:

If this type of education is introduced who should be included in making the decisions about the choice of learning materials?

It was hardly surprising that the overwhelming majority of respondents (92%) stated that the teachers should be the main decision makers in this process. However, 45% of the teachers

believed that the pupils should also have a say in the decision making process or at least in making suggestions in this area. Some 20% felt that pupils should be excluded from the decision-making exercise, whereas 24% did not commit themselves either way. When the teachers were asked whether parents should participate in making these decisions 52% of the respondents agreed, whereas 33% said they did not know.

(vi) Is multi-cultural education equally applicable to all subjects?

Traditionally, certain subjects, such as English, Social Science, History, Geography and Religious Education were thought to be particularly suitable to develop a multi-cultural perspective. There is however a growing belief that sciences (Biology, Chemistry, Physics) and mathematics can develop a multi-cultural perspective. The Swann Committee stated the following on this issue:

It is essential therefore to look beyond these subject areas which have traditionally been seen as open to a broad, pluralist perspective, and recognise the less obvious relevance of cultural diversity for specialisms such as the sciences and mathematics. The guidelines for reviewing the curriculum prepared by one LEA which submitted evidence to us suggested the following broader perspective to the teaching sciences. The development of themes related to conservation and pollution, disease, food and health and population growth needs to be considered in relation to humankind as a whole and the issues of regional and group differences need to be worked out and developed in the context of independence and unequal resources. The issues of race and the origins of humankind needs to be considered carefully in relation to the myths surrounding theories of race. The selection of examples for classroom use needs to take account of the contribution and participation in scientific endeavours of people from a range of backgrounds and cultures.

The question of science as being only a European phenomenon needs to be raised and discussed.

It is also argued that mathematics could reflect the diversity of cultural and ethnic backgrounds of different populations:

It is possible to make a positive use of mathematical ideas from other cultures, especially when discussing shape and space. For example, many of the Rangoli patterns which are used by Hindu and Sikh families to decorate their rooms on important occasions have a geometrical basis in which symmetry plays a major part. Practice in drawing patterns of this kind can help to develop geometrical concepts. Again the intricate patterns which decorate many Islamic buildings are formed by fitting together various geometrical shapes. Patterns of this kind can be examined and discussed and children can create patterns of their own. As children grow older, it is possible to discuss ways in which numerals which we now use have developed from those which were originally used in eastern countries, and the contributions to the development of mathematics which come from different countries and different cultures.⁴⁶

The teachers were asked whether multi-cultural education is equally applicable in all subject areas of the curriculum. 58% of the respondents agreed that it should be developed in all subjects, while 20% disagreed. The remainder did not commit themselves either way.

The observational material obtained in this case study supports the view that teachers of science, chemistry, biology

45. M. Swann. 1985. The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. "Education for All". HMSO. London. p. 332.

46. "Mathematics Counts". Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Teaching of Mathematics. 1982. HMSO. London. Published in M. Swann. 1985. The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. "Education for All". HMSO. London. pp. 333.

and mathematics do not, in general, see the relevance of multi-cultural education for their subject areas. One of the main reasons they point out is that their disciplines are international in character and therefore are not culture-bound. Two respondents reiterate this idea:

How do you teach maths or physical science in a multi-cultural way?

Generally yes-but I am not sure how multi-ethnic materials would be incorporated in science and technical subjects.

A comparison of two groups of teachers, members of the National Union of teachers (NUT) and the members of the National Association of School Masters and Union of Women Teachers (NSA/UWT), was carried out in order to find out whether there was any difference in support for this area of multi-cultural education. The reason for this choice is that these unions have different policies towards multi-ethnic education initiatives. The NUT is currently committed to a multi-ethnic, anti-racist policy and supports educational programmes aimed in this direction. This professional association has developed nationally a clear policy toward the education of ethnic minority children,⁴⁷ and is currently taking an anti-racist stance with its publication of guidelines to teachers on how to deal with racism in schools.⁴⁸ By contrast the NAS/UWT

47. NUT, 1978. All our Children. National Union of Teachers, Hamilton House, London.

48. NUT, 1979. In Black and White. Guidelines for Teachers on Racial Stereotyping in Textbooks and Learning Materials. National Union of Teachers, Hamilton House, London.

take a different stance towards this issue:

....It is not prepared to support a policy which differentiates the needs of ethnic minority groups from the needs of the large indigenous white people who find themselves in a similar circumstance of social disadvantage.⁴⁹

For this reason I hypothesised that members of NUT would be more likely to support the development of a multi-cultural perspective in all subjects than members of the NAS/UWT. The observational material of this case study also suggested that teachers of the Humanities, such as History, Geography, English and Social Science were the ones who developed a multi-ethnic educational approach and tended to be members of the NUT, in contrast to scientists and mathematicians who tended to be members of the NAS/UWT. The findings of survey indicated that 80% of the members of the NUT in the school supported the idea, whereas 66% of the NAS/UWT members agreed with the statement. Thus there is a significant correlation between union membership and attitudes towards curriculum development.

(vii) The Multi-cultural curriculum and Public Examinations.

A major objection to multi-cultural education is that it will develop into a second-class education with separate provision for ethnic minority children and less able white pupils in

49. Guardian 31.1.1985. "Union denies claim of classroom racism".

multi-racial schools situated in inner city areas.⁵⁰ Furthermore, it could also be confined to certain subjects limited to Mode 3. Examination assessment.⁵¹ Exponents of multi-cultural education argue that only when it is included in all subject syllabi which prepare pupils for different public examinations will true implementation of the policy be facilitated.⁵² In order to find out what the teachers thought about the development of a multi-cultural educational approach in examinable subjects they were asked the following question:

"Should multi-cultural education be included in public examinations?"

67% of the respondents agreed that examinable subject areas should develop a multi-cultural perspective, whereas 18% of the teachers did not agree with the suggestion. One quarter of the respondents did not commit themselves either way.

The danger that multi-ethnic learning materials might be included in courses designed for less than average ability pupils and children from ethnic minority backgrounds could damage the momentum towards implementing multi-ethnic education policies in British schools which should be directed towards

50. Schools Council. 1981. "Examining in Multi-Cultural Society". A Report of the Conference Held at the Schools Council. London.p.9.

See. M.Stone. 1981. The Education of the Black Child in Britain. The Myth of Multiracial Education. Fontana. London. pp.102-103.

51. Schools Council. 1981. "Examining in Multicultural Society". A Report of the Conference Held at the Schools Council. London.p.9.

52. M. Swann. 1985. The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. "Education for All". HMSO. London.

all pupils. The teachers were asked to indicate at which level of public examinations multi-ethnic learning materials should be included. 60% of the respondents supported the idea that multi-ethnic learning materials should be included in CSE level of public examinations, whereas only 4% of the teachers disagreed. Almost one third of the respondents did not know. 56% of the respondents agreed with the suggestion that multi-ethnic learning materials should be included in syllabi which prepare pupils for GCE 'O' level examinations and only 6% of the respondents disagreed. A large proportion of the teachers (38%) did not express any opinion. More than half of the respondents (52%) agreed while one in ten disagreed with the idea that a multi-ethnic perspective should be developed in subject syllabi preparing students for GCE 'A' level examinations. However, this left some 38% who failed to express an opinion. Thus the survey showed that more than half of the teachers favoured the idea of multi-cultural perspective being incorporated into the syllabi of different subject areas which then^{can}/be integrated at all levels of public examinations.

It was hypothesised that certain categories of teachers, those with New Commonwealth background, NUT members and younger teachers with less teaching experience would be more likely to favour the inclusion of multi-ethnic teaching materials at all levels of public examinations. Although proportionally more teachers of New Commonwealth background (approximately 85%) were in favour of this position

than teachers from majority culture (65%), nonetheless a large number (38%) of this category remained uncommitted. The same pattern is found in the other categories, 40% of the 20-30 age group and 10% of the NUT members were also undecided. However, on the whole teachers of New Commonwealth background (85%), teachers of the 20-30 age group (60%) and NUT members (80%) are more in favour of a multi-cultural perspective at levels of examinable subject areas.

Section B.

The Content of a Multi-Cultural Curriculum.

Supporters of multi-cultural education argue that the curriculum should reflect the cultural and ethnic experience of the children who make up a large proportion of those schools situated in areas with a high concentration of ethnic minority groups.⁵³ Although some 40% of ethnic minority children are now born in the United Kingdom⁵⁴ nonetheless, these children are still brought up under the influence of their parents' culture. There is considerable debate on how far the distinctive attitudes, life styles and a religious belief of

53. R.Jeffcoate. 1979. Positive Image: Towards a Multi-Cultural Curriculum. A Chameleon Book Published by the Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, London.

See also J. Lynch. 1981. "Educational Theory and Practice of Multi-Cultural Education", in Teaching in the Multi-Cultural School. J. Lynch (ed). Ward Lock Education, London.

A.Little. 1980. Address to a Conference. Education in Multi-Ethnic Britain. Goldsmiths' College, London.

54. A. Pilkington. 1983. Race Relations in Britain. University Tutorial Press, Slough. p.14.

ethnic minority groups living in the United Kingdom should be integrated into the curriculum. There is also a case for exposing all children to the true facts of immigration from the New Commonwealth countries, and for the development of anti-racist teaching in order to combat misconceptions and racist attitudes towards members of ethnic minority groups. Questions were included in the survey to explore the teachers' views on these issues.

Almost two-thirds of the respondents (64%) believed that a multi-cultural syllabus should take into account the cultural origins of children from ethnic minority groups. Only a small number of teachers (14%) were against this idea, whereas one-fifth of the teachers (22%) did not know. One respondent pointed out that the inclusion of learning materials dealing with the cultural and ethnic origins of children might "counter the false impressions created in the past". Another respondent qualified this approach with the reminder that the cultural background of Britain should receive equal exposure. Thus a multi-cultural curriculum should include learning materials derived from the experience, traditions and perceptions of all children in British schools within reasonable limits. A third respondent reiterated this point by insisting that "all minorities be included".

The process of selecting multi-ethnic teaching materials must be guided by certain principles, such as 'fairness and rationality' and some would also include the need to combat racism in schools and society.

The relationship between the teachers' personal attributes and their attitudes towards these features of a multi-cultural syllabus was also examined. It was expected that teachers with less experience might be more in favour of a curriculum which took into account the cultural and ethnic origins of ethnic minority children. Our findings suggest some difference in the support for this proposal between the two groups. Almost two-thirds of the respondents with less than ten years' teaching experience, 82% of teachers with between 10-20 years' experience and all the teachers with more than 20 years' experience supported the suggestion. The corresponding figures for those who opposed were 18% and 16%.

Teachers were also asked whether certain topics should be included in a multi-cultural educational programme. The theme of slavery, for instance, is often thought to be of particular importance not only because it is a form of human exploitation but also because the colonial past of this country is closely related to the historical experience of certain ethnic minority groups. In reply to the question "should the theme of slavery be included in multi-cultural education"? 50% of the respondents supported the idea, 20% did not agree with the proposal and a significant minority (30%) did not know. One respondent pointed out the rationale behind teaching the theme of slavery: "so that the indigenous population are reminded that immigration is a legacy not an imposition". Such an approach would highlight the exploitative elements of colonialism and thereby challenge stereotyped attitudes

towards members of ethnic minority groups. On the other hand, it has been suggested, that teaching about slavery should not be restricted to the British slave trade but should also cover the institutions during different historical periods and when it was carried out by other countries.⁵⁵ Another respondent supported this view, pointing out that it would be useful "as long as it is not restricted to the British slave trade".

A related debate is whether other forms of human exploitation should be dealt with in a multi-cultural syllabus. One teacher suggested he would "substitute exploitation" as "slavery is only one kind of exploitation". In this context, the Holocaust studies is another example of learning materials which can be used to illustrate the consequences of racism and human exploitation.

Another related topic for inclusion in a multi-cultural curriculum is the issue of immigration which is closely connected with race relations and the views of the indigenous population towards members of ethnic minority groups. Post-war immigration from the New Commonwealth countries to the United Kingdom would be particularly relevant and this would include discussion of the causes of migration and the economic and social position of ethnic minority groups. More than three-quarters of the respondents (76%) considered that children

55. T.Hastie. 6.3.1981. "Encouraging Tunnel Vision". The Times Education Supplement. pp. 20-21; and "History, Racism and Propaganda" in Frank Palmer (ed.) Anti-Racism: An Assault on Education and Value, London, Sherwood Press, 1986. pp. 61-73.

should learn about the experience of post-war immigration from the New Commonwealth.

Section C.

Problems of Implementation.

The following issues are considered in this section:

- (i) "Race" in the classroom: explicit or implicit?
- (ii) Multi-cultural education and achievement. (iii) Identity and self-esteem. (iv) Alienation. (v) Multi-cultural education and classroom practice. (vi) Teachers' expectations. (vii) Teacher Training.

(i) "Race" in the classroom: explicit or implicit?

Despite the shift from ideologies of assimilation towards cultural and ethnic diversity, there has been notable resistance by both headteachers and ordinary classroom teachers to the introduction of multi-ethnic learning materials during the nineteen seventies and eighties.⁵⁶

There was a controversy as to whether the introduction of such learning materials and the discussion of "race" would lead to tension and racial polarisation in the classroom or reinforce existing racist attitudes.⁵⁷

56. R.Giles. 1977. The West Indian Experience in British Schools. Heinemann, London.

57. H.Miller. 1967. "A Study of the Effectiveness of a Variety of Teaching Techniques for reducing Colour Prejudice in a Male Student Sample". Unpublished MPhil.Thesis. University of London.

See. L. Stenhouse. 1975. "Problems of Research in Teaching about Race Relations", in G.K.Verma and C.Bagley (eds) Race and Education Across Cultures. Heinemann, London.

The teachers in the survey were asked whether "the introduction of multi-ethnic learning material would accentuate racial tension in the classroom". 32% strongly disagreed and a further third of the teachers disagreed mildly with this position, while 21% felt that there was some truth in it. This area of multi-cultural education is obviously controversial and some respondents suggested that a skillful presentation of topics which deal with "race" and the ability of teachers to effectively manage the formal learning situation would be necessary in order to prevent negative consequences in the classroom:

It would depend on how multi-ethnic materials are prepared and presented.

Not if handled well: It is up to the skill of the teachers and method of presentation.

It would depend on the attitudes or existing prejudice within the class.

If we take a mature professional approach multi-ethnic materials should take us further forward.

The aim would be to eliminate sources of racial tension by promoting understanding.

The atmosphere brought about will depend on the skill and the maturity of the teacher.

I believe to some extent the emphasis on differences would be taken up and would easily lead to a negative response. However, if handled correctly by the teachers it would have a positive effect.

Such responses highlight the importance of the presentation and the role of the teacher in managing the formal learning situation. The wisdom of discussing "race" in the classroom is open to dispute and Stenhouse and Jeffcoate argue that

the teacher should act as a 'neutral' chairman without taking sides in any presentation and discussion which involves this issue.⁵⁸ This conclusion derives from the belief that teachers should not be "didactic" and should refrain from imposing their views on the pupils.⁵⁹ It is further argued that pupils' attitudes on "race" will not change by a "teacherly authority" and that "racist" views should be challenged in non-threatening contexts".⁶⁰ On the other hand, some specialists maintain that teachers should be more forthcoming and challenge racist views in the classroom making a direct attempt to confront and change the stereotyped attitudes of students. This is the standpoint expressed by those who believe that anti-racist teaching is more effective in combating racism than the simple exposition of different ethnic cultures.⁶¹ Thus the whole issue of the discussion of "race" in the classroom remains unresolved and presents the teacher with a dilemma. It reveals the difficulty of identifying the causes of intolerance and of making an unambiguous

58. L.Stenhouse. 1975. "Problems of Research in Teaching about Race Relations", in G.K.Verma and C.Bagley (eds.) Race and Education Across Cultures, Heinemann, London.

See also L.Stenhouse, G.K.Verma, J.Nixon and K.Wild, 1982. Teaching about Race Relations-Problems and Effects. RKP.London.

59. R.Jeffcoate. 1979. Positive Image: Towards a Multi-Cultural Curriculum, A Chameleon Book. Published by the Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, London.

See. R.Brett. 1982. "Charcoal and Chalk", in R.Jeffcoate. Ethnic Minorities and Education Block 4, Unit 13-14, Open University Course E354. Open University Press.

⁶⁰. Ibid.

⁶¹: A.Green. 1982. "In Defence of Anti-Racist Teaching: A Reply to recent Critiques of Multi-Cultural Education". NAME, Multiracial Education. Vol. 10. No. 2. pp. 19-34.

contribution to the reduction of racial prejudice.

There was more support for the introduction of multi-ethnic learning materials as the following quotations indicate:

I believe experience of these materials enhance understanding.

The notion of "cultural uniformity" is more likely to exacerbate tension in the classroom. Differences must be accepted and investigated.

If the tensions are present it may be better having them out in the open - only by discussion can a solution be found.

Racial stereotypes are built on myths and a lack of understanding.

How could objective knowledge clearly communicated accentuate racial tension? There should also be a less emotional approach with a stress on logic.

Problems are better aired.

I can't see that if children realise the value of finding out more about their peers that this would lead to tension.

However, some respondents took the opposite view and indicated their reluctance to use multi-ethnic teaching materials in the classroom:

It will inevitably be used by certain groups (like the National Front) to justify their dogma.

The more you point to racial differences and any particular foibles of certain sects it is bound to arouse a sense of caution and ridicule unless carefully treated by the teacher.

Could be laying up trouble.

To segregate the cultures will only draw attention to them.

I would not like to see much attention drawn to any group, as happens in the media, as children like to conform and hate to be shown they are different.

While many of these reservation are well taken, I believe that these ideas should be confronted and challenged by factual information and logical argument. The teacher is in a position to use ethnic and cultural diversity as a source of educational enrichment which benefit all pupils, in a formal learning situation. It should be noted however, that the teaching of topics related to "race" is not an easy task and more thought and preparation is required in developing such courses.

As before we assumed that members of the NUT would be more in favour of the introduction of educational courses with a multi-ethnic perspective than members of the NAS/UWT. One NUT member agreed strongly, one in four of the NUT membership (25%) agreed mildly and one-third of NAS/UWT (33%) agreed mildly. On the other hand almost half of the NUT members (50%) disagreed strongly, whereas a quarter (25%) of the NAS/UWT disagreed strongly with the proposal. 71% of the NUT members are against the idea in comparison with 50% of NAS/UWT members. Although the data show that more NUT members supported the introduction of themes related to "race" in the classroom, nonetheless this relationship is more complex if consideration is taken of the fact that more NUT members participated in the survey than NAS/UWT members. One explanation of the lack of overwhelming support of the NUT in school for this

suggestion might be the fact that a significant minority of members of this professional association are less experienced in teaching and therefore lack confidence to deal adequately with controversial materials in the classroom.

(ii) Multi-cultural education and achievement.

Another argument marshalled against the introduction of multi-ethnic learning materials in the classroom is that these educational courses would damage the academic progress of both ethnic minority children and children of the majority culture.⁶² It would shift attention from the learning of basic academic skills which are required by all pupils in order to obtain educational qualifications.⁶³ A related argument suggests that children of West Indian origin need a disciplined environment in the classroom to reach an adequate mastery of language and mathematical skills.⁶⁴ The introduction of multi-cultural education, according to the black sociologist Maureen Stone, has undermined the academic achievement of pupils of West Indian background in British schools.⁶⁵ The teachers were asked

62. R.Honeyford. 1984. "Education and Race-An Alternative View, in The Salisbury Review. Winter. London.pp.30-32.

See also M.Stone. 1981. The Education of the Black Child in Britain: The Myth of Multiracial Education. Fontana. London. pp. 103-104.

63. Ibid.

See also T.Hastie. 30.3.1981. "Why Pay for an Industry that Grows Fat on Racial Discord." Daily Telegraph.p.20.

64. M.Stone. 1981. The Education of the Black Child in Britain. The Myth of Multiracial Education. Fontana. London. pp.103-104.

65. Ibid.

whether "Multi-cultural education would shift attention from the learning of basic academic skills required by ethnic minority children." 12% of the respondents strongly agreed and a further 22% agreed mildly with this position. On the other hand, 43% strongly disagreed and 16% disagreed mildly, making fifty-nine per cent who did not consider that the introduction of multi-ethnic educational courses would have negative consequences. The learning of academic skills is a key point in the debate about the merits of introducing topics with a multi-ethnic perspective. However, this is a complex issue and one respondent posed the question concerning the meaning of these skills: "What academic skills?" It can mean skills which will enable a student to pass public examinations or it might mean the acquisition of knowledge which is considered worthwhile and requires the use of sophisticated reasoning. These skills, in my view, would not be undermined by the introduction of multi-ethnic learning materials in the classroom, unless this knowledge is degraded and used for non-examinable subject areas.

Several respondents suggested that multi-ethnic educational courses would strengthen students' images and could subsequently motivate these children to learn: "All children acquire learning skills through a positive approach to the study of everything."

A comparison was carried out between younger and older teachers. 30% of the 20-30 year group; 26% of the 30-40 group; 43% from the 40-50 group and 60% from the 50-65 age group agree with the statement that multi-cultural education would shift

attention from the learning of basic academic skills required by ethnic minority children. 60% of the 20-30 year age group, 63% from 30-40 age group, 57% from 40-50 age group and 20% from 50-65 age group disagree with this position. This finding shows some spread of those who are for and against this proposal.

(iii) Identity and self-esteem.

In order to identify the respondents' perceptions concerning the relationship between multi-cultural education and ethnic identity, the teachers were asked whether this type of approach would enable ethnic minority children to learn and appreciate the culture of their country of origin and thereby strengthen their identity and confidence. Approximately one in three of the respondents (29%) strongly agreed and 42% mildly agreed with this assessment. 7% disagreed and 16% did not commit themselves either way. Thus, more than two-thirds of the teachers were in favour of the idea that the implementation of multi-cultural educational programmes would strengthen ethnic identity and self-confidence of children from ethnic minority groups.

A vast amount of literature has been devoted to the problem of identity and self-concept. Explanations of black underachievement in British schools were mainly based on these factors.⁶⁶ Two black sociologists rejected this

66. C.Bagley, K.Mallick and G.Verma (eds.). 1975. "Pupils Self-Esteem: A Study of Black and White Teenagers" in C.Bagley and G.Verma. Race, Education and Identity. Macmillan. London. See also C.Bagley and B.Coard. 1975. "Cultural Knowledge and Rejection of Ethnic Identity in West Indian Children in London", in G.Verma and C.Bagley (eds.) Race and Education Across Cultures. Heinemann, London.pp. 322-330.

type of analysis. Maureen Stone has argued that black children do not lack a positive self-concept.⁶⁷ Delroy Louden has questioned the assumption that black underachievement can be explained in terms of low self-esteem and he suggests that black identity has been strengthened in the last two decades⁶⁸ by the black consciousness movement. It should be noted in this context that there is another school of thought on this issue which does not consider that schools should act as agencies for the preservation of ethnic cultures, since the pluralist approach maintains that children should be exposed to a variety of cultural and ethnic experience in order to appreciate the diversity of human experience.

(iv) Alienation.

It has been argued that one of the main reasons why some ethnic minority children are underachieving is because they are alienated from school. This alienation might be the result of the rejection by the school of their cultural and ethnic experience. This feeling is reinforced by the fact that they fail to live up to the expectations of the school in terms of academic achievement. These factors lead to the rejection of the values and goals of the school by a significant

67. M. Stone. 1981. The Education of the Black Child in Britain: The Myth of Multiracial Education. Fontana. London. pp.246.

68. D.Louden. 1981. "Comparative Study of Self-concepts among Minority Adolescents in British Multi-Racial Schools", in Ethnic and Racial Studies Vol.4. No.3. pp.153-171.

number of children from ethnic minority groups.⁶⁹

The introduction of multi-cultural education might reduce this feeling of rejection and provide children from ethnic minority backgrounds with a sense of belonging to the school. This in turn can motivate them to improve their academic achievement. Respondents were asked whether, in their opinion, the introduction of multi-cultural education would reduce the feeling among ethnic minority children that school is an alien environment. Almost two-thirds of the teachers supported this assessment, 23% agreeing strongly and 42% mildly. On the other hand, 5% of the teachers strongly disagreed and 14% were mildly opposed, leaving 16% undecided. Although a large percentage of teachers are in favour of the suggestion, nevertheless, the data reveals that a significant minority are not yet strongly convinced that a multi-cultural curriculum will reduce alienation among ethnic minority groups.

School is also rejected by indigenous children of working class background and alienation is a common experience of both these children and those from ethnic minority groups. As one respondent claimed: "School is also alien to British children. Alienation is related to class." Many studies have shown that some working class children reject the values and goals of the school either because their cultural experience is not reflected

69. B. Coard. 1972. How the West Indian Child is made Educationally Subnormal in the British Education System. New Beacon Books, London.

See. B. Troyna. 1979. "Differential Commitment to Ethnic Identity by Black Youths in Britain" New Community. Vol.7. No.3. p.4.

in the curriculum,⁷⁰ or because their sense of failure, in terms of the expectations of the school, leads to a rejection of academic work and anti-social behaviour.⁷¹ Various sociological studies documented the working class response to the value system and goals of the school system.⁷² In the same way a significant number of children from ethnic minority groups experience a disadvantage which derives from social class. However, these children are faced with an additional disadvantage which is the product of racial prejudice and discrimination prevalent in British society.

(v) Multi-cultural education and classroom practice.

When faced with the dilemma that multi-cultural education might undermine the practice of treating all children equally, one in ten of the respondents strongly agreed, and a further 16% mildly agreed with this reservation. However, 29% strongly disagreed and 20% mildly disagreed, leaving 25% undecided. One quarter of the respondents believed that children should be treated equally in the classroom and that ethnic and racial differences should not be taken into account in educational provision. Fifty per cent seemed to be aware about the impact of these differences on teaching strategies and disagreed with the suggestion that the introduction of multi-cultural education

70. N.Keddie (ed.). 1973. Tinker Tailor... The Myth of Cultural Deprivation. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

71. D. Hargreaves. 1967. Social Relations in a Secondary School. RKP. London.

72. H.H.Hyman. 1967. "The Value System of Different Classes", in Social Mobility in Industrial Society. S.M.Lipset and R.Bendix (ed.) University of California Press. Berkeley.

See. J.Douglas. 1964. The Home and the School. McGibbon and Kee. London.

would undermine the equal treatment of pupils. Thus a typical reply stated: "I agree that children should be treated equally but I disagree that multi-cultural education would undermine this". This conflicts with the claim that London teachers were not prepared to differentiate between students in this way during the nineteen seventies.⁷³ Clearly, some sections of children from ethnic minority groups experience unequal treatment due to the teachers' low expectations of their ability and the existence of racism in British schools.⁷⁴ This view is shared by a second respondent who suggests that: "At present children of ethnic minorities are not treated equally". A third respondent expresses a further possibility in relation to the treatment of children in the classroom that: "Teachers should discriminate positively". "Positive discrimination" towards ethnic minority children can be interpreted to mean that the learning difficulties of these children should be identified and special provision made to overcome these problems. This may take place in the area of linguistic handicaps and the identification of other difficulties which derive from double disadvantage.

73. R.Giles. 1977. The West Indian Experience in British Schools: Multi-racial education and Social Disadvantage in London. Heinemann. London. p.90.

74. A.Rampton. 1981. "West Indian Children in our Schools". Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. Cmnd. 8373. HMSO. London.p.12.

See. University of Warwick, Multi-Cultural Studies in Higher Education, 1985. The Educational and Vocational Experience of 15-18 Year Old Young People of Ethnic Minority Groups. Warwick University. pp. 431-432.

(vi) Teachers' expectations.

Teachers' attitudes and low expectations of the academic ability of pupils from ethnic minority groups is an important factor in determining the educational success or failure of these children. Documented evidence indicates that teachers' views about the potential of these children partly explained their low academic achievement in the British schools. Teachers were asked whether the introduction of multi-cultural education would raise teachers' expectations of ethnic minority childrens' academic potential.

19% of the respondents strongly agreed and 24% mildly agreed with the proposition. 23% were opposed and more than a third had no clear view on this issue.

It was assumed that teachers with less teaching experience would be more in favour of this position than teachers of longer experience. Approximately 50% of the teachers with 1-10 years' teaching experience and 45% of those with 10-20 years' teaching experience agreed with this position. The corresponding figures for disagreement were: approximately 25% from the 1-10 year category; and 28% from the 10-20 year category. While teachers with less teaching experience tend to give greater support to the idea the difference is not statistically significant.

(vii) Teacher training.

The degree of preparation for teaching in a multi-ethnic society

is a determining factor to the implementation of a multi-ethnic education policy in British schools. As Tomlinson puts it:

It is important to stress teachers' attitudes, perceptions and expectations of minority group children, and their willingness and ability to make changes, demands in large part the preparation and help they received through teacher training courses.⁷⁵

In the 1960s, teacher training perspectives were influenced by the ideology of assimilation and were orientated towards language courses.⁷⁶ By the 1970s attempts were made to improve the preparation given to teachers and to make them aware of the multi-ethnic character of British society. The 1972-73 Select Committee on Immigration and Race Relations stressed the point that student teachers should be made aware of the multi-cultural nature of society through courses on the sociology of education.⁷⁷ The Department of Education and Science (DES) agreed with this approach,⁷⁸ while the Rampton Report suggested the following in relation to the teachers' education:

The evidence we received from all sources, including schools and teachers, LEA students and parents, presents

75. S.Tomlinson. 1983. Ethnic Minorities in British Schools. Heinemann, London. p.80.

76. E.J.B.Rose. 1969. Colour and Citizenship. Oxford University Press. London.

See. A.Little and R.Willey. 1981. "Multi-Ethnic Education - The Way Forward". Schools Council Working Paper 18. London.

77. Select Committee on Immigration and Race Relations. 1972-73. HMSO. London. p.56.

78. DES. 2974. Educational Disadvantage and the Needs of Immigrants. Cmnd 5720. HMSO.London.

an overwhelming picture of the failure of teacher-training institutions to prepare teachers for their role in a multi-racial society.⁷⁹

The respondents in our survey were asked whether they agree or disagree with the statement that teachers did not receive sufficient education to prepare them for teaching in a multi-ethnic society. Approximately 60% of the respondents claimed that they had not been exposed to multi-ethnic education in their training courses while 26% had and 14% were unsure.

Concluding remarks on the findings of the survey on teachers' attitudes to a multi-ethnic educational approach.

The development of a multi-cultural educational strategy in this particular Inner London secondary school was studied by means of participant observation and an attitude survey. ILEA's guidelines concerning the development of multiculturalism and the changing ethnic mix of the school produced pressures for corresponding changes in the school's teaching methods. The headteacher and the senior teachers reacted cautiously to the attempts to introduce such an education policy. In contrast a small group of "activists" tried to mobilise support for a rapid and comprehensive adoption of multi-cultural education.

In 1982-83 a survey was carried out in the school to explore the teachers' attitudes towards the implementation of a multi-cultural strategy. One hundred and one out of one hundred

79. A. Rampton. 1981. "West Indian Children in our Schools" Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. Cmnd. 8273. HMSO. London.

and thirty teachers participated in the survey. Twenty-nine teachers refused to answer the questionnaire.⁸⁰ The analysis presented in this chapter concentrated on the replies of the respondents to precoded statements related to a variety of issues. These included: (i) Basic objectives of a multi-cultural curriculum; (ii) Curriculum content; (iii) Multi-cultural education and the educational needs of ethnic minority children; (iv) Inter-cultural understanding; (v) Multi-ethnic learning materials and the acquisition of basic academic skills, (vi) Multi-ethnic materials and racial tension in the classroom; (vii) The key problems faced in the implementation of a multi-cultural educational policy.

The findings of the survey revealed that the majority of the teachers in this particular school supported the crucial areas of multi-cultural education. The support ranged from fifty per cent to seventy per cent of the respondents. There was a smaller percentage of respondents, ranging from twenty per cent to twenty-five per cent, who were firmly opposed to several, if not all, aspects of a multi-ethnic educational strategy. However, a significant minority between twenty-five to thirty per cent remained undecided about the advantages and disadvantages of these central tenets of multi-cultural education.

The support shown by the teachers in this survey poses

80. See Appendix 1 pp. 356-379 for information on the reasons for non-response.

some questions concerning the validity of the findings. The first question is whether the teachers in this school responded favourably to the different questions because the researcher was a colleague who was committed and actively participated in the multi-ethnic initiatives of the school. While some bias is inevitable under the circumstances, the overwhelming direction of the response combined with the guaranteed anonymity of a self-administered questionnaire, suggests that it would not invalidate the main thrust of the findings. The second issue is whether the questions posed in the questionnaire were constructed and put to the teachers in such a way that a positive response was more likely than a rejection. To meet this point the questions were varied in order and direction and care was taken to provide the respondents with the opportunity to make comments and to qualify their answers by the inclusion of open-ended questions. Alternative explanations for the support can be found in the impact of ILEA's guidelines and the influential leadership provided by the appointment of a new headteacher who was sympathetic to the goals of multi-ethnic education.

Among these teachers the greater support was for the idea that the curriculum should reflect the cultural and ethnic differences of contemporary British society. In other areas, however, such as the impact of multi-cultural education on racist attitudes and equality of opportunity greater variation was discovered, especially in the open-ended statements. Although eighty per cent of the respondents supported the general claim

that multi-cultural education would promote inter-cultural understanding, nonetheless, one-third of the teachers had reservations about the specific impact of this educational strategy. A significant minority of respondents took the view that there were powerful forces outside school which militated against initiatives introduced in the classroom designed to change children's attitudes and challenge stereotyping of members of ethnic minorities. On the other hand about a third of the teachers indicated a strong faith in the role of education in minimising the influences deriving from outside school.

A similar pattern was observed over the issues raised by the multi-cultural curriculum and equality of opportunity. Respondents expressed diverse views about the impact of the introductions of multi-cultural education. A number of teachers stated, for example, that inequalities and disadvantage in British society would prevent children from ethnic minority groups achieving equal educational opportunities. On the other hand opinions were also expressed which supported the claim that the introduction of a multi-cultural curriculum might promote equality of opportunity for pupils of ethnic minority background. In the third area which attracted a large amount of unstructured comment, the discussion of "race" in the classroom, a significant minority of respondents made statements supporting the introduction of multi-ethnic materials in the classroom, emphasising the role of the teachers in preparing and handling these teaching materials. About five teachers expressed the view that the discussion of "race" would be counter-productive and actually intensify racial strife in the classroom.

The findings also indicated that certain categories of teachers - those of New Commonwealth background, members of the National Union of Teachers (NUT) and young teachers with less teaching experience - were more favourable towards the objectives of a multi-cultural curriculum. They were prepared to innovate in curriculum development and implement other multi-ethnic educational initiatives. These sub-types contrasted with teachers from the majority culture, members of the NAS/UWT and older teachers who were more established in the profession. Thus the case study highlighted the emergence of a new type of teacher in the inner city schools. Such teachers occupy the lower rungs of the school hierarchy with limited opportunities for promotion. They were typically specialists in history, geography, English and the Social Sciences. The evidence from the survey suggests that this type of teacher is an "activist", prepared to exert pressure for changes in the curriculum and teaching practices. In the next chapter we will consider the extent to which teachers' attitudes have been a factor in the development of the school's response to multi-ethnic educational initiatives in the period from 1983 to 1986.

Chapter Seven. The response of an Inner London Secondary school to multi-cultural educational initiatives from 1982-1986.

New developments confronted the school in 1982. Two events took place which again forced both the leadership and teachers to become aware of the necessity to develop an educational multi-ethnic policy. In June 1982 the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) announced its programme to induce Inner London schools to implement a "whole school policy" in multi-cultural education.¹ Troyna in his study of ILEA highlights the reasons behind this initiative. The unsatisfactory development of education in London schools increased the uneasiness and mistrust of the black community as Troyna points out:

We have considered why an anti-racist commitment did not appear in 1977, but, why it was not forthcoming between 1977-1982 remains a matter of conjecture. One view is that the issue became "such a hot potato" that it was successively thrown around from elected members to senior officers to multi-ethnic inspectors, and so on. Another explanation, offered by the senior ILEA officer, was that ILEA, already under threat from central government, could have been dismantled if "it were to become a strongly political Authority in the way it delivers its educational service". Whatever the reason, it is clear that the absence of a statement and guidelines exacerbated the black communities' scepticism and distrust about the role of the ILEA in promoting multi-ethnic education. It remains to be seen whether the new multi-ethnic initiatives announced by the ILEA on 8 June 1982 and accepted by the Education Committee on 21 June 1982 will placate some of the anxieties and misgivings expressed by members of the black communities.²

The ILEA's demand to initiate a "whole school policy" was coupled with another internal change, the departure of the

1. ILEA. June 1982. The Education Officer's Report. Multi-Ethnic Education in Schools.

2. B. Troyna. 1982. "The Inner London Education Authority, (ILEA)" in The Development of Multi-Cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham. pp.40-41.

former headteacher and the appointment of a new headteacher who was sympathetic to the goals of multi-ethnic education. In the summer of 1982, at the request of the new headteacher a leading member of the English Department attended a six week course at the Centre of the Urban and Educational Studies (CUES) on multi-cultural and environmental educational approaches. Part of the CUES' course was devoted to ways of formulating a "whole policy" on Environmental and Multi-Cultural education.³ The member of the English Department who attended the CUES course was to play an important role in the formulation of a multi-ethnic educational strategy for the school.

The ILEA's guidelines⁴ and the appointment of a new headteacher led to the setting up of a second working party to look into the development of a "whole school policy" on multi-cultural education. The members of the working party consisted of the "activists"⁵, and other teachers who were in favour of multi-cultural education or who had some interest in this type of educational approach. The headteacher encouraged the idea that all departments and heads of years should be represented on the working party. This meant that this body now consisted not only of those teachers who were committed to multi-ethnic education but also teachers who might have different views on

3. Multi-Cultural and Environmental Party: Quinquennial Report. 1984. A Document published by the Second Working Party.p.1.

4. ILEA. June 1982. The Education Officer's Report: Multi-Ethnic Education in Schools.

5. See Chapter Six for more information on the "activists".

the subject. Thus this working party was more representative of a wide variety and diversity of viewpoints.

The first session of the working party, in 24 September, 1982, was concerned with a discussion of the meaning of the concept of multi-cultural education and an exploration of the "environmental education".⁶ The reason why "environmental education" was introduced was that some members of the working party felt that whenever multi-cultural education was mentioned it was thought that this type of education was designed for the exclusive purpose of educating black children. The inclusion of the environment it was argued might dispel this impression and would make multi-cultural education more acceptable to the non-committed members of the teaching staff.⁷

Strategies for mobilising support for the implementation of multi-ethnic education policy.

The working party was called to formulate a "whole school policy" on multi-cultural education. The preoccupation of the members of the working party, both "activists" and "liberals", was to develop a policy which would be supported by as many sections as possible of the teaching staff of the school. During the

6. It is true to say that the idea of "environmental Education" was vague and difficult to define. It might be understood to mean the environment where children live and that this element should be taken into account by the educational process. It meant that examples of the environment of different countries and their contribution to a variety of products should be highlighted in order to stress the importance of living in an inter-dependent world.

7. Minutes of the Meeting of the Working Party on Multi-Cultural and Environment Education. 24.9.1982.

second session of the working party (2.10.1982) the question of mobilising support for multi-cultural education was discussed in the meeting. Two teachers of New Commonwealth background, one a Turkish Cypriot and the other a Greek Cypriot, emphasised what they thought to be a lack of understanding of the goals of multi-ethnic education by a significant number of un-committed members of the teaching staff.⁸ It was also stressed in the meeting that some heads of departments and ordinary teachers were not only apathetic but even hostile to the goals of a multi-ethnic education policy:

Some heads of departments do not see the relevance of multi-ethnic education and are not enthusiastic about developing a multi-ethnic perspective in their subject areas. Teachers of Mathematics, Science, Biology, Chemistry and Physics do not believe that it is possible to develop a multi-ethnic perspective in their subject because of the nature of their discipline. The heads of years have not yet thought out or come to terms with the development of a multi-ethnic perspective in the pastoral curriculum.⁹

The members of the working party, both "activists" and "liberals", realised that the main task at this stage was to increase the awareness of the teaching staff and encourage them to develop an interest in multi-ethnic educational initiatives. They also agreed that the formulation of multi-ethnic education policy should be achieved through consultation and discussion with the whole teaching staff, instead of imposing a policy from above

8. Minutes of the Meeting of the Working Party on Multi-Cultural and Environmental Education. 2.10.1982.

9. Ibid.

which might not be understood and supported by the rest of the teachers of the school. After a long discussion and exchange of views it was decided at this session to call a day conference in order to discuss the various directives on multi-cultural education. It was agreed by most of the members of the working party that such a conference would provide an opportunity for all teachers to express their views, and to discuss and clarify their perceptions of a multi-ethnic educational strategy. Moreover, it would stimulate interest and raise the awareness of the apathetic and indifferent teachers to the goals of multi-cultural education. Details about the preparations of the conference were left to be discussed in the next meeting of the working party.¹⁰

The third session of the working party (8.10.1982) was mainly devoted to the detailed preparation of the one day conference on multi-cultural education. In this meeting it was decided that the members of the working party should lead the discussion groups before the final staff meeting during a planned one-day conference. It was also suggested in this session that the document to be presented to the teaching staff for discussion should be carefully worded so as to avoid any ambiguity about the meaning of multi-cultural education. The conference was to be held in the sixth/form building and a display of teaching resources would be exhibited. This display was considered to be essential by the working party for the successful introduction of a multi-ethnic education policy in the school for a

10. Minutes of the Meeting of the Working Party on Multi-Cultural and Environmental Education. 2.10.1982.

number of reasons. Firstly, the exhibition would provide a means of assessing the development of multi-ethnic learning materials by different departments and of discovering a suitable approach to a multi-ethnic perspective by different subject areas. Secondly it would provide a link for coordinated action by different departments in the development of multi-ethnic materials and resources. Thirdly, the exhibition would provide the impetus for those departments that had not yet thought about the development of a multi-ethnic perspective in their subject area to begin discussing and planning such an approach.¹¹ The working party also decided that the conference should be opened by the headteacher, with main speaker being the ILEA multi-ethnic inspector. Before the gathering short extracts of films connected with the multi-ethnic nature of British society should be shown and then a discussion would follow.¹²

The diverse conceptions of multi-cultural education by members of the working party.

In another meeting of the working party (15.10.1982) the members of this body were invited to express their views about the short films chosen for showing to the teaching staff on the day of the conference. In the process of the discussion on a film which was dealing with the colonial experience of Africa diverse views were expressed. Some of the "activists", for

11. Minutes of the Meeting of the Working Party on Multi-Cultural and Environmental Education. 8.10.1982.

12. Ibid.

example, suggested that the film was useful because it would make teachers more aware of the British colonial past and its implications for immigration, as well as the attitudes of the indigenous population towards different ethnic groups originating from the New Commonwealth countries. A Social Science teacher of New Commonwealth background argued:

The film exemplifies the attitudes of the colonisers towards black people in Africa. These perceptions involve the notions of superiority and inferiority and the film illustrates the myths, about black people being dependent on the white man. This film was dealing with the work of missionaries who went to Africa in order to spread Christianity. This was a good starting point to illuminate the attitudes of some sections of the British population towards black people and other members of ethnic groups originating from ex-colonial nations. It is impossible to understand these attitudes without reference to the colonial past.¹³

Some members of the working party with "moderate" views on multi-cultural education expressed the opinion that the film was referring to past events which must be forgotten. A leading member of the teaching staff made the following comment:

Colonialism is an event which took place in the past, people who live in the present multi-racial society must try to forget the past and try to live in peace and concern themselves with the present and future. Any mention of the colonial past might alienate the uncommitted members of the teaching staff.¹⁴

The Second working party consisted of between fifteen to twenty teachers. There were seven or eight "activists" and ten "liberals". The "activists" no longer dominated

13. Minutes of the Meeting of the Working Party on Multi-Cultural and Environmental Education. 15.10.1982.

14. Ibid.

the working party because the headteacher had encouraged all departments to be represented on this body. My own impression was that the teachers who thought that the experience of colonialism should be forgotten might be classified as "liberals". Among those who held these views was a head of year of Afro-Caribbean origin, and a head of a department of Turkish Cypriot background. Both these teachers were members of the NAS/UWT.

The "activists" felt that the school policy on multi-cultural education should primarily take into consideration the multi-ethnic nature of the school and the initiation of educational programmes should be carried out with this mind. My impression was that this group of teachers favoured "anti-racist teaching"¹⁵ which meant an active challenge to the ignorance and misconceived ideas about immigration and "race". The "liberals", on the other hand, considered that a strong emphasis on anti-racism might alienate the non-committed and indifferent members of the school's teaching staff. A compromise was reached and it was decided that it was better to proceed cautiously without forgetting the long-term objectives of multi-cultural education.¹⁶

15. A.Green. 1982. "In Defence of Anti-Racist Teaching: A Reply to Recent Critiques of Multi-Cultural Education". NAME, Multiracial Education. Vol. 10. No. 2. p.19-34.

16. Minutes of the Meeting of the Working Party on Multi-Cultural Education. 15.10.1982.

Preparations for the one-day conference on multi-cultural education.

A booklet¹⁷ prepared by the working party and distributed to the teaching staff before the one-day conference further reveals details of the way the school was attempting to respond to the directive about implementing a multi-ethnic education policy. The members of the working party agreed that the contents of the booklet should aim primarily to raise the awareness of the teachers and mobilise their support for a school policy. The booklet¹⁸ included a definition of multi-cultural education followed by suggestions for the formulation of a "whole school policy" on this type of education. One recommendation proposed that the headteacher, the teaching staff and the governing body of the school should make some written statement about the way the school should implement a multi-ethnic education strategy. The establishment of principles, policies and strategies should be developed by: the headteacher, holders of posts of responsibility, (ie. senior teachers, heads of departments and heads of years,) informing the staff of developments on multi-cultural education and coordinating in-school activities. Another recommendation proposed was that a record should be made concerning the extent and nature of involvement in multi-cultural educational activities of the teaching staff, ancilliary staff, pupils,

17. Towards A Whole School Policy on Multi-Cultural Education, 1982.
A booklet published by the second Working Party.

18. Ibid.

parents and others from the school and the wider community.

It was emphasised that:

Multi-cultural education should not be a distinctive part or exclusive from the general educational practice. It should be an integral part of the school's policy and in the overall framework of operation.

The Conference: Viewpoints expressed on multi-cultural education by teachers in discussion groups.

The one-day school conference started with the showing of short films on the multi-ethnic nature of contemporary British society. After the film session the teachers joined different groups for discussion. Members of the working party acted as leaders of the different groups and initiated the discussion. The conference followed after this exercise. Different representatives of the discussion groups reported the results of the debate after the speeches of the headteachers and the multi-ethnic inspector. An important view expressed by various representatives was that teachers in the school were not "sufficiently educated"²⁰ to develop a multi-cultural perspective in their subject areas and to implement a multi-ethnic education strategy. Consequently it was agreed by a large number of participants in the conference that urgent consideration should

19. Towards a Whole School Policy on Multi-Cultural Education. November, 1982. A booklet published by the second Working Party.p.9.

20. "Sufficiently educated" is the phrase used by some representatives of the discussion groups. This might be interpreted to mean that a significant number of teachers were not exposed to the ideas of multi-cultural education while undergoing teacher training and therefore were not able to develop a multi-cultural perspective in their subject area. This statement is supported by the findings of the survey. See pages 319-321.

be given to in-service training in both curricula and pastoral aspects and use should be made of the multi-ethnic background of the teaching staff.²¹

In most discussion groups the point was made that it was desirable that children should realise the "positive" contribution of different ethnic minorities to the life of this country. However, another view was also expressed which held that it was not always wise to emphasise ethnic and racial differences. Various speakers noted the different cultural experience of ethnic minority groups originating from the New Commonwealth countries should be "appreciated" by all children both from minority and indigenous backgrounds. This issue was raised in relation to racial prejudice and stereotyping of people of Asian, Afro-Caribbean, Cypriot and African origins. A number of teachers in the school supported the idea that an understanding of different ethnic cultures would contribute to the reduction of racist attitudes. However, there was not unanimous agreement on this proposition as it has already been revealed in the survey.

Various representatives of the discussion groups reported that a considerable number of teachers believed that forces outside the school, such as the mass media, parents and peer groups, have a strong influence on the shaping of children's attitudes. A small number of teachers supported

21. Report on the Conference of Friday 26th November, 1982 - Towards A Whole School policy on Multi-Cultural and Environmental Education. 1982.

the view that the second and third generation children of West Indian background, who it has been argued are assimilated in British society, do not wish to have their differences pointed out.²²

Another important argument emerged from this conference emphasising that class differences were often a more important determinant of academic achievement than racial differences. However, this view is not substantiated by evidence from empirical research. In certain groups a point of view was expressed that the attempt to develop a multi-ethnic education policy in the school and introduce multi-ethnic educational programmes was a "cosmetic" exercise. This probably represented an expression of disillusionment with past attempts to introduce multi-ethnic education in the school which were confined to certain departments. Furthermore, a vocal minority of teachers claimed that immigrant groups should fit into the majority culture of their "adopted country". Finally, the conference concluded that the logical progression was for different departments to look at their own attitudes and contribution to multi-cultural education.²³

The anti-racist policy of the school.

After the conference on multi-cultural education the working

22. Report on the Conference of Friday 26th Novembr 1982 - Towards A Whole School policy on Multi-Cultural and Environmental Education. 1982.

23. Report on the Conference of Friday 26th November, 1982. Towards a Whole School Policy.1982.

party was enlarged. Due to the interest generated by the conference about ten more teachers joined the working party. However, the participation fluctuated from meeting to meeting. Some of the new members of the working party joined this body in order to gain an "understanding" of the meaning and implications of a multi-ethnic education policy.

In 1983 the school attempted to respond to the ILEA guidelines for the development of an anti-racist policy.²⁴ These guidelines emphasised the following points:

Each school or college will finally determine its policy in the light of its own circumstances. However, certain elements are common to all. There will be:

1. A clear, unambiguous statement of opposition to any form of racism and racist behaviour.
2. A firm expression of all pupils' or students' rights to the best possible education.
3. A clear indication of what is not acceptable and the procedures, including sanctions, to deal with any transgressions.
4. An explanation of the way in which the school or college intend to develop practices which both tackle racism and create educational opportunities which make for a cohesive society and a logical school or college community in which diversity can flourish.
5. An outline of the measures by which development will be monitored and evaluated.²⁵

The working party considered the anti-racist statements of five Inner London schools in conjunction with the ILEA guide-

24. ILEA. Race, Sex and Class.4. Anti-Racist Statement and Guidelines August, 1983.

25. Ibid. p.5.

lines in various meetings during the autumn term in 1983 and an attempt was made to formulate an anti-racist policy for the school. After an anti-racist statement had been worked out by the second working party, the headteacher decided that this document should be discussed in departmental meetings and then at a heads of departments meeting for final approval. However, a number of activists preferred that the document "Towards an Anti-Racist Policy",²⁶ should be discussed in a full meeting of all teachers of the school in order to facilitate the participation of a greater number of the staff. The anti-racist policy was finally discussed in departmental meetings, approved and sent to parents with a covering letter.

The anti-racist statement of the school stresses a number of points. Firstly, it gave guidance to the teachers of the school on how to deal with different manifestations of racism. Secondly it emphasised the importance of a multi-cultural curriculum for combating racist attitudes in school.²⁷ Thirdly, it drew attention to the issue of teachers' attitudes and

26. Minutes of the meeting of the Working Party on Multi-Cultural and Environmental Education. 1.10.1983.

27. Although there is no unambiguous evidence that a multi-cultural curriculum would be an effective means for combating racism in schools, nonetheless, the working party felt that an "understanding" of Asian, Afro-Caribbean, African and Cypriot ethnic cultures, and the inclusion in the curriculum learning materials with an anti-racist content, might make a contribution in challenging stereotyping and racist views.

expectations of the academic potential of ethnic minority children. The document stressed that teachers should be aware of verbal abuse, whether their own, or the children's abuse directed against teachers, or the abuse of pupils directed against other pupils. Moreover, the anti-racist statement emphasised that it is necessary to take a stance against the introduction of literature and materials which propagate racist views. When incidents of a racist nature are encountered the following steps should be followed. The incident should be reported to the head of year and a report should be prepared for the parent/guardian and the H.M. Inspector. Also any teacher involved in an incident should be fully supported and measures should be taken to prevent the recurrence of the incidents. Finally, the document emphasised that no member of the teaching staff should tolerate any racial abuse in the school. Racial abuse by a pupil would involve his or her suspension from the school.²⁸

Teachers' expectations of the academic ability of ethnic minority pupils.

The anti-racist statement emphasised the damage done to pupils by teachers' low expectations of their academic potential²⁹

28. Towards an Anti-Racist Policy. November, 1983. The Anti-Racist Statement of the School.

29. A. Rampton. 1981. "West Indian Children in our School". Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. Cmnd.8273.HMSO.London.p.12.

See. University of Warwick. Multicultural Studies in Higher Education. 1985. The Educational and Vocational Experiences of 15-18 Year Old Young People of Ethnic Minority Groups. Warwick University, Coventry. pp. 431-32.

which is often expressed in the form of racial stereotyping. Therefore teachers should be aware that their expectations affect the achievement, behaviour and status of pupils. It is necessary that they acknowledge and respect the pupil's own values, skills and experience. Teachers should ensure that the placement of pupils in tutorial and learning groups does not lead to inequality between cultural and racial groups. This inequality between cultural and racial groups may occur when these characteristics are taken as criteria in a negative sense through stereotyping children of West Indian background, or other ethnic minority and working class pupils, and placing them in learning groups with low status in terms of academic achievement.³⁰ Many sociological studies have demonstrated that this type of grouping has a negative effect on academic achievement.³¹ The school in our case study has been basically a streamed school, although there is some flexibility in arranging examination groups where children of different abilities are taught together. My impression is that in the near future there will be the introduction of mixed ability grouping in the first year.

The ethnic composition of the school.

The anti-racist statement stressed that cultural and ethnic diversity amongst the staff should be viewed positively. Moreover, while in all staff appointments the "best" candidate should be given the position, it is important that the staff

30. Towards an Anti-Racist Policy. 1983. The Anti-Racist statement of the school. Document published by the working party.

31. J. Douglas. 1964. The Home and the School. MacGibbon and Kee, London.

See also D.H. Hargreaves. 1967. Social Relations in a Secondary School. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

as a whole, whether teaching or non-teaching, should represent a range of backgrounds at all levels and in all departments of the school. Taking into consideration the content and the slant of this paragraph it is true to say that the issue of "positive discrimination" is sidestepped. Although, there is an emphasis that any appointment of teaching staff should reflect the ethnic composition of the school, it does not, in my opinion, go far enough to spell out concrete suggestions for "affirmative action" in order to facilitate the recruitment of teachers from ethnic minority backgrounds and their promotion to positions of authority in the school.

Developments in Multi-Ethnic Education Initiatives.

The working party was to play a leading role in implementing the multi-cultural initiatives of the school in the period from 1983 to 1986. For this purpose it met regularly in order to discuss suitable strategies. However, during this period, the implementation of a multi-ethnic education policy in the school was obstructed by continuous industrial disputes. The National Union of Teachers (NUT) and the National Association of School Masters and the Union of Women Teachers (NAS/UWT), together with smaller teachers' professional associations, refused to undertake voluntary duties and to cover for absent colleagues. These duties were considered by teachers to be a question of "good will" and not part of their contractual obligations. This withdrawal of "good will" prevented teachers from participating in any meetings called for consultation

outside school hours and from any commitments which promote curriculum development.

Despite these obstacles certain limited objectives were achieved. The main concern of the working party was to encourage departments to discuss and formulate a statement on how to develop a multi-cultural perspective in their subject area. A memorandum signed by the headteacher and the chairperson of the working party was sent to heads of departments urging them to discuss their approach towards multi-cultural education and to produce a statement. Certain departments worked out statements - Drama, Music, Geography, CDT, English, Religious Studies, Art, Geology, Social Studies, Textiles, Careers and Home Economics while others did not: Mathematics, Science, Modern Languages, Special Needs and Business Studies. My impression was that Science and Mathematics did not see any point in developing a multi-ethnic perspective in their subject area. The qualitative material obtained in the survey revealed that mathematicians and scientists were not convinced that they could develop multi-cultural education in their subjects because they believed that these were 'universal' subjects.

The department of modern languages also failed to produce a statement because, in my view, the head of the department was not in favour of a multi-ethnic education policy. The business studies department did not show much enthusiasm either, in this case probably as a result of apathy. The Special Needs department included teachers who were in favour of multi-

cultural education and the delay in producing a statement can be explained in terms of other pressing commitments. The working party also attempted to overcome the "apathy" shown by other departments.

Different departments perceived the development of a multi-ethnic perspective in their subject areas in various ways. The Drama department, for example, emphasised the following:

Drama is concerned with personal development irrespective of the cultural background of pupils. It is important, however, that as drama teachers we are aware of certain key issues when we come to the selection of topics to be explored through drama. This would include issues such as prejudice, intolerance, stereotyping, awareness of others etc. Social drama should explore issues that are relevant to different cultural backgrounds - not just those that are relevant to one particular social class.³²

The History department stated its approach:

The contribution of history in promoting an understanding of our multi-ethnic society is particularly important. Its study provides the following opportunities: Create an understanding of, and interest in, societies, social systems and cultures, at different times and in different locations. Develop a capacity to imagine what it is like to be someone else, in a particular situation and at a particular time. Recognise that each society has (or had) its own values, traditions and styles of everyday living, which should be considered in the context of that society, as well as compared with our own. Draw on the diversity of pupils' cultural experience, and encourage a sharing of ideas, opinions and interests which derive from this experience. Ensure that pupils understand that migration and the movement of people - and thereby cultural diversity are underlying themes in history and the contemporary world. Recognising these opportunities, many history teachers have questioned the appropriateness of some traditional approaches for the needs of pupils learning today.

32. Extracts from Departments' Statements on Multi-Cultural and Environmental Education. 1984. Document published by the Working Party.

A range of important initiatives have resulted: For some teachers the starting point has been a broadening of the location, themes and sources of content, to reflect a range of cultural perspectives. For others the skills and attributes which the study of history seeks to encourage are seen as an essential foundation for developing values and attitudes within our multi-ethnic society.³³

This extract from multi-cultural statement of the history department indicates the way in which history might promote the understanding of different societies and equip pupils with the skills and attributes which are essential for the development of values and attitudes in a multi-ethnic society.

The Home Economics department revealed its own particular approach to the development of a multi-cultural perspective by emphasising the following:

When we talk of the contribution of ethnic groups we often drown ourselves in a sea of platitudes: we talk of hospitals and public transport or, on another level, of Indian curries and saris, of calypsos and of Caribbean spontaneity. We as a department will not pay lip service to the notions of multi-ethnic education and placate ourselves by saying we do "our bit" by cooking ethnic foods and making children try food from different countries. The contribution ethnic groups have to make to this society has something to do with the quality of life and the way in which they perceive human relationships and its demands. It has very little to do with whether or not they cook cornish pasty or Jamaican patties. We believe that education should intrinsically provide opportunity and experience for the development of the whole person based on a system of values that enhances the dignity of human person and recognises the uniqueness and valuable contribution of the individual.³⁴

33. Extracts from the Departments on Multi-Cultural and Environmental Education, 1984. p.11.

34. Ibid. pp.14-15.

Having presented their philosophy of multi-ethnic education the Home Economics teachers indicated the problems faced in implementing this strategy:

There is a greater emphasis on assignment work in the third year and multi-ethnic cooking is a greater part of this. Given a set situation or task how each pupil tackles it is their responsibility and they are encouraged to experiment and use varying foods whenever applicable. It would be true to say at this point that the opportunity to use ethnic foods or show skills from a different culture is not seized upon by the West Indian children in our classes. They will predominantly choose English or European dishes, in preference to West Indian meals - and are not keen to be made aware of the differences in foods that they may have at home. From the discussion with these children we have found that girls were not encouraged to cook at home - this is mother's job - and boys are strictly banned - so they are not getting very actual teaching at home on how to cook the more traditional West Indian meals - and if they are allowed to cook at home they stick to the more European/British snack type meal.³⁵

The Geography department perceived its contribution to the development of a multi-cultural curriculum to be teaching about "Developing World Studies" and in emphasising cultural differences arising from differing environmental circumstances:

The major contribution of the Geography department in its teaching syllabus lies in the direct teaching of Developing World Studies. This work takes place mainly in the 2nd Year and 4th Year, with input during 3rd Year and 5th Year. World areas covered include the West Indies, parts of South America, Africa, South Asia, South-East Asia and the Middle East. The over-riding philosophy of the geography input is that cultural differences commonly arise as a result of differing environmental circumstances promoting a response which then becomes a particular

35. Extracts from the Department Statements on Multi-Cultural and Environmental Education, 1984. pp.14-15.

cultural feature, but that such cultural differences are of small significance compared with the major similarities of responses to circumstances - the need to combat hunger, disease and the desire to improve social well-being through the development of agriculture and industry. Specific examples of the way in which this thinking operates may be seen through the Geography department's work on the West Indies which includes a series of videos. One of these illustrates banana growing in St. Lucia, and shows clearly that part of the reason why the islands of the West Indies remain poor is because of the control over the banana trade exerted by multi-national companies...³⁶

The Heads of Years indicated the contribution that the pastoral curriculum could make towards the implementation of multi-cultural educational strategy in the school:

The nature of pastoral care implies that all children regardless of their race, sex, creed, colour or social class. Our aims would be to create an atmosphere whereby the individual would be secure in the knowledge that he could develop through the year ethos. Through the pastoral curriculum a positive contribution can be made to multi-cultural education whereby we will attempt to "establish a sense of belonging to a tutor group with all that means in terms of social interaction taking cognisance of the multi-cultural nature of the need for equality of opportunities within society. The nature of the pastoral curriculum that has been constructed is such that it tackles directly problems of inequality and encourages pupils to consider issues. Indirectly it also contains topics aimed at considering and hopefully converting prejudices and unreasoned attitudes. In the 1st Year, topics include - concern for others and an account of stereotypes. Are people different and what is happening in the wider community. In the 2nd Year, topics include - equality and equal opportunities. How people are discriminated against. "Everybody makes a contribution", "Are girls equal".³⁷

36. Extracts from the Department Statements on Multi-Cultural and Environmental Education. 1984. p.10.

37. Ibid. p.13.

These extracts indicate the way some departments and the Heads of Years perceived the development of multi-cultural education in different subject areas and generally in the school. The Working Party discussed the statements of the departments and made a number of observations. It was felt by members of this group that some departments statements were too "general" in the sense that they did not tackle the specific ways to develop a multi-ethnic educational perspective in their subject area.³⁸ In reaction of these departments' statements the following was agreed by the working party:

It was decided to be positive. As a Working party we should concentrate on How to achieve a Multi-Cultural and Environmental approach rather than Why our role should be to publish Good Practice which will be discussed in departments. We need to explore ways of communicating information.³⁹

Moreover:

The range of department responses gave us considerable insight into individual department's attitudes. Some seem negative, others are questioning the values of the exercise, others were positive and keen to develop their ideas further. Implementation of the suggested changes required many lengthy after-school meetings.⁴⁰

After the collection of the department's statements, they were published in the form of a booklet and distributed to the members of the teaching staff.⁴¹

38. Minutes of the Meeting of the Working Party on Multi-Cultural and Environmental Education. 29.11.1983.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Multi-Cultural and Environmental Working Party. Quinquennial Report, 1984. p.4.

The use of "Good Practice" in furthering the development of a multi-ethnic perspective in different subject areas.

The working party in its strategies to develop multi-cultural education in the school considered that the communication of "Good Practice" was an important element in implementing multi-cultural initiatives in the classroom. Communication of "Good Practice" meant that the multi-ethnic approach used by a teacher in lessons should be communicated to other teachers in the school. The working party felt that teachers needed more guidance on how to develop a multi-ethnic perspective in their subject area. As one meeting stressed:

People are resistant to change when they don't know the ways and means. Also people learn as they go along. Classroom approach and experience should be examined in specific ways. When monitoring Good Practice we need to consider skills to be taught, and the methods and examples used. Also where the emphasis lies for a multi-cultural approach changes the emphasis. Therefore we need to consider changes in the techniques of teaching.⁴²

It was also decided at this meeting of the working party that each member should try to prepare a report on a lesson in which a successful multi-ethnic perspective had been applied in order to communicate helpful examples to other teachers in the school.⁴³ A number of teachers, all members of the working party, prepared a lesson with a multi-ethnic perspective. These lessons were discussed in another meeting of the working

42. Minutes of the Meeting of the Working Party on Multi-Cultural and Environmental Education. 23.11.1983.

43. Ibid.

party and it was decided to publish them in booklet form and distributed them to the other teachers in the school for discussion in departments meetings.⁴⁴ This report explained that:

Members of the Working party have prepared reports on lessons showing how a multi-cultural approach changes the emphasis on the content. Of particular value are the reports dealing with topics which staff don't usually regard as of a multi-cultural nature, e.g. law motoring. These have already been used at Lewisham Teachers' Centre for Inset meetings, for Probationer teachers during induction programmes, PTA meetings and at meeting for Heads in Division seven.⁴⁵

The inspectorate noted the progress towards "equal opportunities" in the school:

The inspectorate team were impressed by the school's work on racism and equal opportunities (gender) and considered it to be an exemplary model in advance of much else being done in the Authority. Warm congratulations are offered to the relevant committees who have on them representatives of all the school's subject departments and pastoral teams. The nature of this representation should ensure that the teaching in these areas is reinforced by united practice. Good practice emerging from the multi-ethnic working party is already being distributed to ILEA schools.⁴⁶

The multi-cultural working party attempted to organise close contact with parents after the distribution of the anti-racist policy. A meeting was planned for the summer of 1983 to discuss the policy with parents but unfortunately it did not take place because of the industrial action. A Caribbean

44. Minutes of the Meeting of the Working Party on Multi-Cultural and Environmental Education, 10.12.1983.

45. Multi-cultural and Environmental Working Party. Quinquennial Report, 1985. p.5.

46. Quinquennial Review: Inspectorate Commentary. Spring 1985.p.6.

exchange was also organised in 1983. The exchange visit involved a teacher from the school who went to Jamaica for a year and a teacher from Jamaica who taught for a year in the school. The value of this exchange was emphasised in the following report:

Overall the teacher who went to Jamaica found the exchange a broadening experience. It helped to increase confidence in tackling racism as well as widening the multicultural perspective of the teacher. Pupils were interested to learn about the exchange, although it is sad to note that the teacher was only asked once to give a 'Year Assembly' about her experience in Jamaica. We feel sure that many pupils and staff remain unaware of the school's involvement in the scheme. The placement in the scheme needs to be re-assessed as the West Indian teachers faced considerable difficulties having only taught English to mature students in a Training College in Jamaica. Although the English department has maintained contact with the West Indian teachers, the school in general did not make use of her presence. Part of this was due to her quiet nature and the considerable unforeseen difficulties that arose during the exchange visit.⁴⁷

Thus there was some value in having this exchange but the school did not fully use the experience for broadening the multi-cultural perspective of the teachers and the pupils. However, one of the developments from this exchange was the visit of Jamaican pupils from the Sedg^ehill school in Spring 1985 and the establishment of the "Jamaican Link".

In addition to these activities, the distribution of several documents published by the ILEA concerning multi-

47. Multi-Cultural and Environmental Working Party: Quinquennial Report. 1985. p.2.

cultural, "equal opportunities" and anti-racist strategies,⁴⁸ contributed to raising the awareness of the teaching staff and in promoting discussion on these issues. It should be stressed that there were other reasons apart from the industrial action, that obstructed the effective unfolding of the multi-ethnic education policy in the school. In a meeting of the Working party on the 15th October 1985 the "activists" argued that senior teaching staff should show a stronger commitment to the goals of multi-cultural education and provide leadership for curriculum development. A Social Science and History teacher expressed this view by asserting that:

Multi-ethnic initiatives should be the first priority of the senior teaching staff and senior teachers should be involved in the development and implementation of a multi-ethnic education strategy by providing leadership. It is not good enough to attempt to satisfy the demands of the Authority and the inspectorate with well written reports, what is needed is to put all these statements into practice.⁴⁹

At the end of 1985, the extent of the advance of multi-cultural education in the school was summarised by the working party:

What is needed now is the actual development of a multi-cultural perspective in different subject areas. Some

48. ILEA. 1983. Race, Sex, 1, Achievement in Schools.
See. ILEA. 1983. Race and Class, 2. Multi-Ethnic Education in Schools.

ILEA. 1983. Race, Sex and Class, 3. A Policy for Equality:Race.
ILEA. 1983. Race, Sex and Class, 4. Anti-Racist Statement and Guidelines.

49. Minutes of the Meeting of the Working Party on Multi-Cultural and Environmental Education. 15.10.1985.

limited objectives have been achieved in the last two years. There is, for example, an anti-racist policy to which we can refer to and deal with racist incidents. In relation to the development of a multi-ethnic perspective, there are some departments which are still hostile, and other departments lack leadership to move them towards a multi-cultural perspective. The Heads of Years have not yet thought out the implications of this policy for the pastoral curriculum. The senior teachers are still divided in their commitment to the goals of a multi-cultural educational strategy. Teachers need more time to sit in small groups and sort out their ideas about the implications of this educational approach for their subject area and develop appropriate learning materials.⁵⁰

Summary and Conclusion: Multi-cultural initiatives: two steps forward and one step back.

In this chapter the response of an Inner London secondary school to multi-ethnic initiatives in the period 1982-86 was evaluated. Firstly, two events which occurred in 1982 induced the school to respond to changes in the ethnic mix of the classroom. The ILEA guidelines for formulating and implementing "whole school policy" on multi-cultural education and the appointment of a new headteacher, who was sympathetic to the goals of multi-ethnic education, changed the situation drastically from one of indifference to one of positive action. This resulted in the establishment of a working party instituted to produce a "whole school policy" for this new type of education.

Secondly, the discussions of the working party revealed the divergence of opinions on whether the introduction of

50. Minutes of the Meeting of the Working Party on Multi-Cultural and Environmental Education. 15.10.1985.

multi-cultural education should be carried out against the opposition, or at best the apathy, of a significant minority of the teaching staff. It was decided to take into consideration the views of this significant minority and work out a multi-ethnic education policy for the school which would draw the support from the majority of the teachers, while at the same time moderating the opposition from those who were against multi-cultural education.

Thirdly, several issues emerged as a result of the school's conference on multi-cultural education. It was agreed that teachers should gain greater understanding of the nature of this new educational approach. This might be achieved through in-service courses organised by different bodies under the auspices of the ILEA. While many teachers supported the idea that children should be made aware of cultural and ethnic differences, a small minority thought that there was a danger in placing undue emphasis on these topics. Less than ten per cent of the hundred and thirty teachers present in the conference expressed concern about any attempt to impose cultural awareness on children who may wish to "assimilate". They also supported the view that children from ethnic minority groups should try to fit in with the culture of their "adopted country". A small minority of teachers were also sceptical about the whole undertaking and pointed out that the introduction of multi-cultural education would make no difference in improving the chances of ethnic minority children or in combating racism in schools.

Fourthly, this chapter outlined the main features of the anti-racist policy of the school formulated by the working party. This policy aimed at combating racism in school, not only through curriculum changes but also by altering the assumptions of some teachers about the academic ability of ethnic minority children.

Fifthly, it was noted that the successful implementation of a multi-ethnic education policy was obstructed by the disruption in the school caused by the industrial dispute between teachers and their employers in the period 1983 to 1986. The withdrawal of teachers from any consultation meetings and other activities related to curriculum development prevented the effective implementation of multi-ethnic initiatives in different subject areas. Despite this disruption some short-term objectives were achieved during the period. The working party, through a variety of initiatives, made a contribution to the raising of the level of awareness among teachers about the goals of multi-cultural education. Different departments formulated their own statement of aims and the communication of "Good Practice" was achieved through the publication and distribution of lessons with a multi-cultural perspective among the teaching staff at the school. An anti-racist statement was also formulated and distributed to teachers and parents, which provided guidelines for dealing with racism in the school.

Chapter Eight: Multi-Cultural Education: Myths and Reality.

Social change in post-war Britain altered the ethnic and racial composition of society and created corresponding changes in the school population. Although the numerical strength of the ethnic minority groups originating from the New Commonwealth was only about four per cent of the total population, nonetheless these groups were heavily concentrated in certain areas of the country. As a result some schools began to consist of a large proportion of children from these ethnic minorities.¹ This change demanded the formulation of policies to deal with the different manifestations of the new social reality. In this thesis an attempt has been made to examine the implications of a set of policies which were the outcome of these pressures. The analysis of the various aspects of these educational policies led to a number of conclusions.

Firstly, in evaluating the response of the various institutions connected with education we found that although there were some differences in the way they reacted to the strategies adopted to meet the educational needs of ethnic minority children, nevertheless their responses were guided by an underlying ideology of assimilation. This ideology influenced the perceptions of both political and educational institutions and as Kirkwood argues:

1. See Chapter one for detailed information on the ethnic mix of British schools.

It does seem strange that it took so long for the British political leaders dealing with "Afro-Asian" and Caribbean immigration to move from an early insistence on "uniformity" and "assimilation" to an acceptance of the wishes of the diverse communities to enjoy unity and political and economic equality, without cultural uniformity or excessive "integration".²

The House of Commons' response to the education of ethnic minority children was the appointment of several Select Committees on Race Relations and Immigration charged with the investigation of this "educational problem". The first Parliamentary Select Committee (1968-69) examined this issue and highlighted its major concern with the treatment of "coloured" school leavers" and its implications for race relations in British society. Subsequent Select Committees (1972-73 and 1976-77) operated within an era characterised by a shift from assumptions of assimilation to the acceptance of ethnic diversity. Although their recommendations formed the basis of policies for the education of ethnic minority children, the impact of these proposals was not sufficient, in terms of curriculum change and school practice, to meet the educational needs of these children.

The Department of Education and Science (DES) made its priority the hastening of the "integration" of these children into the British Education system. The main concern was the teaching of English and the provision of advice on how to overcome the initial problems of adjustment and the prevention

2. K.Kirkwood. 1975. "Ethnic, Cultural and Racial Pluralism: Awareness, Education and Policy". Oxford Review of Education, Vol. 1. No. 2. p.11.

of the imminent threat of a "white backlash". In the initial stages a dispersal policy was used by the government to hasten the "integration" of these children into British schools and to allay the fears of the indigenous parents about "deteriorating educational standards" which might be produced by the change in the racial and ethnic mix. In the second phase, during the nineteen seventies and eighties, the DES provided guidance to schools, drawing their attention to curriculum development in order to meet the educational needs of children of ethnic minority background and the demands of a multi-ethnic society.³

However, the DES did not formulate a national policy for the education of ethnic minority children. There was inadequate provision of resources and a lack of leadership for teachers trying to implementing multi-cultural educational programmes, and in dealing with the academic underachievement of these ethnic groups in British schools. Moreover, the government did not perceive the "special needs" of ethnic minorities as distinct from those of the other socially disadvantaged groups. This interpretation is shared by the Swann Committee when they reported:

A number of broad conclusions can we believe be drawn about the Central Government's role in the emergence of multicultural education over the past decade or so. In the early days Government pronouncements appear to have been much influenced by assimilationist thinking with little attempt to give lead to a more positive view of ethnic minority pupil's

3. DES. 1977. "Education in Schools". A Consultative Document. Cmdnd. 6869. HMSO. London.

See also DES. 1981c. The School Curriculum. HMSO. London.

educational needs. To some extent at least, policy thinking in this field seems also to have been unduly distorted by political considerations and particularly by concern at the possible impact on majority public opinion of appearing to adopt a more constructive approach to ethnic minority needs. The subsequent attempts to relegate multicultural education to an aspect of "educational disadvantage" and to subsume ethnic minority needs within the wider "inner city problem", seem difficult to comprehend on educational grounds and in many ways appear to belie the public pronouncements of a commitment to a broader concept of multiculturalism.⁴

More recent Government policy towards the education of pupils from ethnic minority groups is further illustrated by a statement of the Education Secretary, Sir Keith Joseph, which emphasised the importance of establishing an educational policy that was right for the country's ethnically-mixed society. Sir Keith Joseph indicated that in the Government's view such a policy should have two main objectives:

1. to educate all children and young people so that they are better prepared for adult life in an ethnically mixed Britain, in a way which will do full justice to the accumulated richness of this country's national culture, and develop respect for the cultures and beliefs of the different groups that make up our society.
2. to eliminate, so far as any society can, the under-achievement of many of our children and young people from all sections of the community.⁵

Sir Keith argued that prejudices that are found in our society are an obstacle, not the only obstacle, but serious in relation

4. M. Swann. 1985. The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. "Education for All". London. HMSO. p.220.

5. DES 25.5.1986. Without Prejudice: Education for An Ethnically Mixed Society.

to both these objectives. The Education Secretary pointed out that prejudices are not confined to the majority community:

The majority community does not have a monopoly of prejudice; some members of the ethnic minorities are not without their own prejudices, either against the majority community or against other ethnic minority groups.....There is wide disagreement about what is meant by prejudice, about its causes and about its cure; and the terminology used in the ensuing argument is often muddled and misleading.⁶

In his statement Sir Keith set out two Government objectives; to educate all pupils in all parts of the country for a multi-ethnic society and to eliminate underachievement among pupils from ethnic minority groups:

Moreover there are disturbing signs that the public argument is becoming polarised into two extreme positions..... The first position is to deny that any significant change is needed in the attitude of our society or in what our schools and colleges do. On this view children from both the majority community and from ethnic minorities should be educated as if ethnic diversity did not exist; except that some members of some of the ethnic minorities might need to learn English.... This position, though unacceptably one-sided, has some elements of good sense. Community by community we have more in common than dividing us. It would be unnecessary, therefore, and I believe wrong to turn our education system upside down to accommodate ethnic variety, or to jettison those many features and practices which reflect what is best in our society and its institutions.⁷

Sir Keith also objected to the other view which asserted the British society and the education system required a total

6. DES. 20.5.1986. Without Prejudice: Education for an Ethnically mixed society.

7. Ibid.

transformation before justice to ethnic minorities was possible:

But I also reject the second extreme position which asserts that our society and therefore our education system requires a total transformation before justice to ethnic minorities is possible. The position entails a refusal to acknowledge the culture of the majority community which is as mistaken, and as dangerous, as the refusal to acknowledge ethnic minority cultures. Moreover this position too offers a spurious justification for prejudice - for the self-indulgent bias of those who in any case want to subvert our fundamental values and institutions.⁸

In discussing how the meaning of words used in this debate could be changed Sir Keith gave the term "racist" as an example:

A racist is someone who judges the quality and real worth of a human being entirely by colour or ethnic origin. But the word has come to be used simply as a term of abuse to denote anyone whose feelings or views or attitudes or use of language the speaker chooses to regard as offensive to himself or to persons of a particular skin colour or ethnic group whether the appellation "racist" is merited or not. I recognise that the term is often used to express justified frustration and anger about the effects of racial prejudice, but it is also often used to dismiss those who try to apply serious thought and careful argument to the difficult issue of prejudice.⁹

He also suggested that there is a danger that the concept of multi-cultural education could become meaningless:

Another slogan which is in danger of becoming meaningless

8. DES. 20.5.1986. Without Prejudice: Education for an Ethnically mixed society.

9. Ibid.

See also F. Palmer (ed) 1986 "History, Racism and Propaganda" in Anti-Racism: An Assault on Education and Value, Sherwood Press, London. pp. 61-73.

is "Multi-cultural education". The Oxford Dictionary defines "multi-cultural" as "of pertaining to a society consisting of varied cultural groups". But what does "multi-cultural" mean in an educational context? Does it describe measures designed to improve the performance or achievement of ethnic minority pupils? Or is it to do with bringing minority cultures into the curriculum and, if so, how and to what extent and for ethnic minority children only or for all children? What multi-cultural education cannot mean is that children of Caribbean and Indian origin should be offered in British schools a curriculum or even history centred only on the Caribbean or India. Caribbean and Indian studies may well have a place in their education - as in the education of all children. However, these children will for the most part live their lives in this country. They are British citizens: this is their home.... Schools should be responsible for trying to transmit British culture, enriched as it has been by many traditions. Schools should acknowledge the culture and background of ethnic minority children; the education of all children can be enriched and enhanced by an awareness and acknowledgement of cultural diversity... But the main responsibility for transmitting minority cultures is for the homes and the minority communities themselves - as has happened and is happening effectively in so many cases. It must ultimately be for individual parents and communities to determine how their religion, culture and traditions are handed on to successive generations... In my view, then, multi-cultural education ought to be about giving all pupils a greater awareness and appreciation of the linguistic, cultural and religious diversity in Britain, so as to promote tolerance and racial harmony.¹⁰

Sir Keith maintained that most people in the country and throughout the education service shared the Government's two objectives and indicated that:

It is very important that we should think clearly about the means of achieving these objectives. We need together to maintain the education service's honourable tradition for truth, intellectual honesty and the capacity for critical self-examination. We should try to use clear language in discussing what needs to be done. We should be honest, and realistic, about what can and cannot be expected of schools.¹¹

10. DES. 20.5.1986. Without Prejudice: Education for an Ethnically Mixed Society.

11. Ibid.

This statement by the former Education Secretary clarifies the Government thinking and goals concerning an educational policy for an ethnically mixed society. The views expressed by Sir Keith Joseph have a clear relevance for the arguments put forward in this thesis and make an interesting contribution to the debate about the initiation and implementation of a multi-ethnic education policy. Although I can agree about the two main objectives of an educational policy for an ethnically mixed society, nonetheless there are significant divergencies in the conception and the means of achieving these goals. Firstly, Sir Keith points out that racial prejudice is not the monopoly of the majority community. He claims that there exists prejudice held by members of ethnic minority groups against the majority community and against members of ethnic minority groups. There is little documented evidence about this type of prejudice and even if members of ethnic minorities do hold prejudices against each other, this is not the crucial issue. Racial prejudice becomes harmful and destructive when it is translated into action and become racial discrimination. The extent of discrimination experienced by some ethnic minority groups originating from the New Commonwealth has been clearly demonstrated.¹² There is also another type of discrimination which derives from institutional racism and this means that ethnic minority groups find themselves in a subordinate position in a society controlled predominantly by white, Anglo-Saxon, middle class individuals. This is illustrated by research in the field of educational

12. D.J.Smith. 1977. Racial Disadvantage in Britain. The PEP Report. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, and C.Brown. 1984. Black and White Britain, The Third PSI Report. Heinemann, London.

opportunities among ethnic minority groups.¹³ Sir Keith tends to ignore this type of racial discrimination.

Secondly, the Education Secretary does not clearly define what he means by the concept of "British culture". Whether this means the traditions, values, heritage and ethnic experience of the main groups which make up the United Kingdom (Scots, Welsh, Irish, English), and who comprise the majority community, or whether British culture means the dominant culture in British society, dominated by Anglo-Saxon traditions and the value system of the white middle class, as some commentators and parliamentary reports suggested.¹⁴ If Sir Keith favours the latter meaning of the term, then this conception ignores the cultural experience of a substantial section of the population with a working class culture or a black cultural experience. It has been argued in this thesis that such a definition of British culture is a main element in the perpetuation of an ethnocentric, monocultural curriculum which does not take into account the ethnic and cultural experience of different ethnic minority groups. Nor does this type of curriculum reflect the

13. A. Rampton. 1981. "West Indian Children in our Schools". The Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. Cmd. 8273. HMSO. London.

See. Multi-Cultural Studies in Higher Education, 1985. The Educational and Vocational Experience of 15 to 18 Year Old People of Minority Ethnic Groups. Warwick University, Coventry.

14. A. Little. 1980. "Address to a Conference" Education in Multi-Ethnic Britain. Goldsmiths' College, London. p.3.

See. Select Committee on Immigration and Race Relations 1976-77. The West Indian Community, HMSO. London.

changed position of Britain in the modern world.

Thirdly, DES policy contains a misconception about the development of multi-ethnic educational initiatives by individual teachers, schools and Local Education Authorities. Sir Keith suggests that there are two polarised positions about the education of children from ethnic minority groups. One position demands the total transformation of the education system in order to provide justice and equal educational opportunity. The other denies that any significant change is needed in schools and colleges. While Sir Keith rejects both positions and proposes moderate changes, it is absurd to categorise the different conceptions of multi-ethnic education and the responses of different educational institutions into the two extremes. Our research would suggest that there are a number of interpretations of the concept of multi-cultural education¹⁵ and that, in practice, there has been a variety of responses to the development and implementation of multi-ethnic educational initiatives. Local Education Authorities, such as the ILEA, Manchester, Bradford and Walsall, formulated multi-ethnic education policies that were determined by the nature of areas in which they operate.¹⁶ Their policies were influenced by the high concentration of ethnic minority groups, by political factors and the pressures of the different organisations representing the ethnic communities.

15. See chapter five for a discussion on the different interpretations of multi-cultural education.

16. See chapter three for an account of the development of a multi-ethnic education policy on the Local Authority level.

Fourthly, although the former Education Secretary agreed that racial prejudice and underachievement should be eliminated, nevertheless there is disagreement concerning the means of achieving these goals. Sir Keith did not see the necessity for a fundamental restructuring of the curriculum in order to achieve the two objectives set out in his statement. He suggested that schools should foster an awareness of ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity, but he argued, on the other hand, that the main responsibility for transmitting minority cultures is that of the home and the ethnic minority communities themselves. It is inconceivable to transmit a shared value system through the school, as suggested by Sir Keith, without a movement towards a multi-cultural curriculum, a change in teaching practices and a fuller appreciation of ethnic minority cultures by the education process. Moreover, the wishes of different ethnic minorities are ignored. Some ethnic groups would like mother tongue maintenance and mother tongue teaching to be the responsibility of the education system.¹⁷ Other ethnic minority groups have pressed for their culture to be recognised by the educational process and for racism in schools to be confronted and challenged.¹⁸ It has also been argued that fundamental changes are needed in the curriculum to motivate and enable some pupils of ethnic minority

17. M.Swann. 1985. The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. "Education for All". HMSO. London. p.202.

18. Ibid.

background to improve their academic achievement in British schools.¹⁹ These changes should be coupled with a radical alteration of teachers' attitudes and expectations concerning the academic ability of pupils from ethnic minority groups.²⁰ The education system has, therefore, to play an important role in combating racism and changing attitudes towards members of ethnic minority groups.

It seems that the present Conservative government does not see the need for fundamental alterations in the British education system in order to provide justice and educational equality for ethnic minority groups. This attitude might be explained by political considerations in so far as any attempt by the government to pursue such an approach could be interpreted as "positive discrimination" towards ethnic minorities and lead to a "white backlash", which would be politically damaging.

The response of the Local Education Authorities was determined by the aims of the local political leadership²¹, the character of the racial and ethnic composition of the schools and the degree of determination and effectiveness of different

19. Select Committee on Immigration and Race Relations 1976-77. The West Indian Community. "A Government Observations" HMSO. London. par. 24. p.7. See also "Multi-Cultural Studies in Higher Education". 1985. The Educational and Vocational Experience of 15 to 18 Year Old People of Minority Ethnic Groups. Warwick University, Coventry. p.454.

20. A. Rampton. 1981. "West Indian Children in our Schools". The Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. Cmnd.8273. HMSO. London. pp.12-13. See also Multi-Cultural Studies in Higher Education. 1985. The Educational and Vocational Experience of 15 to 18 Year Old People of Minority Groups. Warwick University, Coventry. pp.431-432.

21. K. Young and N. Connelly. 1981. Policy and Practice in the Multiracial City. Policy Studies Institute, London. p.163.

ethnic pressure groups. This investigation examined the response of four Local Education Authorities which operated in areas of high ethnic concentration. In the nineteen sixties and early seventies the LEA's worked within a framework of uniformity and assimilationist assumptions and their main concern was to provide the necessary facilities for the "integration" of ethnic minority children into the British education system. Ethnic and racial differences did not play an important role in the formulation of strategies to deal with the educational needs of these children. The shift of emphasis towards an ideology of cultural pluralism, race relations legislation²² and the incidence of black underachievement in British schools²³ compelled LEA's to initiate new educational policies to meet the educational needs of all children. However, the implementation of these strategies was slow and patchy due to the lack of political leadership and the necessary commitment of the educational bureaucracy and teachers.²⁴

The various institutions administering race relations in the United Kingdom, such as the Community Relations Commission (CRC), and later the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE),

22. Race Relations Act, 1976. HMSO. London.

23. See Chapter Four for a detailed account of black underachievement in British schools.

24. A. Little and R. Willey. 1983. Studies in the Multi-Ethnic Curriculum. Schools Council, London.
See also B. Troyna. 1982. "The Inner London Education Authority. (ILEA)" in The Development of a Multi-Cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Area. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, Birmingham. p.34.

and local Community Relations Councils acted as pressure groups for a more effective educational policy. These race relations Councils - dubbed by their critics 'the race relations industry' made suggestions about the content of educational programmes for preparing teachers to teach in a multi-ethnic society. They also highlighted the notion of "double disadvantage" and drew attention to black underachievement in British schools.

It has been argued in this thesis that the political and institutional responses to the education of ethnic minority children was an integral part of the evolution of a multi-ethnic education policy. The initiation of this policy was prompted by several inter-related issues connected with the multi-racial and multi-ethnic nature of contemporary British society. One of these issues was the formulation of a curriculum that would adequately reflect this reality and make a contribution to the creation of peaceful ethnic and race relations. The most important task facing the British education system is to provide justice and social equality at the same time as creating educational opportunity for all children regardless of sex, class, ethnicity and race. It should be noted that although there is common agreement about this important educational objective, nonetheless there has been sharp differences about the right means and policies required to realise this desirable goal.

This investigation considered the question of the academic achievement of ethnic minority children and analysed theories of educational achievement in terms of racial and social disadvantage, language, identity, self-concept and teachers'

attitudes and expectations. I rejected genetic explanations as determinants of measured intelligence and academic achievement and instead emphasised social, economic and cultural factors.²⁵ Multi-cultural education was conceived as a strategy which would enable the British education system to come to terms with ethnic and racial differences in both schools and society. However, multiculturalism has been criticised from various quarters. Some sociologists argue that this type of education is a means of social control for disaffected pupils introduced to prevent a "black explosion" in British schools.²⁶ It has also been attacked by neo-Marxists as a "liberal" form of education used to contain discontent among ethnic minority pupils without changing the all-embracing racist structures in schools and British society.²⁷ This mode of education has also been declared to be harmful for the education of black children because it shifts attention from the teaching of basic academic skills.²⁸ On the other hand, multi-cultural education has been rejected by those who advocate the retention of the traditional curriculum rather than

25. M.Swann. 1985. The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. "Education for All". HMSO. London. p.139.

26. F.Dhondy. 1974. "Black Explosion in Schools" Race Today. Vol. 6. No. pp.43-48.

27. C.Mullard. 1980. "Racism in Society and Schools: History, Policy and Practice". Occasional Paper No. 1, Centre of Multi-Cultural Education. University of London. p.18.

28. M.Stone. 1981. The Education of the Black Child in Britain. The Myth of Multiracial Education. Fontana. London.pp.253-254.

introducing a type of education which, it is argued, involves a waste of resources²⁹ and irreparable damage for the education of children from both the majority culture and from ethnic groups.³⁰ A further criticism is that this educational strategy is ineffective as far as promoting anti-racist policies³¹ and in providing equal opportunities for ethnic minority groups.³²

A major concern of this thesis has been the implementation of multi-cultural education and the effect of teachers' attitudes towards the policy. Although a number of local education authorities formulated a multi-cultural policy and demanded that their schools develop their own strategies, nonetheless progress in implementing multi-culturalism has been generally unsatisfactory. It has been met with resistance and indifference by administrators³³ and teachers.³⁴ There has also been a significant difference in perceptions towards multi-ethnic education policy by the two major unions, the NUT and the NAS/UWT, who represent a large section of the teaching profession. Currently the NUT is noted for its support for a multi-ethnic education

29. T.Hastie. 30.3.1981. "Why Pay for an Industry that Grows Fat on Racial Discord?" Daily Telegraph. p.20.

30. R.Honeyford. 1984."Education and Race - An Alternative View". Salisbury Review, Winter. London. pp.30-32.

31. B.Bullivant. 1981. The Pluralist Dilemma in Education. Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

32. Ibid.

33. B.Troyna. "The Inner London Education Authority, (ILEA)". The Development of Multi-Cultural Education Policy in Four Local Education Authority Areas. Research Unit of Ethnic Relations, Birmingham. p.34.

34. R.Giles. 1977. The West Indian Experience in British Schools: Multi-Racial Education and Social Disadvantage in London Schools. Heinemann. London. pp. 72-74.

policy in schools,³⁵ whereas the NAS/UWT is not prepared to back a policy which differentiates between the needs of ethnic minority groups and those of the large number of indigenous pupils who find themselves in similar circumstances.³⁶ Moreover the NAS/UWT rejects the claim that there is an inherent racialism among teachers which is to blame for the poor academic performance of children of West Indian origin.³⁷ Outright hostility has been shown by the headmasters of public schools who do not see the need for the school curriculum to be changed in order to take account of the ethnic and racial mix of British society.³⁸ Thus despite the acceptance that the multi-racial and multi-ethnic nature of British society has implications for the curriculum there is still a low degree of priority given to the implementation of multi-cultural educational programmes in British schools.³⁹

In order to discover more facts about teachers' attitudes towards multi-cultural education, a case study was conducted in an Inner London secondary school making use of both participant observation and the survey methods techniques. The qualitative material obtained through the participant observation highlighted the response of the school, during the crucial years between 1978-86, to the pressures exerted by the Inner

35. See chapter Three for documentation and discussion of the NUT's approach towards multiculturalism.

36. Guardian. 31.1.1985. "Union denies claim of classroom racism".

37. Ibid.

38. The Observer. 30.1.1985. "Public Schools are criticised for race views".

39. A.Little and R.Willey. 1983. Studies in the Multi-Ethnic Curriculum. Schools Council. London. pp.12-22.

London Education Authority (ILEA), the changing ethnic composition of the pupil population and the determination of a small, but articulate, group of "activists" teachers to develop and implement a multi-ethnic education policy. This evidence illustrates the importance of the role of leadership in social action. In the light of the experience in this school one may conclude that the commitment of the headteacher and his senior colleagues to multi-cultural education is one of the main contributory factors which determine the successful implementation of this type of education. Moreover, this case study demonstrates the important role of those I have called the "activists", a small but determined group of teachers who exerted pressure for curriculum changes and acted as a mobilising force in the process of implementing multi-cultural programmes.

The findings of the survey indicated that although the majority of teachers in the school agreed that the curriculum should reflect the ethnic diversity of society, nevertheless there were some who refused to participate in the study, there were negative responses and a lack of consensus in attitudes. The quantitative and qualitative material obtained in the case study reinforced the conclusion that there^{is} no uniform agreement about many aspects of multi-cultural education. This is true concerning the effectiveness of a multi-cultural strategy to combat racism; to contribute to the raising of the academic standards of ethnic minority children; or to bring about equality of educational opportunity. The findings of the study indicate that there is a significant minority of teachers who are strongly

in favour of multi-cultural education and a small minority, who are either hostile or are extremely sceptical about this type of educational approach.

Although the majority of teachers in the school were aware of the need that the school curriculum should be altered to meet the educational requirements of all children and the demands of a multi-ethnic society, there is still some confusion about the different issues involved in the implementation of multi-cultural programmes. This is why it is necessary to expand the provision for in-service courses in order to enable teachers to gain the necessary confidence to implement multi-cultural education in different subject areas. It seems that while there is, in general, a positive view towards multi-ethnic education by a significant number of teachers in this school, what is needed are clear guidelines from the local authority and the provision of adequate resources to enable teachers to implement such programmes.

The case study also indicates the variation in the commitment of teachers from different subject areas. Teachers from the Humanities, e.g. English, History, Geography, Religious Studies and Social Sciences were prepared to develop a multi-cultural approach in their disciplines. However, teachers of Mathematics, Science, Biology, Chemistry, Physics and Technical subjects were not yet convinced that it is possible to implement a multi-cultural strategy in their subject areas.

The analysis of the data with respect to the personal

characteristics of the teachers indicated that those from New Commonwealth background, those with less teaching experience and those from the younger age groups were more favourable towards different aspects of multi-cultural education. The quantitative and qualitative material pinpointed the emergence of a new type of teacher in inner city schools. This teacher is usually working in the Humanities, educated in the nineteen seventies and eighties, occupies the lower rungs of the school hierarchy and tends to be a member of the NUT. As has been revealed in this case study, such teachers provided leadership for changes in school practices and in restructuring the curriculum. These teachers who are in favour of a multi-cultural curriculum support the proposition that its introduction will make a contribution to the reduction of racial prejudice, will help promote equality of educational opportunity and will not undermine the teaching of academic skills. The findings also show that teachers who are less established in the teaching profession are more flexible in their approach and are more prepared to participate actively in the introduction and implementation of multi-cultural educational initiatives.

A significant minority of teachers were less committed to this type of education. The reason for this mild support is that these teachers believed that social and economic factors outside the school will obstruct the realisation of these desired objectives. This view has some validity in the sense that factors emanating from the prevailing class structure of

British society can frustrate any strategies designed by schools to eradicate racism and remedy social and racial disadvantage. That is why it has been argued that multi-cultural education should go beyond an attempt to provide knowledge about different ethnic cultures. A multi-ethnic education policy should emphasise anti-racist teaching and challenge racist views in schools. Moreover, other strategies can be used in conjunction with multi-cultural education, such as political mobilisation, which challenge institutional racism inside and outside school and set an example by promoting power sharing with ethnic minorities. This can also be achieved by "positive action" introduced to remedy racial disadvantage. The enhancement of opportunities for teachers from ethnic minority backgrounds for promotion to positions of authority within the school, is an example of one such type of "positive action".

A certain hope and optimism are necessary if schools are to achieve the limited but quite specific objectives of combating racism and meeting the educational needs of children from ethnic minority groups. It is fair to state that major progress towards the realisation of these objectives is conditioned by outside social and economic factors, and that unless radical changes take place in terms of the distribution of power in British society, some inequalities are likely to persist.

On the other hand, it has been argued in this thesis that the alternative to a multi-cultural curriculum is a monocultural one which will not be sensitive to the "special

"needs" of ethnic minority children, to those of disadvantaged children from the dominant cultural background or to the general needs of a multi-ethnic society. If there is no other possible alternative, apart from the setting up of separate schools for ethnic minorities,²³ then multi-cultural education might be a necessary, if not a sufficient, condition for satisfying the educational needs of children from ethnic minority groups in contemporary Britain.

The findings of this case study on teachers' perceptions in a specific inner city school should provide some insight into the nature of the likely response of teachers in general to the introduction and implementation of a multi-ethnic education policy. However, it is debatable whether it is possible - on the basis of these findings - to generalise about the teachers' reactions to multi-cultural education outside the inner city and even in other London schools. On the issue of how typical this school is to other London schools, it should be noted that the institution under study was a large, co-educational, comprehensive school with a multi-ethnic intake and a multi-racial teaching staff. In certain respects, such as the ethnic mix and social class background of the pupil population, this school is typical of many other schools in the area and of secondary schools in Inner London.²⁴

23. The idea of setting up separate schools for some ethnic minorities was rejected by the Swann Committee, although a minority on the Committee favoured the establishment of separate schools in certain cases.

24. See Chapter Six for more information on this issue.

Finally, there are certain implications derived from this investigation which are important for any policy initiatives which attempt to implement multi-cultural education. Firstly, this inquiry demonstrated the importance of leadership in initiating policies. The guidelines provided by the ILEA determined the advance of multi-ethnic educational strategies in the school. Moreover, the progress of the implementation of such a strategy depended on the commitment of the headteacher, senior teachers and heads of departments of the school. Secondly, teachers must realise that the formal learning situation demands an approach characterised by sensitivity and consideration of children's "needs", some of which may derive from racial, ethnic and class backgrounds. Thirdly, it has been argued that an anti-racist approach is an essential component of a multi-ethnic education strategy and this initiative should involve all the members of the school, parents and ethnic minority organisations. Fourthly, a recognition of racial and ethnic diversity in schools and in society should provide the opportunity for teachers to examine their attitudes and assumptions about the academic ability of ethnic minority children and question all relevant school practices including the nature of the curriculum.

Thus the findings of this thesis support the conclusion of the Swann Report when it declared:

It will be evident that society is faced with a dual problem: eradicating the discriminatory attitudes of the white majority, on the one hand, and on the other

hand evolving an educational system which ensures that all pupils achieve their potential. In the short term the first of these problems is a matter for the Law, the government, Housing Authorities, Employers and Unions, the Commission of Racial Equality and many others. But in the long run we believe that it is a matter for schools to bring about this much-needed change in attitudes among coming generations. This dual approach to one of Britain's most serious concerns, leads us to the concept that we have called "Education for All" - an attempt simultaneously to change attitudes amongst the white majority, and to develop a pattern of education that enables all pupils to give their best.²⁵ (MY EMPHASIS)

25. M. Swann. 1985. The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. "Education for All". HMSO. London. pp. 768-769.

APPENDIX 1The Research methods used in the case study:(a) Participant Observation.

In this study I decided to use both participant observation and survey methods in order to obtain the required data. The reason for this decision was based on this belief that there is no one correct appropriate method of doing sociological research. In reality there is plurality of methods which can be used in combination for obtaining information from the social world.¹ This position questions the assumption that there is a normative methodology prescribed by sociological textbooks without any consideration of the "idiosyncrasy" of the researcher and the "circumstances" in which the research is carried out.² The subject of inquiry, "attitudes of teachers towards the implementation of multi-cultural education", is a complex issue which needs the use of the qualitative method in order to obtain an adequate understanding of the problem.

Participant observation is one of the principal research techniques because it enables the researcher to obtain a better insight into social reality, since the observer participates in the activities of those under social investigation. I was aware of the criticisms levelled against qualitative approaches. Such criticisms claim that participant observation lacks reliability in contrast to the methods used in the natural sciences which are believed to be more reliable because

1. C.Bell and H.Newby. (ed). 1980. Doing Sociological Research. George Allen and Unwin. London. p.10.

2. Ibid.

if other researchers used the same methods of investigation on the same material they would produce the same results. Moreover, it is argued that by replicating an experiment it is possible to check errors in observation and measurement.

However, it can be argued that social sciences will never achieve the standard of reliability attained in the natural sciences.³ Thus, despite these criticisms, participant observation gives the researcher the opportunity to directly observe the social world. Although observations are sometimes unsystematic and results are rarely quantified, nonetheless, participant observation provides useful insights.

(b) The Survey Method.

The problems involved in surveys and the criticisms levelled against quantitative approaches in social investigation are well known. It has been claimed, for example, that these techniques often employ questionnaires which contain a pre-determined set of issues which the respondent is requested to answer, involving in this way the idea that the researcher has decided what is important. This leads to the imposition by the researcher of his own assumptions about the nature of the social world on the respondents. Despite the heavy criticism of positivism, there are some obvious advantages in survey techniques. For example, that precise relationships

3. V.A.Cicourel.1964. Methods and Measurement in Sociology. Free Press, New York.

See. M.J.Atkinson. 1968. "On the Sociology of Suicide", In Sociological Review. Vol.16.pp.83-92.

A.Gouldner. 1967. Enter Plato. Routledge and Kegan, London.

C.Bell and H.Newby (edit.).1980. Doing Sociological Research. George Allen and Unwin, London.

between social phenomena can only be established when the social world is expressed in numerical forms. It is also true that only when data are quantified by means of reliable measuring instruments can results of different studies be directly compared. It has been argued by the supporters of positivism that without quantification, sociology would remain at the level of impressionistic and unsupported insight and it would be impossible to replicate studies in order to establish relationships and support generalisations. I used this research technique in the case study in order to be more systematic in my inquiry and achieve more systematic results.

(c) The Pilot Survey.

A pilot survey was undertaken before the final questionnaire was distributed to the teachers of the school. This pilot survey helped to minimise mistakes in the wording and arrangement of questions. The pilot survey was carried out before the actual survey on a limited number of teachers who were not members of the sample.

(d) The Circulation of the Questionnaire.

With the completion of the questionnaire the researcher asked the headteacher for permission to circulate it in his school. The headteacher gave his permission and promised to mention the questionnaire in his weekly diary which is read by the teachers of the school. The researcher circulated the questionnaire by handing it to the hundred and thirty teachers in this institution. A covering letter was included explaining

the purpose of the survey.

(e) The Response.

The response was slow during the first two weeks. Some teachers were not prepared to reply because they objected to the final part of the questionnaire. The last section of the questionnaire attempted to obtain data about sex, place of birth, educational qualifications, number of years in teaching and professional association membership. It was felt by certain teachers that these questions were irrelevant to a survey on multi-cultural education. The researcher approached such teachers and explained the purpose of including these questions. Two weeks after the circulation of the questionnaire, the researcher began approaching the teachers and trying to elicit a response. Within a period of two months, and after several approaches, 72 teachers, (66 per cent of the teaching staff) responded to the questions.

(f) The Follow-up.

Three months after the circulation of the questionnaire a follow-up was carried out in order to persuade the rest of the teachers to reply. A personal, informal approach was used. The researcher approached the non-respondents several times in order to persuade them to complete and return the questionnaire. The result of this follow-up was another 29 replies from the teachers of the school. With the former response, altogether 101 teachers, (80% of the full-time teaching staff) answered the questionnaire.

(g) The Non-response.

The problem was to obtain information about the views of the 29 teachers who did not respond. It must be mentioned here that a few teachers had already left the school since the first circulation of the questionnaire and could not be traced. The 25 non-respondents were approached several times but it proved impossible to elicit the desired response. The non-respondents can be divided into several categories. There was a small minority, about 5 teachers, who refused to answer the questions under any circumstances. They were not even prepared to be interviewed. One non-respondent belonging to this category gave the following reason whenever he was approached by the researcher: "I am pressed for time, I cannot answer the questionnaire". Another non-respondent refused to answer the questionnaire because he did not agree with the layout of the questions. When the researcher suggested a short interview the reply was: "I have no time". There are several possible interpretations of this refusal to answer, but one may assume that some teachers refused to answer questionnaires as a matter of principle. Other explanations might be either that these teachers are hostile or apathetic towards any multi-cultural initiatives or that they do not accept the urgency for any changes in the curriculum and school practices. This was revealed in the school conference on multi-cultural education where views were expressed that ethnic minority children should "fit into the culture" of the adopted country. The second category of 10 non-respondents were those teachers who did not reply because of apathy. After many approaches they were neither

prepared to answer the questionnaire nor to be interviewed. The third category, 5 non-respondents, were those who said that they had "no opinions" on multi-cultural education. One of these non-respondents said "I simply have no opinions on this issue". Another non-respondent said, after several personal approaches: "I am against filling in forms and questionnaires and therefore I cannot answer your questions". The fourth category of 5 non-respondents, were those who stated that the reason for their non-response was because they did not understand the questions. However, when these teachers were asked for a short interview in order to clarify the meaning of the questions, they again refused to respond. It would seem that these non-respondents were using different excuses to disguise their apathy.

APPENDIX 2Statistical summary of the survey findings.

101 teachers, 78 per cent of the 130 teachers in the school completed the questionnaire. The following is a summary of the findings of the survey:

- Question 1. (a) "Should the school curriculum emphasise a single, UNITARY CULTURE?"
55/101 teachers said no, 8/101 said yes and 38/101 did not know.
- (b) "Should the school curriculum reflect the cultural diversity of contemporary British society?"
80/101 teachers said yes, 21/101 did not know.
- Question 2. "To what extent should the school curriculum include learning materials which relate to the experience of ethnic minorities living in Britain?"
77/101 teachers agree that it should include some, 12/101 that it should include little and 5/101 said very little, 7/101 did not know.
- Question 3. What do you think about the following objectives of multi-cultural education?
- (a) "Multi-cultural education would promote inter-cultural understanding."
33/101 teachers agree strongly, 53/101 agree mildly, 3/101 disagree strongly, 4/101 disagree mildly, and 7/101 did not know.
- (b) "It would respond to the special needs of ethnic minority children."
24/101 of teachers agree strongly, 52/101 agree mildly, 2/101 disagree strongly, 4/101 disagree mildly, and 19/101 did not know.
- (c) "It would serve as a means to provide greater equality of opportunity for ethnic minority children."
20/101 teachers agree strongly, 37/101 agree mildly, 4/101 disagree strongly, 9/101 disagree mildly and 31/101 did not know.
- Question 4. "If this type of education is introduced who should be included in making the decisions for the choice

of learning materials?"

93/101 said that teachers should make the decisions, 8/101 did not know. 46/101 of the respondents said the pupils should take part in the decision-making process, 20/101 said no and 24/101 did not know. 52/101 of the teachers said parents should take part in the decision-making process, 17/101 said no and 22/101 did not know.

Question 5. "Should multi-cultural education be included in all subjects?"

58/101 teachers said yes to the question, 21/101 said no and 22/101 did not know.

Question 6. "Should multi-cultural education be included in public examinations?"

82/101 teachers said yes, 18/101 did not agree and 1/101 did not know.

Question 7. "If yes, at what level should it be examined?"

60/101 said yes at CSE level, 4/101 said no and 37/101 did not know. 56/101 said yes at GCE 'O' level, 6/101 said no and 39/101 did not know. 52/101 teachers said yes at GCE 'A' level, 10/101 said no and 39/101 respondents did not know.

Question 8. "What do you think should be the main features of a multi-cultural syllabus?"

(a) "Should there be emphasis on the cultural background of the countries of origin of ethnic minority children?"

65/101 said yes to the question, 14/101 said no and 22/101 did not know.

(b) "Should the theme of slavery be explored in multi-cultural education?"

49/101 teachers said yes, 21/101 said no and 30/101 did not know.

(c) "Should children learn about the experience of immigration from the New Commonwealth countries?"

76/101 teachers said yes, 1/101 said no and 24/101 did not know.

(d) "To what extent should children learn about the religious beliefs of members of the

ethnic minorities living in Britain?"

88/101 teachers said some, 8/101 said a little and 3/101 very little. 2/101 did not know.

- (e) "To what extent should children learn about customs and attitudes of members of ethnic minorities living in Britain?"

84/101 teachers agree that some proportion of learning materials should be included in a multi-cultural syllabus, 8/101 said that a little proportion should be included and 9/101 said very little.

Question 9. The following are some views expressed about the consequences of the introduction of multi-cultural materials in the classroom.

- (a) "The introduction of multi-ethnic learning materials would accentuate racial tension in the classroom."

4/101 teachers agree strongly, 17/101 agree mildly, 31/101 disagree strongly, 35/101 disagree mildly and 14/101 did not know.

- (b) "This type of education would not be approved by the indigenous parents and children."

5/101 agree strongly, 29/101 agree mildly, 14/101 disagree strongly, 23/101 disagree mildly and 30 did not know.

- (c) "Multi-cultural education would shift attention from the learning of basic academic skills required by ethnic minority children."

12/101 teachers agree strongly, 22/101 agree mildly, 43/101 disagree strongly, 15/101 disagree mildly and 8/101 did not know.

- (d) "Multi-cultural education would enable indigenous children to learn about the culture and history of ethnic minority children and would broaden their horizons."

56/101 teachers agree strongly, 34/101 agree mildly, 11/101 did not know.

- (e) "It would change stereotyped attitudes."

30/101 agree strongly with this statement, 45/101 agree mildly, 4/101 disagree strongly and 7/101 disagree mildly, 15/101 did not know.

- (f) "It would enable ethnic minority children to learn and appreciate the culture of their country of origin and would strengthen their identity and confidence."

29/101 teachers agree strongly, 42/101 agree mildly, 4/101 disagree strongly, 4/101 disagree mildly and 22/101 did not know.

- (g) "It would reduce the feeling of ethnic minority children that school is an alien environment."
23/101 respondents agree strongly with the statement, 41/101 agree mildly, 5/101 disagree strongly, 14/101 disagree mildly and 18/101 did not know.
- (h) "It would motivate ethnic minority children to improve their academic performance."
19/101 teachers agree strongly, 34/101 agree mildly, 7/101 disagree strongly, 10/101 disagree mildly and 31/101 did not know.
- (i) "It would raise the teachers' expectations of ethnic minority children's academic potential."
19/101 teachers agree strongly, 24/101 agree mildly, 8/101 disagree strongly, 15/101 disagree mildly and 35/101 did not know.

Question 10. There are some views that have been expressed about problems in the implementation of multi-cultural education. Do you agree or disagree with the following?

- (a) "The concept of multi-cultural education is not clearly formulated."
61/101 teachers agree strongly with this statement, 20/101 agree mildly, 3/101 disagree strongly, 7/101 disagree mildly and 10/101 did not know.
- (b) "This type of education is not one of the first priorities of the teachers,"
31/101 teachers agree strongly, 27/101 agree mildly, 12/101 disagree strongly, 14/101 disagree mildly and 17/101 did not know.
- (c) "Teachers should treat all children equally, multi-cultural education would undermine this practice."
10/101 teachers agree strongly, 18/101 agree mildly, 29/101 disagree strongly, 21/101 disagree mildly and 23/101 did not know.
- (d) "Teachers were not exposed to multi-cultural education during their training."
45/101 teachers agree strongly with this statement, 15/101 agree mildly, 18/101 disagree strongly, 8/101 disagree mildly and 15/101 did not know.
- (e) "There is an absence of in-service courses on multi-cultural education."
35/101 teachers agree strongly with this statement, 19/101 agree mildly, 10/101 disagree strongly, 6/101 disagree mildly and 31/101 did not know.

APPENDIX 3

Statistical Summary of Teachers personal attributes.

Table 8

Personal characteristics of the respondents in relation to their replies to the question whether multi-cultural education will promote inter-cultural understanding, (Question 3 a).

	Sex	Origin	Age Group		Experience in years		Union	
Agree strongly 31	Fem.	UK 22	20-30	7	1-10	19	NUT	18
	17	Other 9	30-40	15	10-20	9	NAS	9
	Male		40-50	7	20+	3	Other	4
	14		50-65	2				
Agree mildly 45	Fem.	UK 41	20-30	20	1-10	27	NUT	21
	24	Other 4	30-40	17	10-20	15	NAS	21
	Male		40-50	5	20+	3	Other	3
	21		50-65	3				
Disagree strongly 3	Fem.	UK 3	20-30	1	1-10	3	NUT	2
	2		30-40	1			NAS	1
	Male		40-50	1				
	1							
Disagree mildly 3	Fem.	UK 3	20-30	1	1-10	2	NUT	2
	1		30-40	1	10-20	1	NAS	1
	Male		40-50	1				
	2							
Don't know 2	Fem.	UK 2	20-30	1	1-10	2	NUT	2
	2		30-40	1				
TOTAL	84	84	84		84		84	

Table 9

Personal characteristics of the respondents in relation to their replies to the question whether multi-cultural education will meet the "special needs" of children from ethnic minority groups, (Question 3 b).

	Sex	Origin	Age Group		Experience in years		Union	
Agree strongly 23	Fem. 12	UK 16	20-30	7	1-10	16	NUT	14
		Other 7	30-40	11	10-20	6	NAS	8
	Male 11		40-50	4	20+	1	Other	1
				50-65	1			
Agree mildly 44	Fem. 24	UK 40	20-30	16	1-10	28	NUT	21
		Other 4	30-40	15	10-20	11	NAS	19
	Male 20		40-50	9	20+	5	Other	4
				50-65	4			
Disagree strongly -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Disagree mildly 4	Fem. 3	UK 4	20-30	1	1-10	1	NUT	2
			30-40	2	10-20	3	NAS	2
	Male 1		40-50	1				
Don't know 13	Fem. 7	UK 11	20-30	6	0-10	8	NUT	8
		Other 2	30-40	7	10-20	5	NAS	3
	Male 6						Other	2
TOTAL	84	84	84		84		84	

Table 10

Personal characteristics of the respondents in relation to their replies to the question whether multi-cultural education would serve as a means for providing greater equality of opportunity for ethnic minority children, (Question 3 c).

	Sex	Origin	Age Group	Experience in years	Union
Agree strongly 19	Fem.	UK 13	20-30 3	1-10 10	NUT 10
	8	Other 6	30-40 8	10-20 5	NAS 9
	Male 11		40-50 8	20+ 4	
Agree mildly 30	Fem.	UK 27	20-30 12	1-10 24	NUT 13
	14	Other 3	30-40 12	10-20 6	NAS 13
	Male		40-50 3		Other 4
	16		50-65 3		
Disagree strongly 4	Fem.	UK 4	20-30 0	1-10 1	NUT 4
	3		30-40 3	10-20 3	
	Male		40-50 0		
	1		50-65 1		
Disagree mildly 9	Fem.	UK 8	20-30 4	1-10 5	NUT 3
	4	Other 1	30-40 2	10-20 4	NAS 6
	Male 5		40-50 3		
Don't know 22	Fem.	UK 19	20-30 11	1-10 13	NUT 15
	17	Other 3	30-40 10	10-20 7	NAS 4
	Male 5		50-65 1	20+ 2	Other 3
TOTAL	84	84	84	84	84

Table 12

Personal characteristics of the respondents in relation to their replies to the question whether multicultural learning material should be included in Public Examinations, (Question 6).

	Sex	Origin	Age Group		Experience in years		Union	
Yes 56	Fem.	UK 47	20-30	17	1-10	31	NUT	34
		Other 9	30-40	23	10-20	19	NAS	20
	Male		40-50	13	20+	6	Other	2
				50-65	3			
No 2	Fem.	UK 1	20-30	0	1-10	0	NUT	0
		Other 1	30-40	2	10-20	2	NAS	2
	Male							
Don't know 26	Fem.	UK 23	20-30	13	1-10	22	NUT	11
		Other 3	30-40	11	10-20	4	NAS	10
	Male		40-50	0	20+	0	Other	5
				50-65	2			
TOTAL	84	84	84		84		84	

Table 13

Personal characteristics of the respondents in relation to their replies to the question whether there should be emphasis on the cultural background of the countries of origin of ethnic minority children, (Question 8 a).

	Sex	Origin	Age Group		Experience in years		Union		
Yes 58	Fem.	UK	45	20-30	18	1-10	35	NUT	32
		Other	13	30-40	26	10-20	17	NAS	24
	Male			40-50	11	20+	6	Other	2
					50-65	3			
No 12	Fem.	UK	12	20-30	5	1-10	8	NUT	3
				30-40	5	10-20	4	NAS	5
	Male			40-50	0	20+	0	Other	4
					50-65	2			
Don't know 14	Fem.	UK	14	20-30	7	1-10	10	NUT	10
				30-40	4	10-20	4	NAS	3
	Male			40-50	3			Other	1
TOTAL			84		84		84		84

Table 14

Personal characteristics of the respondents in relation to their replies to the question whether the introduction of multi-ethnic learning materials would accentuate racial tension in the classroom, (Question 9 a).

	Sex	Origin	Age Group	Experience in years	Union
Agree strongly 1	Fem.	UK 1	20-30 1	1-10 1	NUT 1
Agree mildly 18	Fem. 10 Male 8	UK 17 Other 1	20-30 7 30-40 7 40-50 4	1-10 12 10-20 6	NUT 8 NAS 10
Disagree strongly 28	Fem. 18 Male 10	UK 21 Other 7	20-30 6 30-40 13 40-50 8 50-65 1	1-10 17 10-20 7 20+ 4	NUT 18 NAS 7 Other 3
Disagree mildly 24	Fem. 11 Male 13	UK 19 Other 5	20-30 11 30-40 8 40-50 2 50-65 3	1-10 15 10-20 8 20+ 1	NUT 14 NAS 8 Other 2
Don't know 13	Fem. 8 Male 5	UK 13	20-30 5 30-40 7 40-50 0 50-65 1	1-10 8 10-20 5	NUT 4 NAS 7 Other 2
TOTAL	84	84	84	84	84

Table 15

Personal characteristics of the respondents in relation to their replies to the question whether multi-cultural education would shift attention from the learning of basic academic skills required by ethnic minority children, (Question 9 c).

	Sex	Origin	Age Group	Experience in years	Union
Agree strongly 9	Fem. 5	UK 9	20-30 4	1-10 6	NUT 3
			30-40 3	10-20 3	NAS 3
	Male 4		40-50 1		Other 3
			50-65 1		
Agree mildly 19	Fem. 7	UK 18	20-30 6	1-10 12	NUT 10
		Other 1	30-40 6	10-20 5	NAS 8
	Male 12		40-50 5	20+ 2	Other 1
			50-65 2		
Disagree strongly 33	Fem. 22	UK 24	20-30 12	1-10 24	NUT 21
		Other 9	30-40 16	10-20 9	NAS 9
	Male 11		40-50 5		Other 3
Disagree mildly 17	Fem. 7	UK 15	20-30 7	1-10 8	NUT 8
		Other 2	30-40 6	10-20 6	NAS 9
	Male 10		40-50 3	20+ 3	
			50-65 1		
Don't know 6	Fem. 5	UK 5	20-30 1	1-10 3	NUT 3
		Other 1	30-40 4	10-20 2	NAS 3
	Male 1		40-50 0	20+ 1	
			50-65 1		
TOTAL	84	84	84	84	84

Table 16

Personal characteristics of the respondents in relation to their replies to the statement that the introduction of multi-cultural education would raise teachers' expectations of ethnic minority children's academic potential, (Question 9 i).

	Sex	Origin	Age Group	Experience in years	Union
Agree strongly 19	Fem. 9	UK 15	20-30 8	1-10 13	NUT 13
		Other 4	30-40 8	10-20 4	NAS 4
	Male 10		40-50 3	20+ 2	Other 2
Agree mildly 21	Fem. 10	UK 19	20-30 5	1-10 8	NUT 9
		Other 2	30-40 7	10-20 9	NAS 10
	Male 11		40-50 6	20+ 4	Other 2
				50-65 3	
Disagree strongly 8	Fem. 5	UK 5	20-30 3	1-10 7	NUT 3
		Other 3	30-40 1	10-20 1	NAS 4
	Male 3		40-50 3		Other 1
				50-65 1	
Disagree mildly 11	Fem. 5	UK 10	20-30 4	1-10 5	NUT 6
		Other 1	30-40 7	10-20 6	NAS 5
	Male 6				
Don't know 25	Fem. 17	UK 22	20-30 10	1-10 20	NUT 14
		Other 3	30-40 12	10-20 5	NAS 9
	Male 8		40-50 2		Other 2
				50-65 1	
TOTAL	84	84	84	84	84

Table 17

Personal characteristics of the respondents in relation to their replies to the statement that teachers were not exposed to multi-cultural education during their training, (Question 10 d).

	Sex	Origin	Age Group	Experience in years	Union
Agree strongly 43	Fem.	UK 38	20-30 10	1-10 21	NUT 20
		Other 5	30-40 23	10-20 19	NAS 18
	Male		40-50 7	20+ 3	Other 5
				50-65 3	
Agree mildly 15	Fem.	UK 12	20-30 6	1-10 11	NUT 10
		Other 3	30-40 6	10-20 3	NAS 5
	Male		40-50 2	20+ 1	
				50-65 1	
Disagree strongly 10	Fem.	UK 7	20-30 7	1-10 8	NUT 4
		Other 3	30-40 1	10-20 0	NAS 5
	Male		40-50 2	20+ 2	Other 1
Disagree mildly 8	Fem.	UK 7	20-30 3	1-10 8	NUT 6
		Other 1	30-40 3		NAS 2
	Male		40-50 1		
Don't know 8	Fem.	UK 7	20-30 4	1-10 5	NUT 6
		Other 1	30-40 2	10-20 3	NAS 2
	Male		40-50 2		
TOTAL	84	84	84	84	84

APPENDIX 4Questionnaire

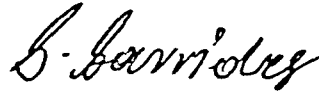
Dear Colleague,

I am carrying out a survey in order to gather material on teachers' attitudes towards multi-cultural education. This is a purely academic exercise with the purpose of looking at the variation of teachers' opinions on this type of education.

The information collected will be analysed and used for the writing of a thesis. Your answers will be treated in a strictly confidential manner.

I shall appreciate your co-operation in helping me to complete this survey by answering the questionnaire sent to you.

Yours sincerely,



S. Savvides

Survey on multi-cultural educationQuestionnaire for teachersSection one - The concept of multi-cultural education

1. Should the school curriculum emphasise:

a) a single unitary British culture?

Yes

No

I do not know

or b) reflect the cultural diversity of contemporary British society?

Yes

No

I do not know

or c) some other dimension?
Please specify.

2. To what extent should the school curriculum include learning materials which relate to the experience of ethnic minorities living in Britain?

Some

Little

Very little

I do not know

3. What do you think about the following objectives of multi-cultural education?

- a) Multi-cultural education would promote inter-cultural understanding?

Agree strongly

Agree mildly

Disagree strongly

Disagree mildly

I do not know

Give reasons for your reply.

- b) It would respond to the special needs of ethnic minority children.

Agree strongly

Agree mildly

Disagree strongly

Disagree mildly

I do not know

- c) It would serve as a means to provide greater equality of opportunity for ethnic minority children.

Agree strongly

Agree mildly

Disagree strongly

Disagree mildly

I do not know

Give reasons for your reply.

Multi-cultural education in practice implies that lessons and public examinations should include learning materials drawn from a variety of cultures.

4. If this type of education is introduced who should be included in making the decisions for the choice of learning materials:

a) Teachers

Yes

No

I do not
know

b) Pupils

Yes

No

I do not
know

c) Parents

Yes

No

I do not
know

d) Any other

Please specify.

5. Should multi-cultural education be included in all subjects?

Yes

No

I do not
know

6. Should multi-cultural materials be included in public examinations?

Yes

No

I do not
know

7. If yes, at what level should be examinable?

a) C.S.E.

Yes

No

I do not
know

- | | | |
|--|---------------|--------------------------|
| b) G.C.E. O'level | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) G.C.E. A'level | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. What do you think should be the main features of a multi-cultural syllabus? | | |
| a) Should there be emphasis on the cultural background of the countries of origin of ethnic minority children? | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b) Should the theme of slavery be explored in multi-ethnic education? | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) Should children learn about the experience of immigration from the Commonwealth countries? | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d) To what extent should children learn about the religious beliefs of members of ethnic minorities living in Britain? | Some | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Little | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Very little | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e) To what extent should children learn about customs and attitudes of members of ethnic minorities living in Britain? | Some | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Little | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Very little | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Section two - The impact of multi-cultural education

The following are some views expressed about the consequences of the introduction of multi-cultural materials in the classroom.

9. Do you agree or disagree with the following?

- | | | |
|---|-------------------|--------------------------|
| a) The introduction of multi-ethnic materials would accentuate racial tension in the classroom.
Give reasons for your reply. | Agree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b) This type of education would not be approved by the indigenous parents and children. | Agree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) Multi-cultural education would shift attention from the learning of basic academic skills required by ethnic minority children. | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d) Multi-cultural education would enable indigenous children to learn about the culture and history of ethnic minority children and would broaden their horizons. | Disagree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e) It would change stereotyped attitudes. | Disagree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- | | | |
|--|-------------------|--------------------------|
| f) It would enable ethnic minority children to learn and appreciate the culture of their country of origin and would strengthen their identity and confidence. | Agree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g) It would reduce the feeling of ethnic minority children that school is an alien environment. | Agree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h) It would motivate ethnic minority children to improve their academic performance. | Agree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| i) It would raise teachers' expectations of ethnic minority children's academic potential. | Agree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Section three

There are some views that have been expressed about the problems in the implementation of multi-cultural education. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements.

- | | | |
|---|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 10. a) The concept of multi-cultural education is not clearly formulated. | Agree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- | | | |
|--|-------------------|--------------------------|
| b) This type of education is not one of the first priorities of teachers. | Agree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) Teachers should treat all children equally - multicultural education would undermine this practice. | Agree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d) Teachers were not exposed to multi-cultural education during their training. | Agree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e) There is an absence of in-service courses on multi-cultural education. | Agree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Agree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree strongly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Disagree mildly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | I do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |

11. If you agree in principle with the concept of multi-cultural education, can you make any suggestions how to develop this type of education in your subjects.

Section four

Would you please answer the following questions which are absolutely necessary for the success of this survey. Any information given is strictly confidential.

12. Sex Male Female
13. In which country were you born?
14. In which London borough do you live now?
15. Which of the following age groups do you belong to?
 20-30 yrs 30-40 yrs 40-50 yrs 50-65 yrs
16. What are your religious affiliations, if any?
17. What kind of academic qualifications do you have?
 a) Teaching certificate
 b) University degree
 c) Higher degree
 d) Any other academic qualifications
18. How many years have you spent in teaching?
19. What kind of responsibilities do you have in your school?
 a) Head of department
 b) Head of year
 c) Deputy head
 d) Headmaster
 e) Please specify any other responsibilities.
20. Do you belong to any professional association? Yes No
 If yes NUT NAS Other
21. Do you support any political party? Yes No
 If yes, please specify.
22. Are you a member of any political party?
 Conservative Labour SDP
 Liberal Other



Inner London Education Authority

MULTI-ETHNIC EDUCATION

Joint report of the Schools Sub-Committee and the Further and Higher Education Sub-Committee presented to the Education Committee on 8 November 1977.

We have reviewed the issues involved in providing an education service in today's multi-ethnic society. Throughout its history, London, like other great cities, has been inhabited by people of many different ethnic origins and has benefited economically and culturally from this cosmopolitan composition. Although the nature and volume of population movement in and out of London has continually varied, the essential duty of the Authority continues to be to ensure that all people within its area benefit from the widest possible range of educational opportunities that can be provided. Un equivocally, the commitment is to all. Just as there must be no second class citizens, so there must be no second class educational opportunities.

The Authority has done much to meet the needs of its changing population but despite these efforts and the individual successes achieved, there is some evidence that disproportionate numbers of people from ethnic minority groups are low achievers in terms of educational standards, have low expectations and aspirations, and lack confidence in the education system which itself appears not fully to take advantage of the vitality and richness to be derived from a multi-cultural society.

We are therefore concerned first to establish the facts so that accurate and up to date information can help to frame policies, priorities and opportunities; secondly to encourage the many imaginative and capable people within the Authority's service who are exploring and developing techniques and curricula in respect of multi-ethnic education and to offer them greater help from the inspectorate and administration than can at present be given; thirdly, to stress the need for organizations comprising and representing minority ethnic groups in inner London to be able to relate more directly, in advisory and consultative roles, to members and senior officers of the Authority; and fourthly, to emphasise that section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976 has given legislative backing to the longstanding general duty of all local authorities to meet the needs of the entire population.

The multi-ethnic population of inner London

The educational implications of a multi-ethnic society have to be discussed without an exact picture of the composition of the population that is being considered. It is remarkable how little is known. The diverse nature of the Authority's population was well illustrated by the 1971 Census, but for educational planning purposes these figures are both out of date and too general. Since 1973, figures on pupils whose parents were born outside the United Kingdom have not been collected, and as no mid-term census was undertaken in 1976, perhaps the clearest indications we have on the size of the ethnic minority population in the Authority comes from birth figures. A table of live births by birthplace of mother, in 1975 is given in appendix I to this report. These figures show that in the twelve inner London boroughs and the City of London, a total of 41 per cent of live births were to mothers born outside the United Kingdom (22.6 per cent New Commonwealth and Pakistan; 7 per cent Irish Republic; 11.5 per cent other countries).

The figures establish clearly that when considering educational planning and staffing, the Authority has to recognize that the inner London population includes, and will continue to include a wide range of minority ethnic groups. Altogether, they form a large proportion of the total. The uneven distribution of ethnic minority groups indicates that the Authority has been right to modify the principle of applying a uniform pattern of provision throughout the Authority in some sectors of the education service. The particular characteristics of the local populations in different areas will continue to create particular needs and require special forms of help.

Most of what happens in schools or within education generally is common to all: the effort to reach high educational standards, to communicate effectively and to understand and learn to live within a

Text cut off in original

society to which each individual, whoever he may be or wherever he may originally have come, contribute in his own way. But added to what is common is that which has to be seen and heard as requiring a further dimension to the Authority's work.

Finally there are specific educational developments to be undertaken. These are outlined below and the other proposals in this report are to be seen as only a part of what must be a continuing process. New responses will be required as time and experience show them to be necessary.

Law and advice

The Race Relations Act 1976 obliges local education authorities to take positive action to eliminate racial discrimination and promote equal opportunities, understanding and good relations between groups in the community. The Act quite specifically permits positive discrimination policies in education in favour of racial groups.

The report of the House of Commons Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration and its consultative document *Education in Schools* issued by the Department of Education and Science in 1975, urge local education authorities to consider a number of issues concerning West Indian children and schools—underachievement, the numbers of West Indian children in schools for the educationally sub-normal, literacy and numeracy in primary schools where there are large numbers of West Indian children, difficulties of West Indian children when starting in secondary schools, and increasing numbers of teachers of West Indian origin in maintained schools.

The green paper, *Education in Schools* makes the following general point 'Our society is a multi-racial one, and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different ethnic groups and races that now make up our society. We live in a complex, interdependent world, and many problems in Britain require international solutions. The curriculum should therefore reflect our new awareness of other countries.' (paragraph 10.11).

The E.E.C. directive on mother tongue learning and teaching issued in July this year, is primarily concerned with the educational needs of migrant workers and their children and the feasibility of introducing mother tongues as teaching languages. In accepting the terms of the directive, the Secretary of State for Education and Science has acknowledged that it has relevance to the needs and expectations of immigrant minority groups as well as of migrant workers.

The report *Urban deprivation, racial inequality and social policy*, published by the Community Development Commission in March this year argues that racial minorities suffer worse deprivation than other groups of the same socio-economic status; that they experience multiple deprivation of a kind which the white population does not experience; and that the distinctive and major cause of their deprivation is racial discrimination. The report asserts that these disadvantages will not be overcome simply by general programmes designed to combat urban deprivation for the population as a whole, but that the 'racial dimension' of urban deprivation needs to be considered as a separate and urgent item in local authority policy-making.

The Holland report *Young people and work*, published by the Manpower Services Commission in 1977 points out the importance of involving those unemployed young people who do not register for employment in any new programmes of opportunities and quotes an example where 41 per cent. of a group of unemployed black people had not registered.

Practice within the Authority

The practices that have been developed within the education service have had two objectives. Firstly, to respond to the specific needs of each pupil having regard to his ethnic or cultural attachment. Secondly, to foster within each pupil an interest in and a respect for the cultural heritage of his fellows.

One of the impetus for change and the inventiveness and determination to achieve it stems from the inherent flexibility and adaptability of educational institutions. The following examples illustrate ways in which the Authority is striving to achieve equality of educational opportunity and good relations while respecting cultural diversity. They also show how practices have been developed to make use of new resources, new services and new insights.

Language—To meet the needs of pupils for whom English is not the first language, the Authority has introduced special teaching methods and materials and established a training programme and a specialist school for second language pupils. The Authority now has the capacity to train 120 primary teachers each year to work with children for whom English is a second language.

Divisional English language centres have, during the past twelve years, taught some 5,000 second language pupils to the standard required to enable them to participate successfully in normal classes. Present day centres provide for the initial language teaching needs of 750 secondary pupils per year. A number of pupils are provided for in secondary school language units, but the absence of accurate up-to-date statistics mentioned above has meant that the volume of specialist teaching has been determined by overt demand rather than by need, some of which may be latent.

Primary schools have normally used their allocation of teachers for special needs to meet the needs of their non-English speaking pupils. 20 peripatetic specialist teachers and four staffed language buses cover schools with no allocation.

(ii) *Projects*—Three projects recently undertaken by the Authority indicate ways in which educational institutions can seek to meet the needs of all pupils and students while recognizing the social and educational value of cultural diversity.

(a) The *Reading through understanding* project, now being prepared for publication, draws on the folklore and history of a number of ethnic minorities but has particular reference to those of the Caribbean. It is designed to help both teacher and pupil to develop a positive attitude towards Caribbean dialects and the cultural practices of which each dialect is a part and so assist the pupil in reading and understanding.

(b) The *World history* project represents a subject-based contribution to the multi-ethnic secondary school curriculum. Developed through the joint endeavours of inspectors, advisory teachers, project staff, teachers in schools and university lectures, it has generated resource material, ETV programmes and in-service training seminars with its themes focused on Africa, India, China and the Caribbean.

(c) The Authority's contribution to the Schools Council/NFER project, is entitled *Education for a multi-racial society*. A junior school with about 35 per cent. of pupils of West Indian origin and a number of other pupils from East and West Africa, Asia and Cyprus, undertook, with the help of the inspectorate and project staff to work on the premise that the cultural base of a successful school must be compatible with the cultural base of the community it serves. The entire school became involved in exploring changes in curriculum and organization designed to foster a growth in self and mutual identity amongst all the pupils. The immediate lessons learned from this project have given rise to the Lambeth whole school project mentioned below.

(iii) *Support service*—The learning materials service has been actively engaged in the production of new teaching and learning resources. Apart from its involvement with the *Reading through understanding* and the *World history* projects it has participated in the production of home economics materials, booklets in Chinese, Gujarati, Punjabi and Hindi.

(iv) *Programmes and developments*—Play centres and junior clubs in different parts of the Authority's area have offered special programmes for young children with little or no English. Holiday reading and headstart schemes have provided opportunities to prepare and support children in need of particular guidance and teaching. During this term the first Saturday morning children's workshop to include mother tongue teaching will be opened in Islington.

The Authority's youth officers are supporting and advising voluntary youth organizations anxious to programme cultural activities for teenagers and young adults in minority ethnic groups. It is important to the population as a whole but particularly to members of minority groups that the Authority is seen to be wholeheartedly supporting drama, music, poetry, arts, crafts and sports from minority cultures.

The Authority has recently appointed a youth worker to work as a member of the Brixton careers office team. The objective is to ensure that the careers service is helped to operate in a detached manner reaching out to where unemployed teenagers gather socially. The experience gained by the detached employment worker with Hammersmith community relations council has proved that many of the counselling and advice needs of black youngsters can best be served by detached workers.

In the field of home and school liaison there are a variety of excellent examples of initiatives by individual teachers and individual schools. After-school activities for mothers and children, family workshops in the later evening, which enable different generations to learn together, and some parent and children programmes during the day are evident in primary schools. Some of the Authority's secondary schools have designated senior staff responsible for community liaison. In addition to work undertaken by school staff, much home and school liaison work is developed by the education liaison officers in Tower Hamlets, Lambeth and Westminster who are seconded by the Authority to work with the local community relations councils.

The further education curriculum development project in communication skills has been very much concerned with the basic language, numeracy and literacy needs of less able or under achieving young people of 16-19 years of age from minority ethnic groups.

During recent years there have been regular meetings between officers and inspectors of the Authority and community relations officers. These meetings have been very useful in many ways and it is hoped that new consultative and advisory processes can be built on this base. Biannual meetings between members of the Authority and community relations officers have also proved helpful and have from time to time set up working parties. A number of the points in this report were raised initially at these meetings.

the Authority's response

It is for the Authority to provide an effective comprehensive education service capable of responding to the requirements of all groups and individuals and providing appropriate opportunities for all. The Authority serves a city where the presence of people of diverse cultures with different patterns of belief, colour and language is of great importance. All have the right to co-exist as equals and in so doing will be dependent, as people in any cohesive society must be, on mutual respect and support. Their actions will do much to determine the future of the city and the quality of life within it. Recognizing this, we have reaffirmed our determination to sustain a policy which will ensure that, within a society that is diverse though not uniform, cultures are respected, differences recognized and group and individual rights are secure. To this end, the Authority will undertake a radical reappraisal of its practices and procedures to what it finds. Such a policy is the basis for an effective comprehensive education service in multi-ethnic London of today.

consultation and liaison—We have also affirmed our wish to deepen and extend the ways in which views of representative individuals and organizations of minority ethnic groups can be considered and will continue to be receiving a further report on this subject. We have noted that the education officer proposes to hold a conference during autumn this year as part of his continuing liaison work in multi-ethnic education.

statistical base—We have agreed to advise the Department of Education and Science that we accept the principle of collecting statistics of ethnic origins of staff and students where these statistics have a clearly educational purpose as part of the general practice of collecting relevant data.

response to DES consultation—We referred above to the report on the West Indian community published in March this year by the House of Commons Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration. On the basis of this report, which makes 20 recommendations, eight of which concern education, the Department of Education and Science has issued a consultative document and the comments we have received to submit are set out in appendix II to this report.

strengthening of inspectorate and administration—In order to provide the necessary support and training for all who are working with the many aspects of our multi-ethnic education policy, there is a need for the creation of a new section working directly to the assistant education officer in charge of the community education and careers branch, who will take administrative responsibility for this area of work. This new section will comprise two administrative officers and one clerical officer. The establishment of a new inspectorate team of four inspectors plus a senior inspector is also called for and this represents three additional inspector posts. Working directly to the chief inspector, the team will cover all sectors of the education service and will confine its attention to the general in-service training, organizational, staffing and curricula issues in this area and will not carry specialist subject responsibility.

specific early start projects—On the basis of accumulated experience and immediately identifiable needs, we have given approval in principle to two specific projects to be commenced as soon as possible:

i) the Lambeth whole school project which is a development from the successful work with one school as the Authority's contribution to the *Education for a multi-racial society* project mentioned above. The project is to work with a group of multi-ethnic primary and secondary schools in central Lambeth. A development team of six members will be appointed to work closely with the schools in securing development in school organization, curriculum and materials, and school, parent and community relations. The achievements of the project will be closely monitored to enable wider dissemination within the Authority. The project is to concentrate on methods of making the best use of existing support services, in addition to developing new supports where necessary. Important recognition will be given both to meeting the group needs of pupils, including the indigenous, and the needs of all pupils collectively.

ii) the resources project would develop a major resource bank of curriculum resources for multi-ethnic schools. The project is based upon research already undertaken and would aim at the collection and classification of resource materials for teachers and for pupils, and the reorganization of the resource materials into curriculum units which will be piloted in schools and monitored.

assessment and review—Because of the range and depth of these initiatives and in order to assess the level of achievement, we have asked the education officer to present a progress report in one year's time. We have also asked him to explore and report back on two further matters:

i) the legal position and the general question of the extent to which the further recruitment of teachers and inspectors from minority ethnic groups can be pursued with advantage; and

(b) the possibilities of providing positive teaching against racism.

The total estimated cost of all these proposals is likely to be of the order of £110,000 in a full year but if, as is likely, 75 per cent of the full costs can be recovered under section 11 of the Local Government Act, 1966, the net cost will then be £27,500. The costs for this financial year can be met from the revenue reserve for developments foreseen and from underspending in the existing budget provision for boarding education. [The Staff and General Sub-Committee have agreed the additional staffing provision, subject to the observations of the staff side. The Finance Sub-Committee have agreed.]

MARY-LOU CLARKE, *Chairman of the Schools Sub-Committee*

ELLIS S HILLMAN, *Chairman of the Further and Higher Education Sub-Committee*

Appendix I

Live births by birthplace of mother, 1975

Borough of usual residence of mother	Total live births	Birthplace of mother if outside U.K.							
		Irish Republic		New Commonwealth and Pakistan		Other countries		All outside U.K.	
		No.	% of total	No.	% of total	No.	% of total	No.	% of total
City of London	29	—	—	1	3	6	21	7	24
Camden	1,958	157	9	296	15	427	22	890	45
Greenwich	2,643	78	3	319	12	69	3	466	18
Hackney	2,981	198	7	1,017	34	284	10	1,497	50
Hammersmith	2,045	261	13	412	20	312	15	985	48
Hillingdon	2,228	256	11	574	26	255	11	1,086	49
Kensington & Chelsea	1,768	119	7	212	12	674	38	1,005	57
Lambeth	3,672	214	6	1,069	29	311	8	1,594	43
Lewisham	2,897	140	5	580	20	106	4	826	29
Mouthwark	2,689	156	6	552	21	125	5	833	31
Lower Hamlets	1,840	72	4	492	27	67	4	631	34
Mandsworth	3,627	233	6	1,053	29	290	8	1,576	43
Westminster	1,923	134	7	293	15	567	29	994	52
LEA	30,300	2,026	7	6,871	23	3,493	12	12,390	41



Inner London Education Authority

MULTI-ETHNIC EDUCATION—PROGRESS REPORT

Joint report of the Schools Sub-Committee, the Further and Higher Education Sub-Committee and the Staff and General Sub-Committee presented to the Education Committee on 12 June 1979

Introduction

We informed the Committee on 8 November 1977 of a range of initiatives adopted to respond to the multi-ethnic society in inner London, and we have now reviewed the progress made since then.

The Race Relations Act 1976, gave legislative backing to the longstanding general duty of all local authorities to meet the needs of the entire population and, in this context, we would identify the major objectives of developing the education service in a multi-ethnic society as:

- (a) to prepare all pupils and students to live and work harmoniously and with equality of opportunity in that society;
- (b) to build upon the strengths of cultural diversity in that society;
- (c) to define and combat racism and the discriminatory practices to which it gives rise; and
- (d) to meet appropriately and effectively the particular needs of all people, having regard to their ethnic, cultural, linguistic or historical attachment.

Since we launched our major initiative in November 1977, there have been encouraging signs, in all parts of the Authority's work, of a deepening consciousness of the educational opportunities that today's changing society can offer if the resolution and skill exist to take advantage of them. This trend has been accompanied by a whole range of developments, some of outstanding promise, and although there is much to be done and no grounds for complacency, solid foundations have now been laid. Unfortunately, not everyone has been prepared to think and re-think about the implications for education of the changing society of inner London and greater efforts will be needed in this direction. There will also be further developments required in the ways the education service is linked to those members of the minority communities themselves who have particular interests in education.

Staff recruitment and teaching to combat racism

In our earlier report, we indicated that we had sought further information on the possibilities of providing positive teaching against racism and had asked for consideration to be given to the extent which the further recruitment of teachers and inspectors from minority ethnic groups could be pursued to their advantage. Under the provisions of the Race Relations Act 1976, discrimination on racial grounds is generally prohibited but positive discrimination in training and employment is permitted. In this respect, the Commission for Racial Equality have urged that for all staff, including teachers, records should be maintained of the ethnic origins of job applicants and employees in order that progress towards achieving appropriate proportions of ethnic groups in the staff structure can be monitored. The Government for its part have drawn attention to the need to encourage more young people and suitable adults from the ethnic minorities to enter the teaching profession and discussions have begun on how this might be done. Ways are being explored of providing special courses of preparation for professional training for those without the normal qualifications for entry to both teaching and social work. The North London Polytechnic, in association with the City and East London College, is running courses of this nature for which students from the Authority's area receive discretionary awards.

On recruitment to the Authority's service, a candidate's direct personal experience as a member of a minority ethnic group may well be considered as an asset for a teaching post and regard should be given to this factor within the context of applications being dealt with on a competitive basis and appointments being made on merit.

An account of the effects of racism on children and of possible strategies to combat it will be the subject of a further report to us. It is important to realize that the Race Relations Act of 1976 was based on the premise that racism, and the discriminatory practices to which it gives rise, exist in society and in its institutional practices and that all those who work within the education service should therefore have a clear understanding of the context within which they work. It is to this end that the report on combating racism will address itself as a first priority. In the meantime, the education officer will ask those establishments that have not yet done so, to review their practices and procedures; will invite representatives of the voluntary schools to join with the Authority's officers and inspectors in such a review; and will extend the multi-ethnic education content of in-service training of teaching and administrative staff.

Arrangements within the education officer's department

The administrative team concerned with multi-ethnic education was formed in the spring of 1978 and the team of inspectors came into full operation in September that year. The team has recently been strengthened by the appointment of an inspector with experience of further and higher education, and a review of practice in further and higher and adult education will now be set in motion. The Centre for Urban Educational Studies is continuing with its major programmes of in-service training courses, curriculum development and research.

In-service training

There is an increasing demand for in-service training and the Authority has attempted to meet this by organizing specialist and school-based courses, including programmes for teachers with their first appointments in London, and by supporting courses run by other agencies. We have also asked the education officer to encourage the provision of appropriate English language courses for teachers from abroad in inner London educational establishments. It is proposed to develop a strategy for producing a rationalized programme through co-operation with a number of organizations and agencies to give a geographical and subject spread.

Learning resources

In the development of new teaching materials it is proposed to draw more fully on the experience and background of members of our multi-ethnic society and to produce an improved range of materials for topic work and courses of study; to assist in the development of new courses; to assist in language development (including dialect), English as a second language and mother tongue learning; and to extend the range of maps and other visual aids. A resource committee has been established to review existing materials, recommend specific developments, and advise on the multi-ethnic quality of materials for development. A library committee is also working on bringing up to date and developing the central multi-ethnic library collection in the Centre for Learning Resources which comprises both a loan collection and a travelling exhibition. To ensure effective use of these materials, guidelines, including criteria for choice of books, and lists of suggested books, are also available.

Support services

We have already agreed to the appointment of a team of ten interpreters/translators and an organizer to work in the field of home and school relationships with non-English speaking families. Each interpreter will be based in a division where his or her language skills are most in demand but there will be a liability for service throughout the Authority's area. We have also agreed the establishment of 18 advisory teacher positions specifically for work on multi-ethnic education. The Education Welfare Service has endeavoured to appoint as many suitable people of different ethnic backgrounds as possible, and a number of officers from ethnic minority groups are already in senior management posts. Training programmes for staff have included sessions to promote understanding of different cultural backgrounds and the needs of minority groups. In the catering service, consultations with community relations officers have resulted in certain changes in practice to avoid problems arising for children of different cultural and religious backgrounds.

Developments

English as a second language—The survey of numbers of pupils in schools whose first language is not English, and those who need additional help, has been completed, and a full report on the findings will shortly be considered.

Mother tongue teaching—We expect in the near future to be able to consider a proposal to investigate the methods, resources for and implications of mother tongue teaching within the Authority's schools and there are currently ten schemes being supported to provide classes out of school hours in Greek, Turkish, Chinese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu.

Supplementary education schemes—We recently gave approval to grant aid up to ten schemes run by voluntary organizations providing supplementary education classes to children of school age out of school hours. This will be a limited experiment to allow for assessment and regular review by the divisional inspectorate and the choice of schemes has still to be completed.

Further developments—Exploration continues of the possibilities of the overall collection of statistics related to the framing of policies, indication of priorities and creation of opportunities. Close contact is being maintained with the Department of Education and Science in order to achieve precise definition and appropriate processes of collection. In addition to the developments already listed, the educational achievement of children of West Indian origin was also identified as an area of immediate concern, and reports will be submitted to us on this as well as the development of an Asian resource centre, and an East London whole school project.

Specific projects

Exchange teachers—The Authority is taking part this year in a new scheme for teacher exchange with Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad. Nine teachers have taken up posts for a year in the Caribbean and eight teachers and a college lecturer have come to the Authority in exchange. As well as giving the teachers concerned valuable experience, it is hoped to gain greatly from their respective insights.

Lambeth whole school project—This project has been in operation since September 1978 and is based at the Aspen House school building [*Lambeth, Norwood*]. It involves five research staff and a clerical assistant working with five Lambeth schools with the aim of adapting all aspects of the schools' lives to respond successfully to the requirements of the ethnic groups represented by the children.

Afro-Caribbean education resource project—This independent venture which is supported by the Authority with three research staff, a graphic designer and a clerical officer, also began work in association with schools in September 1978 and the staff arranged an in-service course for teachers on one afternoon a week during the 1979 spring term.

Richer Heritage Exhibition—This major exhibition was held at the County Hall in June and July 1978 and was opened by His Royal Highness Prince Charles. Its focus was the broadening of the curriculum using the strengths of a multi-cultural approach. It showed some of the developments in primary education; subject developments at secondary level; examples of the Authority's resources in this field; and displays in the performing arts. It was well attended and there is evidence of its impact upon inspectorate and school developments.

Liaison with outside organizations

The multi-ethnic inspectorate and administrative team have regular contact with a wide range of agencies, recognizing the importance of knowledge of, and co-operation in, national and regional developments. Consultative meetings with the community relations councils have provided a most valuable central forum and have led to the direct involvement of the expertise and experience of community relations officers in working groups and meetings with sections of the Authority to improve practices.

We shall be considering further reports on the work of the education liaison officers and on the results of discussions now in progress to attune the consultative machinery in the divisions more closely to the needs of individuals and organizations representing minority ethnic groups.

Conclusion

The Authority has taken many positive steps during the past 18 months with a view to ensuring that the provision of educational opportunity is seen to be fair and responsive and that many of the special educational needs of minorities are increasingly being met. The financial implications of the action being taken on the various fronts are not readily identifiable in many instances, as needs have been met mainly by the utilization of existing resources. However, as an indication of the size of staff costs, the gross estimated expenditure in 1979-80 on which Commonwealth immigrant grant is being claimed under section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966, is of the order of £8,700,000. In addition several specific multi-ethnic projects were started during 1978-9 for which the total gross expenditure is estimated to be £155,000 during 1979-80, and additional provision of £86,500 has been made in the 1979-80 revenue reserve for developments foreseen for the net expenditure arising from a further three approved options.

Finally, we would wish to pay tribute to the energy and the initiative of the newly-formed inspectorate and administrative teams, to the many people throughout the service, whose imagination, skill and commitment have created the foundations upon which more can be built, and to the support and advice received from the community relation officers and the many voluntary workers in the community relations councils and minority ethnic group organizations of inner London. It is our hope that these issues will be more widely discussed throughout the Authority, so that the service may benefit from the flow of information and advice and from detailed consideration of local and Authority-wide developments.

ANNE SOFER, *Chairman of the Schools Sub-Committee*

ELLIS S. HILLMAN, *Chairman of the Further and Higher Education Sub-Committee*

FRED STYLES, *Chairman of the Staff and General Sub-Committee*

SEDGEHILL SCHOOL.

MULTI-ETHNIC EDUCATION - Report of working party.

Staff Open Meeting on Multi-Ethnic Education made the following recommendations, which should be read in conjunction with the Committee's Main Report.

Teachers should be encouraged to stimulate in their pupils an awareness of their ethnic background in all disciplines. All pupils to be encouraged to learn more about their heritage.

Teachers to be encouraged to take account of the cultural character, behaviour patterns and personality of pupils in the manner in which they present their subject. With teacher help and support and sympathetic understanding each pupil can develop his/her personal integrity.

Teachers will feel a need to increase their background knowledge on ethnic minorities. To this end it is recommended that departments use some of their resources on means whereby teachers can familiarise themselves with the cultures they meet in their pupils.

Attention of all staff is drawn to N.A.M.E., the National Association of Multi-Ethnic Education, various resources which are available at the Lewisham Teachers Centre.

Sedgehill's Library staff are willing to assist in providing material for staff and pupils. They need information from teachers on sources of suitable material and in the monitoring of books available to pupils.

Mr. W. Callaghan kindly acted as secretary to the Committee and both he and I are glad to receive written suggestions for action by any future Committee. Thank the 20 members of staff who gave time and much effort to the work of the Committee and those departments which made contributions.

H. Greenway,
September 1978

R E P O R T

The Committee, chaired by Mr. Greenway, consisted of 20 members of staff. To establish an aim for its work the Committee produced the following definition:

Multi-Ethnic Education reflects the nature of Britain's multi-ethnic society in the curriculum regardless of a school's area or intake. It encourages pride in the diversity of cultures available in such a society.

It notes the language problem of all groups and provides methods of overcoming them in learning situations. It makes a child aware of the benefits available to him through the cultural group he meets every day."

The following departments have outlined current work done towards multi-ethnic education:

ENGLISH DEPARTMENT.

At present there is no planned approach within the department but some work has been made to broaden our reading material for pupils and staff.

Turi's Pa Pa 1st Yr.
Silver Sword "

On the Run 2nd Yr.
The Devil's Children "

at: Myths and Legends "

Across the Barricades	3rd Yr.
Island of the Blue Dolphins	"
River Ran out of Eden	"
Sounds	"
Marassa and Midnight	"
Memories)Short Stories by)West Indian Pupils
Melting Pot	
My Family and Other Stories	3rd Yr. also 5th Yr.
Taste of Honey	4th Yr.
The Experience of Colour (Short Stories)	"
Out for Stars (Caribbean Poetry)	"
Walkabout	5th Yr.
Nine African Stories	"
Merchant of Venice	"
To Kill A Mocking Bird	"
Mice and Men	"
Huckleberry Finn	"
The Pearl	"
Othello	6th Form
Passage to India	"
Portrait of an Artist	"
Connexions - Foreign Places - Foreign Faces	"

Input

At present the department is attending two working parties in order to further information.

- i) Lewisham Branch of N.A.M.E. (5 staff).
- ii) Caribbean Literature Studies for Teachers (3 staff).

Plans for Future Moves Towards Multi-Ethnic Education.

There is a great need for us to work very closely as a department to really achieve our aims and approaches.

Teacher Self-Education.

Reading literature from and talking to members of other cultural groups in order to foster an awareness of the everyday life, attitudes and problems of those cultures. This would improve understanding of what motivates children's behaviour as well as making the teacher more sensitive in his/her handling of children and preparation of material.

Representation of Material.

Making sure that other cultures are equally considered and valued in the representation of work and not ignored or added as an afterthought. In setting topics, e.g. religious festivals, music, life-styles, etc., scope should be given for the cultural differences.

It is also vitally important that in topics where cultural differences will not necessarily arise, e.g. 'Old Age', 'Loneliness', 'Adventure', 'Happiness', etc., black faces as well as white should appear as stimulus material to set a norm.

Monitoring of Material.

Our pamphlets, projects and books could, as far as is feasible, be monitored by teachers from other cultures to indicate biased points which we have missed.

Reading Material.

Including the work of writers from other cultures in book boxes, reading lists, etc. Being aware of the 'image' of the other culture that is presented in books. Looking for books where people from other cultures are portrayed as the successful 'hero' rather than always the downtrodden or oppressed.

Discussion.

a) Nurturing spontaneous discussion, which arises on the topics of cultural differences or prejudice, at any age and at the right juncture making one's own opinion quite clear.

b) In the right context, i.e. with an older class known well to the teacher and relaxed with each other, using carefully selected material, the topic of 'Prejudice' could be treated as a matter for study in order to give support and work out positive ways of dealing with it for those discriminated against and to increase awareness amongst the white pupils of what it is like to be a member of an ethnic minority.

Language.

a) Studying language, e.g. Caribbean grammatical forms, in order to be able to help pupils to translate to Standard English when they need to.

b) Monitoring one's own language to make sure it is:

- i) easily understood
- ii) not culturally biased
- iii) not using unfortunate terminology
e.g. 'You're not as black as you're painted'.

ATICS.

There is no planned approach. When problems are related to everyday it is found best to concentrate on questions concerning the pupil's current ion. Should ethnic backgrounds other than South London be involved so much the

EDUCATION.urrent Practice.

This tends to be covered as part of the Social Studies course. It is not covered as an entity but as topics of the Social Studies Course.

- Race - topic for a week studied in the Fourth Year. It includes -
 - i) physical features of races (including housing, marriage, leisure, religion, etc.
 - ii) consideration of prejudice, discrimination and other racial issues.
- Diet - part of this week-long topic (Fourth Year) includes consideration of food from different parts of the world and food shortages and its problems.
- Study of a Country - this is done in the Fourth Year (briefly) and is one of ten topics for the C.S.E. project.

Ideas for Multi-Ethnic Education.

For General Education we would propose keeping it as part of the Social Studies Course but giving it more structure and more practical relevance.

It would be studied under these three broad headings:-

- I. Social Geography - a general background including the study of race, world politics and problems.
- II. A more detailed study of several countries - including the original countries of the ethnic groups plus other countries (this would help comparison) e.g. U.S.A., U.S.S.R.
- III. A study of ethnic groups in the British culture showing:-
 - i) their individual identity
 - ii) their relationship with the dominant culture
 - iii) the relationship and relevance of their original culture.

STUDIES.General Aims of the Course.

This course should give an opportunity to children from different ethnic groups to communicate their own cultural experience with that of the children of the host society.

Another aim of this course is to help children of different ethnic groups to gain an understanding of their own cultural background and to find their identity.

An important aim of this course is to enhance tolerance among children of different ethnic backgrounds.

Objectives of the Course.

The course should try to give a factual and conceptual understanding to children of the historical background of their country of origin. This factual knowledge of the historical background of those countries should be related to Britain.

The course should include factual knowledge of the geography and social structure of the country of origin.

The course should include material about the present position of different ethnic groups in Britain and the reasons why they settled in this country.

The following are some of the areas of the course which may deal with the present position of the ethnic minorities.

The historical background of immigration to Britain.

The economic and other reasons for immigration.

The geographical distribution of immigration.

Present life-styles of immigrants.

Occupational distribution among different ethnic groups.

Expectations of the members of the different ethnic groups.

Different aspects of the culture of the ethnic groups.

Type of relationships between members of the different ethnic groups and the host society and relationships between ethnic groups themselves.

Type of relationships between members of the different ethnic groups and different institutions of the British society, e.g. education, police.

Materials.

It has been suggested to use the following material for this course. Textbooks, maps, posters, overheads, filmstrips, and films. Materials may be obtained from the I.L.E.A. Learning Materials Service, the Commonwealth Institute, School Council, the Commission of Community Relations and other institutions which work with minority groups.

Work done in multi-ethnic education.

In Social Studies, the following topics related to multi-ethnic education might be included: race, patterns of immigration, minority groups, life in different countries.

In sociology there is a course of study in minority groups, patterns of migration, race relations and family life in different countries.

In current affairs material on the Commonwealth and other countries are available.

There is a pack on the Caribbean islands which is going to be used in the future.

DEPARTMENT.

ll children of today are tomorrow's adults and as such they will influence social groups in which they live, and pass on their ideas and ideals to their

n the light of this, multi-ethnic education should be education which:-

llows pupils to meet ideas and gain knowledge of all cultures as equal; not as good/bad or right/wrong but as of mutual interest and value.

gives understanding of other people by awareness of others point of view, and encourages pupils to suspend judgement until they achieve tolerance and avoid unthinking recrimination and prejudice.

Medial Department aims.

as each individual takes from experience what they need, and use it to form reaction and response; we try to give experiences and understanding of those experiences to allow our pupils to develop their awareness of acceptable social conduct their social group; to build up their self-respect and gain acceptance by others.

Our work is essentially child not subject orientated. Dealing with pupils on learning problems we are constantly relating education towards small groups and individual pupils. We have to simplify ideas and present knowledge in very small steps, helping pupils to unlearn that which is wrongly remembered and to develop their own individual strengths. Our child orientated approach means that we try to show pupil a positive self-image and a secure place within their peer group. This cannot be done without respect for each other and each other's culture.

Projects under discussion in Departmental Meetings.

awareness of our inheritance from other periods of history, other countries, and other races.

More information-gathering with regard to national/racial "hero" figures.

Re-assessing and re-planning Social Studies with a World Wide view rather than "political-area" approach.

ECONOMICS DEPARTMENT.

Present aims -

To base work on children's existing experiences and knowledge and to extend this to build up an understanding of themselves and their own abilities.

To encourage the children to master certain skills; practical, linguistic, and artistic in order to develop self-awareness and confidence as well as a good level of competence in these skills.

To provide a climate of acceptance in which the children feel able to discuss and evaluate work and ideas. In so doing we hope to develop a good self concept which is to be one of the very important parts of our work.

ideas -

Part of our role as Home Economics Teachers is to allow the children to taste and discuss foods which are new to them. At present this involves mainly English foods but we are discussing ways in which we can introduce foods from other cultures.

Home Economics Teachers traditionally teach "correct" methods which usually means a traditionally English approach towards practical work. There is a need for us to be flexible and a change of criteria is necessary. Instead of practical work being judged on its "correctness" it should be acceptable as long as it is successful and enjoyable to the child.

This is at present an on-going discussion within the Department and we welcome suggestions from other members of the staff.

DEPARTMENT.

Due to the predominantly practical nature of the syllabus, it is in many respects "non-cultural". - Use of line, tone, colour, shape and form cross many cultural

. Where the opportunities exist, parallels and differences can be referred laborated on.

By the very nature of teaching Art, it is part of the teacher's work to students to make use of their experience, whether it is specifically cultural. This tends to be done at an individual level.

Particularly in Craft (but in Art as well), there are opportunities to make reference to the historical derivation of particular methods of working, certainly they have become European-ized, but originated in some other culture.

ART.

Materials for studying most cultures of the world is available. One of the problems is that of bias and reinforcement of stereotypes. There is a bias the Caribbean, according to demand for project material.

The Librarian would be pleased to develop an information file on multi-ethnic art, its bibliography and other resources.

RELIGION DEPARTMENT.

Other cultures are met in the study of religions around the world, particularly Second Year when a sympathetic understanding is engendered. Various books are available to pupils which give an objective survey of Christianity and other Faiths. These are centred on rites, ceremonies and associated dress supplemented by visiting places.

MUSIC DEPARTMENT.

The music of non-Western European cultures is not specifically taught as such, but pupils are exposed through any pupil wishing to move outside this sphere of influence is encouraged in his work. Scope so to do is given in personal reggae, etc. Most materials required are at hand or available.

TECHNOLOGY DEPT.

The department is aware of multi-ethnic education - particularly in relation to the current debate. However, the design and make situation within which the pupils could seem to be inherently 'multi-ethnic'. The discipline provides pupils with the capacity to solve practical problems and manipulate tools etc. which can then be put to achieve the individuals goals.

In our case the teaching method has more scope for such an approach to education as the content of the discipline. In respect of this, more inservice training could be aimed at making members of staff more knowledgeable about other cultures, not necessarily with a view to changing the curriculum but in order to make them more sensitive to the individuals they teach. A large part of this would be concerned with design problems. In general it is preferred to avoid specific 'compensatory' elements as these may tend to be divisive rather than enlightening.

Within any cultural grouping there will be a wide variety of interests and aspirations, from those directly linked to the 'parent' culture, and those linked to the environment in which they live. Many 2/3 generation pupils only identify with the British environment.

Technology would seem to be culturally neutral - there is basically only one way to do a saw! Many design elements and principles would also seem to be culturally universal. However design work might well start from exploration of the design traditions of countries outside Europe. Other potential areas might be 1) History of Technology, 2) Design and Abuse of Technology, 3) Alternative Technology. The vocational aspects of design work are largely concerned with preparing pupils for the W. European industrial environment, but it might be useful to look at the 'work ethic' of other countries, worker/management relations, etc. More concern with the tools/facilities pupils will find when they leave school and to how they are used in the particular social group.

There are no text-books which would promote a multi-ethnic approach.

Practical activities which reflect other cultures are overtly only those activities by which individual pupils produce artefacts relating to their particular

base and covertly those through the way pupils approach practical work after instruction.

The Department has no material for increasing staff knowledge of this discipline or cultures. A list of multi-ethnic artefacts would be useful, i.e., those things pupils have produced which reflect their dominant cultural influence.

Is there sufficient time to be "multi-ethnic"? In the short term all we can do is greater sensitivity to varying language problems and to make use of more widely diverse stimuli in our individual approaches. A change of emphasis rather than fundamental curriculum reform.

Many of the cultures concerned are 'technologically backward' it might be regarded as retrogressive to become involved in close study of existing practices other than obtaining historical perspective.

As members of a Western/European culture we do not know enough about other cultures to discuss this in a meaningful way, consequently it would seem presumptuous to make judgements in this area. If we first learnt about all the cultures involved we ought to be able to talk about Multi-Ethnic Education.

PHYSICAL DEPARTMENT.

A number of areas within the geography syllabus provide valuable information on other countries and cultures. The aim of the department is to provide up-to-date information together with a sympathetic understanding of the problems (population, production and provision, industrial development, health), faced by other countries.

Of particular importance to the present multi-ethnic environment are the department's work (a) at third year level dealing with numerous problems of physical and human geography in India and Pakistan and (b) at second year level dealing with the geography of West Indies.

These aspects may also be developed with Fourth and Fifth Year C.S.E. and G.C.E.

PHYSICAL DEPARTMENT.

One of the main aims of the department is to encourage and give opportunities to children to develop skills, understanding and knowledge of games.

The rules and structure of the games taught are universal. The success of all depends upon individual ability, the acquisition of skills, personal application and satisfaction and not upon any racial bias.

Some games do attract ethnic groups, e.g. cricket or basketball but these are equally successful when introduced to alternative sports, e.g. rugby or

One is aware of the different backgrounds and cultures of the children but the aim of the department is not to highlight these differences but to emphasise their similarities.

their place in a multi-cultural world.

DEFINITIONS:

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION is concerned with fostering educational climates in which pupils regardless of their sex, ethnicity, language/dialect and social class backgrounds can experience equality of educational opportunity. Equal weighting should be given to different cultures and sub cultures. This can only take place when the total school environment is reformed, and public syllabi examinations are included in this.

MULTIETHNIC EDUCATION is a specific form of multicultural education because an ethnic group is a unique kind of cultural group. An ethnic group has several distinguishing characteristics. Members of the group share a common ancestry, subculture, history, tradition, sense of peoplehood and interdependence of fate. In our society Anglo-Saxons, Welsh, Scots, Irish, Jews, Indians, Pakistanis, Chinese, Poles, Africans, West Indians and Cypriots are all ethnic groups.

RACISM may be simply identified as any attitude, action or practice which assumes or implies the inherent inferiority of people with different colour, culture or ethnicity. As such it may be overt and intentional, disguised yet deliberate, or even unintentional; what has been termed 'institutional racism'.

II PUPILS

A

MANY OF OUR PUPILS ENCOUNTER RACISM IN THE FOLLOWING FORMS:

1. Names

Improper pronunciation and use of pupils' names can lead to lack of respect.

2. Low Expectations of pupils' roles and abilities by staff, the media, and the wider society. This form of racial stereotyping is inaccurate and damaging.

B

ALL PUPILS ARE TO BE VALUED AS INDIVIDUALS AND AS MEMBERS OF ETHNIC AND CULTURAL GROUPS.

1. All staff should ensure that pupils' names are spelt correctly and pronounced properly. Teachers need to be sensitive to different naming traditions and encourage pupils to respect and accept names from cultures other than their own. There should be positive encouragement to the pupils and staff to use the name chosen by pupils and their parents. At the initial interview, the pupils'/parents'/guardians' name must be correctly established and recorded.
2. Teachers should know that their expectations affects the achievement, behaviour and status of pupils. They must acknowledge and respect the pupils' own values, skills and experience. The school should ensure that the placement of pupils in tutorial and learning groups facilitates equal opportunities. Heads of Year and Form Tutors should monitor the placement of pupils, and groups should be reviewed regularly.

3. Undervaluing of their language and cultures within the school.

4. Racial Abuse

- i) Physical attacks of a racist nature
- ii) racist intimidation

- iii) Verbal abuse - including name-calling racial jokes and mimicry

- iv) incitement of other to collaborate in abuse

- v) introduction of literature and materials of a racist nature into school.

- vi) refusal to co-operate with other people because of their ethnic group.

- vii) exclusion from or being included in activities on racial or cultural grounds.

3. All pupils should feel that their experiences, languages and cultures are acknowledged and valued, and the school should develop ways to encourage this.

4. The following steps should be taken:

- i) + ii) (a) report to Head/Deputy Head
- (b) report to Head of Year and Head of Department
- (c) Full report to Form Tutor
- (d) Full report to parent/guardian
- (e) support for teacher(s) concerned and victim(s)
- (f) follow-up to prevent recurrence
- (g) perpetrator(s)' may be suspended
- iii) + iv) No member of staff will ignore any form of verbal abuse anywhere in the school. It is unacceptable behaviour and must be stopped. Steps should be taken to explain fully to perpetrator and victim that it will not be tolerated. Persistent offenders must be referred to Head of Year, Form Tutor and Head of Department.

- v) All forms of racist literature and materials must be confiscated, and pupils referred to H of Year and HM. Parents/guardians will be informed.

- vi) + vii) Opportunities should be arranged for pupils to work collaboratively in a variety of groups. The school will make sure that no pupil is excluded on cultural, ethnic or linguistic grounds.

STAFF

1. ALL STAFF SHOULD BE AWARE OF THE EXISTENCE AND EFFECTS OF RACISM IN THE SCHOOL.

2. Racism can be expressed in:-

- i) the composition of the staff if it does not reflect the multicultural nature of society
- ii) the failure to share experience and knowledge of cultural diversity.
- iii) the undervaluing of the involvement of individual teachers in anti-racist activities and practices.

i) Cultural diversity amongst the whole staff should be viewed positively. Whilst in all staff appointments the best candidate should be appointed, it is important that the staff as a whole (teaching and non-teaching) represent a range of cultural backgrounds at all levels.

ii) + iii) Specialist knowledge in the school community should be recognised, and opportunities given for the sharing of information and experiences.

IV CURRICULUM

A prime cause of prejudice is ignorance and misunderstanding. If the curriculum has an ethnocentric perspective, it can lead to distortion, omission and misrepresentation of the historical and cultural experience of peoples.

The curriculum, explicit and hidden, must aim, through whole-school policies, the separate subject department syllabuses, the tutorial programme, and all curriculum planning:

- i) to create an understanding of and interest in different environments, societies, systems and cultures across the world.
- ii) to study the political, social and economic reasons for racism and inequality, and their present-day effects in this country and the world.
- iii) to encourage pupils to recognise that each society has its own values, traditions and everyday living patterns which should be considered in the context of that society.
- iv) to study scientific achievements outside the western world, and alternative approaches to science.
- v) to explore and share the ideas, opinions and interests which derive from particular cultural experience. Its content should be so selected that it engages pupils' feelings as well as giving them skills and information.
- vi) to develop the concepts and skills which will allow pupils to criticise and actively participate in all social institutions, e.g. media, political, parties, industrial and trade union representation etc.
- vii) On going revision of materials used to ensure balance is maintained.
- viii) Encouraging communication between departments.
- ix) Use of visiting speakers from other schools or the community, where possible within school time or as can be arranged.

The school's resources can be racist if:-

- i) they do not reflect the fact that pupils are living in a multi-cultural society.
- ii) they present negative images and stereotypes of ethnic minority groups.
- iii) they misrepresent the history of countries
- iv) they present a biased view of social and economic relations in the world.

Teachers should ensure that resources are multicultural and contain positive images of people from ethnic minority groups. In selecting materials for use in the school, teachers should make use of the guidelines from the Centre for Urban Educational Studies, the Commission for Racial Equality the National Union of Teachers etc. Information is also available from the multi-cultural working group and the school Librarian. Multi-cultural resources that exist within the community and the Authority should also be utilised.

L.NGUAGE

Racism can be manifested in the school's attitudes to dialects, accents and mother-tongues of ethnic minorities. It can also be seen in the failure to value bilingualism and to acknowledge the needs of bilingual pupils.

- i) The school should be responsive to the issue of linguistic diversity, and staff should be aware of the language and other dialect of their pupils and colleagues.
- ii) All pupils should feel that their languages (including dialects) are valued. They should be confident to speak, hear and read their home language in school.
- iii) Bi-lingualism should be regarded as advantageous. The school must act as an agency to ensure the provision of mother-tongue classes and reading materials in mother-tongue languages. (E.E.C. directive July 1977 - Law 1981)
- iv) Staff should have access to a variety of other language speakers in the community for the purposes of translation and interpretation. Communications should be written in the appropriate language. A register of languages spoken by parents should be set up.
- v) It should be recognised that pupils from families who speak other languages have special needs. Appropriate materials and strategies should be developed for teaching those pupils in all departments, and they should be given opportunities to work constructively with fluent English speakers. There must also be adequate, appropriate and sufficient teaching of English to all those who require it.
- vi) There should be a language policy and practice developed for the whole school.

ETHOS AND ATMOSPHERE

School Displays should reflect the multicultural nature of the school.

Every effort should be made to ensure that the physical environment in and around the school premises is free of graffiti some of which are racist.

- 1) The ethos and atmosphere should show the respect which is the entitlement of all persons entering the school. This should include public notices giving directions in the major languages of the school community. School rules and regulations should be sensitive to, and show respect for diverse cultural practices - e.g. religions, diet, dress.
- ii) All graffiti in the school must be reported to the school-keeper and removed immediately. The Head should be informed if this does not happen. Areas which suffer regular defacement should be constantly checked and steps taken to discourage re-appearance of graffiti.
- iii) Pupils of all cultures should be available for the reception and care of visitors to the school.

TOWARDS FUTURE ACTION

In order to facilitate the proposals outlined in the policy the Multicultural and Environmental Working party feel its role should be clarified.

- a) Membership is currently open to all. In the future we should be open to all members of the Sedgehill community.
- b) Members of this official working party should not be regarded as specialists in the sense of implementing the policy or bringing about curriculum change, as both are the responsibility of all staff and all departments in the school.

- c) Members meet in order to discuss and to explore ways of achieving in Sedgehill Equal Opportunities in line with the I.L.E.A. initiatives. It would be to the school's benefit if all departments were represented on the Working party.
- d) Communication of information plays an important part in the success of any policy. Therefore it is vital that specialist information, materials and examples of Good Practice are circulated efficiently. The Working party can help with this by discussing materials and approaches and then passing on the information. It also allows departments to request for further information. The latter will be particularly important in the light of I.L.E.A.'s second request for a statement of a Multicultural Curriculum across all departments which we propose to put to Governors at their Autumn Term Meeting in 1984.
- e) It is hoped that the school's request for INSET time to be made available during school hours in 1984/85 for (d) to be implemented will be granted.
- f) Inaugurating ways of communicating the policy and its practice to pupils and parents.

We acknowledge and thank everyone who has made this statement possible including North Westminster Community School.

DES. 20.5. 1986.**WITHOUT PREJUDICE: EDUCATION FOR AN ETHNICALLY MIXED SOCIETY**

The Swann Report was published in March 1985. It has been followed by much talk and some action. There has been less action than talk for two main reasons. Action on this sensitive subject is difficult and should not proceed without consultation ie without more talk. Second, because the subject arouses such deep emotions, it is natural for all concerned to want to express them. I have been reporting regularly to Parliament on the action which the Government is taking. I want now to concentrate on the continuing debate about the aims of that action, because I believe that much of this debate is unhelpful to effective action in the pursuit of reasonable and widely accepted aims.

British society is now ethnically mixed and will remain so. The great majority of the ethnic minority population in Britain are British citizens and therefore have the same rights and responsibilities as other citizens. The concern of all of us must be to establish the educational policy that is right for our ethnically mixed society. In the Government's view such a policy should have two main objectives. First, recognising that we are not - just like other societies are not - free of cultural, racial and religious prejudice, we must strive to educate all our children and young people so that they are better prepared for adult life in an ethnically mixed Britain, in a way which will do full justice to the accumulated richness of this country's national culture. Some may ask are there not also Sikh, Hindu, Muslim and Caribbean cultures? Yes of course there are, just as there have long been Protestant and Catholic and Free Church and other Christian variants of Christian culture: and Jewish culture too. But all these can be cherished within the broad British culture of freedom within the law and of Parliamentary democracy. We need to develop within our children and young people the capacity to respect the cultures and beliefs of the different groups that make up our society; and we need to develop the resolve to treat each other justly. Secondly, we must eliminate, so far as any society can, the

under-achievement of many of our children and young people from all sections of the community. We need to raise the performance of all pupils and to tackle the obstacles to higher achievement which are common to all. But we also need to tackle those special factors which additionally may contribute to the underachievement of many members of our ethnic minorities.

3. In relation to both these objectives, the prejudices that are found in our society are an obstacle - not the only obstacle, but a serious one. The majority community does not have a monopoly of prejudice; some members of the ethnic minorities are not without their own prejudices, either against the majority community or against other ethnic minority groups. The Race Relations Act 1976 makes it illegal to discriminate against any person on racial grounds. The Government is determined that this law shall be upheld. But in a free country, people are free to say what they think or feel, within the wide limits set by the law. The law bites on discrimination where it can be proved, not on the prejudice that may have caused it. Most prejudice is accompanied by ignorance. However prejudice arises, the task of removing it falls to those who influence opinion, and those who guide others, in particular parents and schools. It is a difficult task even if all concerned pull together. Unfortunately there is wide disagreement about what is meant by prejudice, about its causes and about its cure; and the terminology used in the ensuing argument is often muddled and misleading.

4. Moreover there are disturbing signs that the public argument is becoming polarised into two extreme positions, neither of which I believe to be tenable nor capable of bringing us nearer the Government's two objectives - to educate all pupils in all parts of the country for an ethnically mixed society and to eliminate under-achievement among ethnic minority pupils and students as part of our aim to eliminate all under-achievement. The first position is to deny that any significant change is needed in the attitude of our society or in what our schools and colleges do. On this view children from both the majority

community and from ethnic minorities should be educated as if ethnic diversity did not exist; except that some members of some of the ethnic minorities might need to learn English.

This position, though unacceptably one-sided, has some elements of good sense. Community by community we have much more in common than dividing us. It would be unnecessary, therefore, and I believe wrong to turn our education system upside down to accommodate ethnic variety, or to jettison those many features and practices which reflect what is best in our society and its institutions. A British school for British citizens is surely right to transmit to all its pupils a sense of shared national values and traditions. But we need to understand properly what these are. They are not, and never have been, fixed in splendid insularity. The history and achievements of our nation owe much to the contribution of those who have come to it from broad over many centuries, and to our people's own contacts with other peoples. The influence of other cultures has been absorbed, but in the process British culture has itself changed and developed. Our immigrants have enriched our way of life. Children from the majority community ought not to be left in ignorance about their ethnic minority fellow-citizens with whom most of them will certainly mix in the course of their adult life whether or not they happen to grow up together; and such ignorance could be dangerously fertile ground for racial prejudice.

Moreover, the under-achievement of ethnic minority children is likely to be increased if their culture and background is not acknowledged by the schools - just as they and we all will lose if they do not acknowledge and understand the majority culture. A child's progress is much affected by his or her self-confidence; and few things are more damaging to that than to find no recognition, or worse, contempt, for the cherished values of home or family, and for life-styles which deserve to be taken seriously.

I do not therefore accept the position that our education system should in effect take no account of ethnic mix. That

position implies a false view of the multi-racial society for which children and young people are being educated. It cannot be right to require one set of British children to abandon their culture during their school years. Those who foolishly advocate this completely misinterpret the process which has made British tradition what it is. They spurn the tradition of tolerance which is one of British society's most precious values; and by their advocacy they provide a spurious justification for those who act on the prejudice that members of the ethnic minorities are for one reason or another intrinsically inferior to the majority community.

3. But I also reject the second extreme position which asserts that our society and therefore our education system requires a total transformation before justice to ethnic minorities is possible. That position entails a refusal to acknowledge the culture of the majority community which is as mistaken, and as dangerous, as the refusal to acknowledge ethnic minority cultures. Moreover this position too offers a spurious justification for prejudice - for the self-indulgent bias of those who in any case want to subvert our fundamental values and institutions.

I give as an example a recent publication by the oddly called Institute of Race Relations. It is a cartoon book, presumably designed for the young which, for example, depicts a British judge saying, and I quote: "I s'pose you are innocent until proven guilty, as long as you are white that is. If you are hite and wear a blue uniform, however, well then as we all know you are innocent even when proven guilty."

This book has the interesting title "How racism came to Britain". Those who maintain the kind of position it propagates have coined new words which can change their meaning at will. Perhaps the best examples are "racism" and "racist". A racist is someone who judges the quality and real worth of a human being entirely by colour or ethnic origin. But the word has come to be used simply as a term of abuse to denote anyone whose feelings or views or attitudes or use of language the speaker chooses to regard as offensive to himself or to persons of a

particular skin colour or ethnic group whether the appellation "racist" is merited or not. I recognise that the term is often used to express justified frustration and anger about the effects of racial prejudice, but it is also often used to dismiss those who try to apply serious thought and careful argument to the difficult issue of racial prejudice. The term can be used most frequently by those who tend to care least about its significance. Since it implies something shameful it is used to put moral pressure on the opponent and to make him feel uncomfortable or guilty. Worse still, many of those whose intentions in relation to our ethnically mixed society are honourable and constructive are reluctant to speak and act lest the self-appointed apostles of anti-racism charge them with being racists. Thus much of the running in a debate over a desperately important and difficult issue is left to people more anxious to pursue their own political advantage than to create harmony between ethnic groups and secure fair treatment for ethnic minorities. No doubt such people will call me a racist for saying what I am now saying.

10. But such meaningless insults do not advance the argument. I do not deny that in our society, just as in other societies, there is prejudice against ethnic minorities. I accept that some of this prejudice is unconscious, in the sense for example that people take a stereotyped view of an ethnic group and do not judge the members of another ethnic group with the degree of objectivity that they apply in judging members of their own group. I also believe that some prejudice, of the sort I describe below and much of it unintentional, can be found in the education system. Teachers' expectations of the behaviour and ability of all members of particular ethnic minority groups may be too low, and individuals may be held back as a result; and schools may fail to do justice to the ethnic and cultural backgrounds of their pupils, for example in their history teaching, or in art and craft displays. Other examples of discrimination may not reflect prejudice so much as insensitivity to important differences. For example by failing to provide notes and messages in languages other than English, schools may exclude some ethnic minority parents from partnership in their children's educational development; the youth service may deny its facilities to Asian teenage girls by failing to make provision for single sex meetings.

No doubt you can all think of other examples. All of us concerned with education should look closely at our practices and seek to eliminate prejudice wherever it occurs. But you should not fight prejudice with prejudice, nor with meaningless slogans. For example, if too much of the history taught in our schools has been too insular and has painted too rosy a picture of what our ancestors did overseas, the way to correct that is to try soberly and honestly but without anachronism to paint a more balanced picture. To substitute an account of British history which is biased the other way and gives British intentions and achievement no credit even where it is due does a disservice to the cause of education for our ethnically mixed society.

1. Another slogan which is in danger of becoming meaningless is "multi-cultural education". The Oxford English Dictionary defines "multi-cultural" as "of or pertaining to a society consisting of varied cultural groups". But what does "multi-cultural" mean in an educational context? Does it describe special measures designed to improve the performance or achievement of ethnic minority pupils? Is it to do with bringing minority cultures into the curriculum and, if so, how and to what extent and for ethnic minority children only or for all children? What multi-cultural education cannot mean is that children of Caribbean or Indian origin should be offered at British schools a curriculum or even a history centred only on the Caribbean or India. Caribbean and Indian studies may well have place in their education - as in the education of all our children. However, these children will for the most part live their lives in this country. They are British citizens: this is their home. British history and cultural traditions are, or will become, at least part of the common heritage of all who live in this country, whatever their family origins. Education must ensure that all children have full and equal access to that heritage, so that they can understand the society in which we all live. Schools should be responsible for trying to transmit British culture, enriched as it has been by so many traditions. Schools should also acknowledge the culture and background of ethnic minority children; the education of all children can be enriched and enhanced by an awareness and knowledge of cultural diversity. Ethnic minority teachers make an important contribution in this, as in other areas, and

am currently considering ways of increasing their recruitment. At the main responsibility for transmitting minority cultures is for the homes and the minority communities themselves - as has happened and is happening effectively in so many cases. It must ultimately be for individual parents and communities to determine how their religion, culture and traditions are handed on to successive generations. In my view then, multi-cultural education ought to be about giving all pupils a greater awareness of the linguistic, cultural and religious diversity of Britain today, so as to promote tolerance and racial harmony. Pupils will then be better prepared to exercise the responsibilities of adult life and citizenship in our ethnically mixed society. What is essential is that if one is using the term "multi-cultural education", it must be defined from the outset of the discussion and the definition maintained throughout; the discussion otherwise becomes flabby and confused and its conclusions unsure.

I believe that most people in this country and throughout the education service share the Government's two objectives of eliminating under-achievement in all ethnic groups and of educating all to play a responsible role in an ethnically mixed society. It is very important that we should think clearly about the means of achieving these objectives. We need together to maintain the education service's honourable tradition of respect for truth, intellectual honesty and the capacity for critical self-examination. We should try to use clear language in discussing what now needs to be done. We should be honest, and realistic, about what can and cannot be expected of the schools. But chameleon words darken counsel and give comfort to the enemies of our free and open society.

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