

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE EDUCATION  
OF YOUNG WEST INDIAN CHILDREN IN THE UNITED KINGDOM  
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THOSE FROM JAMAICA

by

Graham Edgar Eldridge

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this thesis is to examine the way in which children of West Indian parentage and in particular those from Jamaica have settled into Primary schools in the United Kingdom since the 1960's. Two contrasting areas in the United Kingdom - the I.L.E.A. and Suffolk are reviewed in order to highlight their respective provisions with regard to Multi-Ethnic education.

The thesis commences with a short survey of the background and movement of Jamaican parents to the United Kingdom. A comparison is made between migration from Jamaica and that from other West Indian territories, and the process of integration with regard to employment, housing and education into the United Kingdom is briefly described.

The aspirations and frustrations of West Indian communities with regard to the education available to their children are described together with reactions of both indigenous British and West Indian adults toward education in English schools in which a large proportion of the children are from ethnic minorities.

In order to highlight the possible problems faced by both black and white communities in U.K. schools the model of "an ideal typical English Primary school" is established with regard to such aspects as administration, appointment of staff, organisation and curriculum, and methods of training teachers. The question is then asked - how

successful is the typical English Primary School with regard to the needs and requirements of pupils from ethnic minority groups?

Following this, changes in perception in Multi-cultural education during the 1970s and 1980s are discussed with particular regard to the multi-cultural policies and practices of the I.L.E.A. and Suffolk County Council Education Authority.

Local Education Authority Racial Policies and Practices in the U.K. during the 1980s are briefly surveyed and the thesis includes observations in five Primary Schools in the I.L.E.A. and in Ipswich, Suffolk in order to assess whether the multi-cultural policies of these two Authorities have been implemented in these particular schools and how.

The thesis concludes by discussing the applicability of multi cultural policies in the U.K. with the intention of assessing whether the policy of "Education for All" is an attainable or realistic goal with regard to the diversities of practices in British Primary Schools. This is discussed with particular reference to the higher valuations of Plowden, Swann and Anti-Racism as compared with those of the Ideal Typical Model.

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## Chapter 1

### THE BACKGROUND AND MOVEMENT OF JAMAICAN PARENTS

#### Introduction

The intention in the opening chapter of this thesis is to identify the dispositions motivating the behaviour of different groups involved in the assimilation of young West Indian parents into the United Kingdom during the late 1950s and early 1960s.

This investigation will be conducted within the theoretical perspective of Brian Holmes' problem (solving) approach in which he has stated that "any logically identified gap between desired behaviour in response to a societal innovation and persisting behaviour patterns (based on group "national character") constitutes, in general, the source of major social problems."<sup>(1)</sup>

The desire identified in this opening chapter on the part of the young West Indian migrants to the United Kingdom was that they might be able to assimilate into British society happily in terms of employment and housing for themselves and good education for their children. On the part of the indigenous white British there was an expressed willingness to help the newcomers assimilate in these ways. However there persisted amongst the West Indian migrants a mistaken view with regard to opportunities within the United Kingdom for employment, housing and the kind of Primary School education they expected for their children. Amongst the indigenous white British society there persisted the view that the newcomers would be quite prepared to be assimilated



within the traditions and expectations of a white, middle class, Christian and largely rural society.

In Holmes' terms the gap between the desired and persisting behaviour has thus been briefly identified. The factors contributing to this major social problem will now be explored and developed in greater detail throughout the thesis and an attempt will be made to discover whether problems facing the early West Indian migrants during the 1960s remain for the West Indian families during the 1980s.

In order to appreciate more fully the conditions for the education of young West Indian children in the United Kingdom during the 1980s one might argue that it is helpful to know something of the background conditions to the migration of West Indian subjects from the West Indian islands to the United Kingdom largely during the late 1950s and early 1960s.

In the opening chapter of this thesis the numbers involved in the migration are given, and a comparison is made between the numbers of migrants who came to the United Kingdom from the different West Indian territories, and in particular from the island of Jamaica. Views of Jamaican society, which might be termed traditional and contemporary, are discussed and the Jamaican Educational system is briefly examined. Some of the causes of the migration to the United Kingdom from Jamaica are discussed with special reference to such factors as population growth and unemployment in Jamaica and the industrial expansion of the United Kingdom during the late 1950s and early 1960s. The way the West Indian migrants settled into their new United Kingdom environment is examined with regard to the methods they used to obtain employment and housing and the areas in the United Kingdom particularly in London,

in which they settled. The process of integration into the new community in terms of social contacts church affiliation, training and educational classes and the use of leisure time is also examined in this introductory chapter.

Because the bulk of the migration of West Indian citizens to the United Kingdom took place during the late 1950s and early 1960s the great majority of facts and information referred to in this chapter are taken from sources still regarded as authoritative but which themselves were compiled during or shortly after that time.

#### Background to Emigration

The period between June 1948 (when the former German pleasure cruiser, the 'Empire Windrush' set sail for England from Kingston, Jamaica with some 492 intending immigrants on board) until 1st July, 1962 when the Commonwealth Immigrants Act<sup>(2)</sup> came fully into force may be termed the years of Colonial/New Commonwealth entry as of right to the mother country. The number of Jamaican migrants into Britain increased significantly during 1955 (18,561 during that year as opposed to a total of 12,612 for the seven previous years) and from that time until 30th June, 1962 an estimated 148,369 Jamaicans representing 9.2 per cent of the 1960 census figure for Jamaica of 1,609,814 emigrated to the United Kingdom. Davison<sup>(3)</sup> has estimated that during the period 1955-61 just over one-third of the immigrants from the "Tropical Commonwealth" (which includes countries such as India, Pakistan, Cyprus, West Africa, East Africa and Hong Kong) - 38 per cent came from the West Indies, and of these just under a quarter - 23 per cent, came from Jamaica. But only one in ten of the departures (12 per cent) from the United Kingdom during this period went back to

the Caribbean islands - half of these being Jamaicans. In consequence the Caribbean provided just over a half (56 per cent - 34 per cent of whom were Jamaicans) of the total net inward movement into the United Kingdom; this compared to a net inflow from India of 16 per cent and from Pakistan of 14 per cent. It is clear that so far as India and Pakistan were concerned the migration was much more a two-way stream than was the case with the rest of the tropical Commonwealth and especially so when one compares these figures with those of Jamaica for the same period.

#### Comparison of Jamaican migration with that of other West Indian territories

As far as numbers are concerned it may be seen from Table 1 that the number of emigrants to the United Kingdom from Jamaica far exceeded the numbers emigrating from any of the other Caribbean islands; however in percentage terms Jamaica ranks only fifth, far behind Montserrat whose migration numbers to the United Kingdom from 1955-61 amounted to almost one-third of its total 1960 population.

Table 1EMIGRANTS AS A PERCENTAGE OF WEST INDIAN POPULATIONS<sup>(4)</sup>

	Population from 1960 census	Total emigration to U.K. 1955-61	Emigrants as percentage of population
Jamaica	1,609,814	148,369	9.2
Barbados	232,085	18,741	8.1
Trinidad & Tobago	825,700	9,610	1.2
British Guiana	558,769	7,141	1.3
Leewards	122,920	16,025	13.0
Antigua	54,060	4,687	8.7
Montserrat	12,167	3,835	31.5
St. Kitts	-		
Nevis	-		
Anguilla	56,693	7,503	13.2
Windwards	314,995	27,154	8.6
Dominica	59,479	7,915	13.3
Grenada	88,617	7,663	8.6
St. Lucia	86,194	7,291	8.5
St. Vincent	80,705	4,285	5.3

These geographic variations states Ceri Peach<sup>(5)</sup> were of primary importance to an analysis of the factors affecting migration. If the rate of population growth or the amount of unemployment, for instance, was the main fact influencing emigration, then the intensity of that factor should have shown the same geographic distribution in its pattern of intensity as migration. However when the numbers of those migrating to the U.K. from the different West Indian islands as a percentage of the 1960 population are compared with the inter-censal

rate of growth between 1946-60 it may be immediately seen that the highest rates of inter-censal increase are not coincident with the highest rates of emigration to the U.K. The opposite is true: British Guiana with the highest rate of growth had the second lowest rate of growth - more than 17 per cent higher than the next highest - had the lowest rate of emigration to the U.K. At the other extreme was Montserrat, where the population declined during the inter-censal period by over 15 per cent. Here the rate of emigration was the highest.

Two possible reasons for the large variation in the rates of emigration between Trinidad and Montserrat may be given. Firstly the size of the population - Trinidad in 1964 including Tobago having an estimated population of 850,000 and Montserrat (1960) just 12,000<sup>(6)</sup>. Because of the vastly fewer numbers of people living on the island of Montserrat as compared with those in Trinidad it may be argued that the emigrants as a percentage of population of a very small island such as Montserrat was bound to be far greater even though the actual number of people emigrating from the island between 1955-61 was far fewer than those from Trinidad.

The second possible reason which may be argued for the large variation in the rates of emigration between Trinidad and Montserrat was the degree of sustainable economy for the citizens of those islands. It may be argued that Trinidad with its assets of oil, natural gas, asphalt, sugar, rum, coconut oil, molasses, cocoa, and citrus fruits had more attraction for its young working citizens than Montserrat whose main sources of industrial revenue during the 1960s were limes, fruits, carrots and onions.

Table 2

MIGRATION AND THE INTER-CENSAL GROWTH<sup>(7)</sup>

	Migration to U.K. as a percentage of 1960 population	Inter-censal rate of growth 1946-60
Jamaica	9.2	21.86
Barbados	8.1	19.81
Trinidad & Tobago	1.2	47.98
British Guiana	1.3	55.48
Antigua	8.7	29.46
Montserrat	31.5	15.18
St. Kitts	13.2	22.49
Dominica	13.3	24.89
Grenada	8.6	22.42
St. Lucia	8.5	22.94
St. Vincent	5.3	30.59

Thus it can be said that there was no correlation of high rates of inter-censal growth and high rates of emigration to the United Kingdom.

Employment

When one examines the employment figures for the West Indies a remarkable disparity is found between the percentage of unemployed for Jamaica and the other territories. The West Indies census of 1946 for example showed that out of a total Jamaican working force of 331,050 26.9 per cent were unemployed, this compared to the next highest

Area of unemployed - the Windwards with 7.1 per cent. By 1972 the Jamaican figure had improved slightly; however out of a total work force of 808,290, 22.5 per cent were still unemployed, as shown by the table below.

Table 3

EMPLOYMENT IN JAMAICA, OCTOBER 1972							
EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT BY AGE GROUP AND SEX							
Sex	Group	Employed	Labour force		Per cent of workforce		
			Unemployed Number	Per cent	Total	Total	Unem- ployed
Male	14-24	81,709	35,339	30	117,048	26	57
	25-34	78,208	11,185	13	89,393	19	18
	35-54	140,837	10,238	7	151,075	33	16
	55 and over	93,949	5,259	5	99,208	22	9
Sub-total		394,703	62,021	14	456,724	100	100
Female	14-24	42,400	50,521	54	92,921	26	43
	25-34	52,087	30,250	37	82,337	24	25
	35-54	94,618	30,365	24	124,983	36	25
	55 and over	42,705	8,620	17	51,325	14	7
Sub-total		231,810	119,756	34	351,566	100	100
TOTAL		626,513	181,777	22½	808,290		

(Source: Economic Survey, 1972)<sup>(8)</sup>

The prospect of employment in England therefore would seem to have been important to emigrants, particularly to those coming from Jamaica to the U.K. Nevertheless levels of emigration do not seem to have been influenced by the geographical variations in employment in the home island (since as shown by Table 1<sup>(9)</sup> Jamaica ranks only fifth in

percentage terms of numbers of people emigrating from the West Indies territories from 1955-61), nor did increasing emigration necessarily reflect a worsening labour situation; since as has been shown the degree of unemployment in Jamaica did improve slightly during the years 1948-72.

The similarity of emigration trends Peach<sup>(10)</sup> believed was crucial: it seemed to over-ride the growth in different economies and bore no relation to the degree of unemployment. Thus it could be powerfully argued that trends in migration were governed by factors external to the West Indies.

#### Differing views of present day Jamaican society

Contemporary Jamaica has been described by the Jamaican social anthropologist M. G. Smith<sup>(11)</sup> as relatively complex and internally diverse. Although four-fifths of its population are black, and nine-tenths of the remainder are coloured persons of mixed ancestry, there are significant groups of Chinese, Syrian, Jewish, Portuguese and British descent, and in several cases these ethnic groups are also differentiated by special statuses, organisations and occupational interests. Apart from this racial complexity, Jamaica includes a number of significantly different ecological areas: the expanding urban area around Kingston; the sugar belts with their large plantations and landless labour force; the rural highlands settled by small holders; and the tourist coast along the north shore. Community types and organisation in each area tend to be somewhat distinct. So do community interests, which now compete for influence on the island government. Of the 1.6 million persons who live in Jamaica, perhaps one-quarter are to be found in Kingston and the other main towns, and nearly one-half live in the hilly interior. The plainsfolk dependent



on sugar probably exceed 400,000. Smith writing in 1961 stated that rural-urban differences were politically important already and would tend to become more so.

M. G. Smith wrote that three distinctive institutional systems characterise contemporary Jamaica and therefore divide society into three social sections. For initial reference Smith stated that we might think of these sections as the white, the brown and the black, this being the order of their current and historical dominance, and the exact reverse of their relative numerical strength. The white section, stated Smith ranked highest locally and represented the culture of mid-twentieth-century West European society. "It is the dominant section, but also the smallest, and consists principally of persons reared abroad from early childhood. The black or lowest section may include four-fifths of the population, and practises a folk culture containing numerous elements reminiscent of African societies and Caribbean slavery. The brown intermediate section is culturally and biologically the most variable, and practises a general mixture of patterns from the higher and lower groups."<sup>(12)</sup> Smith drew sharp distinctions between the three social categories which he saw in contemporary Jamaican society in terms of systems of kinship and marriage, religion, government, law and economy, education and occupational differentiation. In addition to this, Smith believed that there were also important differences between Jamaica's social sections in terms of language, material culture, sport, associational patterns and value systems.

Smith's method of social analysis of contemporary Jamaican society has however been severely criticised by Adam Kuper<sup>(13)</sup> for creating misleading and timeless models of what he believes is in action a far from

rigid social system. Kuper does not accept that there are clearly-defined strata or classes in Jamaica; nor does he believe that social relations within any one 'level' of society or any locals can be understood in isolation; and above all he does not believe that the folk-models of Jamaicans can serve as a starting-point for the understanding of Jamaican society. Kuper's emphasis is precisely on the variability and ambiguity of modern criteria of status, and on the variety of ascriptions they can yield. Applying Kuper's argument to a given situation for example one might say that although in Jamaica there is a clear, gross correlation between 'race' and social class, the average black being worse-off than the average coloured Jamaican, this is saying no more than in England the average descendant of a farm hand is worse off than the average descendant of an English farmer. However just as the descendant of an English farm hand may well have the same kind of ambitions and objectives in life as that of the descendant of an English farmer, it is likely that in order to realise his ambitions he will have to devise a route towards his goal which is significantly different from that of the descendant of the English farmer because of factors such as the dissimilarity in inherited status, wealth and social opportunities etc. So it is in Jamaica now that groups in society formerly considered by some as subservient, have shown a desire and an ability to participate and influence the social, political, law and economic services of the country; bringing with them their own particular value systems which they have found to be the most advantageous means of bringing about their desired ends. The developments in public life and the political environment that must be stressed in the analysis of modern Jamaica says Kuper include the following:

- 1 The fact that people of African ancestry have come to dominate the political and administrative structures. As in all formerly

colonial states this helps to undermine the old sense of black impotence and dependence.

2. The related fact that political leaders are now ultimately dependent upon popular support, and that in consequence the black masses, recently politically marginal, now have a sense of their political importance.

Nevertheless despite the increasing emergence of what may be termed a "Jamaican identity" problems which have beset the islands for many years have continued, chief among which is the lack of employment opportunities for the available workforce, a problem which as Table 3<sup>(14)</sup> shows affects all age groups, but which is particularly apparent with regard to the young.

The continuing high rate of unemployment in Jamaica itself is particularly disappointing says Adam Kuper<sup>(15)</sup> since Jamaica is one of the few new states to enjoy rapid economic growth. In Kuper's view bauxite mining in particular has become a mainstay of the Jamaican economy. During the 1960s Jamaica emerged as the world's largest supplier of bauxite (the raw material for aluminium), and produced over 20 per cent of the world's consumption. The Tourist industry has also expanded remarkably, and stimulated by the bauxite and tourist developments, the construction industry has enjoyed high levels of activity. Unhappily there have been serious drawbacks in this success story. First of all, the agricultural sector has been extremely disappointing barely marking time during the recent period of rapid industrial development and population growth. And secondly, as a consequence of high unemployment and the retardation of the agricultural sector, the very unequal distribution of wealth has not improved: it may even have got worse. Nearly two-thirds of the Jamaican

population still live in the rural areas, for the rapid growth of the modern industrial sector has not been matched by an equivalent growth in urban employment. In 1972, manufacturing industry employed only 12.7 per cent of the work-force, and although this was an improvement over previous years, employment in this sector was not even keeping pace with the growth of the work-force. Bauxite mining, so powerful a factor in the economy, employs only a few thousand workers, and the tourist industry itself only claims directly to employ 12,000 workers. In short, the new centres of Jamaica's wealth do not employ many Jamaicans; and the old, declining agricultural sector still dominates the employment picture; the fundamental problem being that while the economy as a whole has recently been growing at a good rate, development has been concentrated in a few sectors, including some - mining and tourism - which make little impact on the earnings of all but a very few Jamaicans. There are a variety of organisations and systems which serve to maintain the present disposition of opportunities and means, and of these the educational system reveals a good deal about the reality of Jamaican society.

#### The Jamaican Educational System

The Jamaican Educational system to a very large extent reflects and perpetuates the balance of advantages within the population. It is divided into two stream, the main stream embracing the government's primary and all-age schools and the junior secondary, comprehensive, technical and vocational schools. This copes with the vast majority of Jamaica's children, and has its own further education sector, made up of the teacher training colleges and the technical colleges. B. S. Palmer<sup>(16)</sup> has described the mainstream of educational provision in Jamaica as "elementary schooling for the masses with curriculum

emphasis at functional level; literacy, numeracy and basic skills taught together with such socialisation as would encourage habits of neatness, punctuality and compliance." Citing a survey of entrants into junior secondary schools carried out by the Ministry of Education of Jamaica in September, 1970<sup>(17)</sup> M. G. Smith<sup>(18)</sup> reported that 54 per cent of the pupils moving into the junior secondary schools were functionally illiterate; i.e. unable to read beyond the grade IV level; and further that 84 per cent of the 3,000 students surveyed were incapable of reading at their own grade level. Even this says Kuper<sup>(19)</sup> understates the failure of the system, for the Ministry<sup>(20)</sup> estimated that nearly 11 per cent of children aged between 6 and 14 were not in school at all. In 1968-69 nearly 89 per cent of all students in the public sector were in primary schools, only 10 per cent in secondary schools, and 1 per cent in post-secondary institutions. As this distribution suggests, very few Jamaican children are educated beyond the primary level.

The second level is divided into three streams - the academic secondary schools, the technical high schools, and the comparatively recent 'junior secondary' and 'comprehensive' schools. The academic secondary schools are traditionally the nurturing ground for Jamaica's managers and professionals, but despite their selectivity and high status, they are themselves not particularly successful in traditional educational terms. Of the candidates entered for the Cambridge G.C.E. O-level examinations in 1972, nearly 13 per cent failed to pass a single subject, and only 37 per cent passed in four subjects. In the London G.C.E. A-level examination in 1971, passes in various subjects ranged from a low of none at all in Zoology, to a high of 37.5 per cent in Religious Knowledge.<sup>(21)</sup>

The tertiary sector is relatively extremely expensive, costing

nearly half as much as infant and primary education, while catering for just over a hundredth of the number of people. It is geared, considers Kuper<sup>(22)</sup> to the production of a specialized elite, but any rationale for this policy is undermined by the high rate of professional emigration. A recent survey<sup>(23)</sup> showed that 46 per cent of Jamaican men students at the university and 49 per cent of those at the technical college were planning to go abroad at graduation, at least temporarily.

The second stream or sub-system of education in Jamaica is highly selective. At its base are the private preparatory schools, which feed the academic secondary schools. Its successful products go on to the university. The university provides those Jamaicans who teach in the academic secondary schools.

Whereas the large, popular sector has a majority of unqualified teachers, poor attendances, lack of facilities and overcrowded classrooms, the elite sector has luxurious staff-student ratios, comparatively well-trained teachers, high attendances and good facilities.

Mobility between the two sub-systems is low. Entry to academic secondary schools is regulated largely by examinations, and although candidates from public primary schools are supposed to take 70 per cent of the places on a reserved basis, students from these schools are at a great disadvantage. In 1970, 22,495 children sat the Common Entrance Examination for entry to secondary (grammar) schools, 85 per cent of them from public primary schools. There were 2,030 free places awarded, and just the official minimum of 70 per cent went to children from public primary schools. However, says Kuper<sup>(24)</sup> there is a certain amount of evasion of the regulations - children attend private schools

and join government schools in the final terms, just before the examination, in order to qualify for quota places. Moreover, the urban schools attended by the children of skilled workers and salaried people were very successful; the poorer urban schools were less successful; and the rural schools were very unsuccessful indeed. D.R. Manley<sup>(25)</sup> has examined the performances in the 1970 Common Entrance Examination in relation to parents' social class as shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4

SOCIAL CLASS AND SUCCESS IN COMMON ENTRANCE EXAMINATION

(a) Social differences in size of entry and success in examination

	Group	Percentage of Entry Free places	
1	Professional, managerial	5.1	20.5
2	Teachers	4.9	7.3
3	Clerical	21.8	36.3
4	Skilled and semi-skilled	29.4	24.3
5	Unskilled workers	12.5	4.7
6	Farmers	26.3	6.8

(b) Percentage of entry from each social class which won free places

	Group	Percentage
1	Elite	66.3
2	Professional and managerial	45.8
3	Teachers	16.4
4	Clerical	18.5
5	Skilled and semi-skilled	9.2
6	Unskilled workers	4.2
7	Farmers	2.8

Results from this table suggest that while channels of social mobility are open, they are structured in such a way that parental social class remains the best guide by far to the prospects of a child. In particular, it reveals the deprived condition of children of unskilled workers and small farmers. The extreme polarities in Jamaica clearly reflect the gross social divisions and material advantages within the population, and these are acute. Kuper<sup>(27)</sup> estimated in 1976 that the chances of a small-holder's child getting into an academic secondary school and so perhaps entering a clerical or even professional career were perhaps 3 in 100. This would rise to 7 in 100 for the child of an urban worker, and to virtually 100 per cent for the children of the upper-middle-class. Yet despite these statistics there is says B. E. Cracknell<sup>(27)</sup>, among Jamaican children a real keenness to learn and a healthy curiosity about life which probably owes something to the strong Free Church tradition in education in Jamaica. The situation regarding illiteracy is improving rapidly, thanks to a campaign which the government launched in the hopes that it might be eradicated altogether by 1977, provided always that enough teachers could be trained to overcome the very serious shortage.

#### Jamaican migration to the United Kingdom - its causes

As has been shown above, Jamaica's population consists of people with widely differing backgrounds in terms of race, wealth, social class, influence, educational and occupational opportunities, etc. yet the years from 1955-62 when over 150,000 Jamaicans went to live in Britain has been described as having the features of a millenarian cult. The migration to the United Kingdom was massive, rapid and unselective. Some of the possible reasons for this phenomenon will now be examined.



Ruth Glass<sup>(28)</sup> suggested that a most important reason for Jamaican migration to the United Kingdom was the pressure of population growth. In order to support her argument she quoted from G. W. Roberts's<sup>(29)</sup> study of the population of Jamaica in which he stated that "since 1950 the island has consistently shown rates of natural increase in excess of 2 per cent which, despite some emigration, results in a rate of growth nearly twice that prevailing in the middle of the nineteenth century." A second important reason for the migration, linked with the first Glass suggested, was the high level of unemployment and under-employment in the West Indian territories - the general low level of wages and the lack of opportunity causing the Jamaicans to look outside their island for economic improvement. Thirdly, suggested Glass the doors to other countries had been closed - "the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act reduced the flow of West Indians to the United States of America to a mere trickle, and entries to other countries on the American continent, previously open to West Indian migrants, have also been made more difficult."<sup>(30)</sup>

Ceri Peach<sup>(31)</sup> however wrote that views put forward by such as Glass who saw conditions in the West Indies as the dominant force causing the migration as being misfounded. In support of his argument Peach stated that problems such as poverty and unemployment were nothing new to islands such as Jamaica. For example the inter-censal period 1921-46 included a time of severe economic depression in the West Indian islands, yet said Peach taking the period 1921-46 as a whole, there was no net emigration. The depression years produced instead a small net immigration. The significant fact which allowed the large scale migration from islands such as Jamaica to happen stated Peach, was the new industrial expansion of Europe during the post-war period that increased the demand not only for skilled workers but for unskilled labour as well. So while the

large scale migration may at first have appeared to have been brought about by the poverty of the homeland, such conditions said Peach were permissive not 'push' factors. It was not that poverty was new in the south, it was instead that industrial prosperity, of the scale it reached in the late 1950s and early 1960s was new in northern Europe, and this said Peach was the primary reason why the great scale of migration was able to happen.

The next question that should perhaps be answered is - why then did the Jamaican migrants (75 per cent of the total number of Jamaicans who migrated overseas during the 1950s and 1960s) choose to come to England? Ruth Glass<sup>(32)</sup> has suggested that a major reason for this was because Jamaicans by upbringing are British, and until 1961 they had the legal right to enter the United Kingdom freely. The intending migrants image of this country was a promising one. They had heard of Britain's post-war economic development. The ease with which jobs could apparently be found in Britain contrasted sharply with the lack of employment opportunities in the West Indian territories. The stories of some 8,000 West Indians who had served in the Royal Air Force in Britain during the Second World War also became well known at home. A number of these people reached commissioned rank; and many of those who served were greatly impressed not only by the absence of discrimination in the armed services, but also by their introduction to an advanced industrialised economy. Furthermore as Katrin Fitzherbert<sup>(33)</sup> has pointed out, England's most beautiful possession in the immigrant's eyes was her host of secure jobs, paying to men and women alike, a regular weekly wage, week-in, week-out; year-in, year-out. The regularity of the pay-packet would mean just as much as its size, and this new security would in its turn remove some of the principal causes of family instability in Jamaica. Men accustomed to drifting through life as victims of overwhelming circumstance would now be able to take decisions and stick to

them. Their life would take on an entirely new dimension.

### Characteristics of the Jamaican migrants

#### (a) ARRANGEMENTS FOR MIGRATION TO THE UNITED KINGDOM

Until about 1955 when the number of Jamaican migrants to the United Kingdom had been fairly small there were not many regular steamship services between the Caribbean and Britain, but services soon expanded in response to the growing demand. Similarly, in Jamaica the arrangement of passages to Britain developed into a sizeable business. G. W. Roberts and D. O. Mills noted at the time that: "Numerous travel agencies have sprung up and many, though maintaining their headquarters in Kingston, have extended their operations throughout the island by means of sub-agencies. The advertising campaigns promoted by competing agencies in urban and rural areas have apprised many Jamaicans of the possibility of emigrating to the United Kingdom. Some agencies have been paying specified sums to individuals who 'sign up' customers. The facilities offered to their clients have also helped to promote emigration. The provision of passages on easy payment plans, or on the furnishing of securities and other credit facilities have greatly extended the range of persons able to emigrate."<sup>(34)</sup>

After arriving in the United Kingdom, the Jamaican migrants dispersed to different parts of the country, no official body making a record of where they went. However Glass<sup>(35)</sup> in her work with the Migrant Services Division of the West Indies Commission had access to the record cards of about 5,000 West Indians who wanted advice on a variety of questions, or who made use of its other services, as did R. B. Davison<sup>(36)</sup> who in Jamaica conducted a sample survey amongst prospective migrants. He then with the aid of many volunteers throughout Britain visited as many of these migrants as possible over the next two years in order to trace their fortunes, experiences, and problems in

a new society. As a result of such research a great deal of very valuable information was discovered.

(b) SEX AND AGE

Statistics gathered by Glass, Davison and Peach support the view that the proportion of sexes who emigrated to the United Kingdom from Jamaica were almost equally represented; the proportion of males decreasing from 1960 onwards on Table 5 shows as the men settled in this country and were followed by their wives and children.

Table 5<sup>(37)</sup>

JAMAICAN IMMIGRATION: PERCENTAGE MALE

Year	Total Number	Male	Percentage
1960	29,547	17,089	57.8
1961	39,090	18,513	47.4
1962 1st half	19,683	8,416	42.8

Of the approximately 5,000 record cards concerning West Indian settlement in the London Area, Glass took a random sample of 1,070 individuals - 782 men and 288 women discovering that the Territory of origin was as follows :

Table 6<sup>(38)</sup>

LONDON SAMPLE: TERRITORY OF ORIGIN OF MIGRANTS (per cent)

Territory of Origin	Men	Women
Jamaica	57	70
Trinidad and Tobago	9	6
Barbados	7	6
British Guiana	8	5
Other Territories	19	13
Total		
Per cent	100	100
Number	782	288

Of this sample of new arrivals in 1953 the age of the migrants on arrival was found to be as follows:

Table 7<sup>(39)</sup>

LONDON SAMPLE: AGE OF MIGRANTS FROM WEST INDIES ON ARRIVAL  
(per cent)

Age Group	Men	Women
15-19	6	9
20-24	27	24
25-29	24	23
Sub-Total	57	56
30-34	13	14
35-39	13	10
Sub-Total	26	24
40-44	7	8
44-49	6	7
50-54	2	3
55 and over	2	2
Sub-Total	17	20
GRAND TOTAL	100	100
Total Number	738	276
Age Unknown	44	12
Total Sample	782	288

Glass also made a study of the age distribution amongst the new Jamaican arrivals, as is shown by Table 8 below:

Table 8<sup>(40)</sup>AGE OF MIGRANTS FROM JAMAICA AT TIME OF ARRIVAL IN  
THE U.K. FROM 1953-55 (per cent)

Age Group	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>	
	London Sample	External data	London Sample	External data
15-34	34	24	29	28
25-34	35	42	28	40
35-44	22	23	20	22
45-54	8	9	20	9
55 or over	1	2	3	3
Total per cent	100	100	100	100
Total number	199	19,874	67	12,188

A similar age distribution amongst the new arrivals from the West Indies as a whole was found in successive years also as is shown by Table 9 below:

Table 9<sup>(41)</sup>LONDON SAMPLE: AGE OF MIGRANTS ON ARRIVAL IN THE  
U.K. IN SUCCESSIVE YEARS  
(per cent)

	1954 & Before	1955	1956	1957 &'58	Total	1954 & Before	1955	1956	1957 '58	Total
Under 30	62	57	54	56	57	48	49	60	62	57
30-39	24	29	28	25	25	21	20	26	18	24
40 & over	14	14	18	19	17	31	31	14	20	19
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

As may be seen from the foregoing tables many of the migrants were young people. When they arrived in the United Kingdom the largest single age group, both among men and women, was that of people who were between 20 and 30 years old. Over 50 per cent of the men and 47 per cent of the women from the West Indies were of that age when they came to England. Few of them were over 44 years old - only 10 per cent of

the men and 12 per cent of the women. Thus it may be assumed that a majority of the arrivals had the capacity to adapt themselves to their new environment rather quickly.

#### Distribution of West Indian settlers in the United Kingdom

In analysing the findings of the 1961 census<sup>(42)</sup> with particular regard to the settlement of West Indian immigrants in England, Peach<sup>(43)</sup> argued that an unexpected pattern of settlement emerged in view of the fact that the movement of West Indians into Great Britain in the period prior to the 1961 census<sup>(44)</sup> was dominated by the demand for labour. He had expected that the geographical distribution would accord with that of the demand for labour. This however was not so. Regional analysis showed that while the West Indian settlers avoided the regions with least demand, they were and are proportionately under-represented in most of the regions of strongest demand. This settlement pattern according to Peach<sup>(45)</sup> suggests that West Indians were drawn in as a replacement population in those regions which, despite a demand for labour, had failed to attract sufficient white population.

Working on figures given by the Ministry of Labour Department of Statistics, Peach estimated that the regions of strong general demand for labour were London and the south-east, the combined eastern and southern region and the south-west. The north Midlands, the Midlands, and East and West Ridings of Yorkshire were regions of moderate demand. The North West, Wales, the North and Scotland were regions with least demand for labour. This distribution pattern was not true when applied to the settlement of West Indians throughout Great Britain wrote Peach.<sup>(46)</sup> If the regional West Indian population is expressed as a proportion of the total regional population, it can be seen from

Table 10 that the East, the South and the South-West had low proportions of West Indians in spite of their high demands for labour generally.

Table 10<sup>(47)</sup>

DISTRIBUTION OF THE WEST INDIAN POPULATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

Region	Total population	West Indian Population	Percentage West Indian
London & S.E.	11,103,673	101,385	-.913
Midlands	4,757,346	28,287	0.595
North Midlands	3,634,195	7,850	0.216
South	2,826,496	5,808	0.206
E. & W. Ridings	4,171,874	7,903	0.189
East	3,736,093	5,890	0.158
South-West	3,411,138	4,867	0.143
North-West	6,567,239	8,243	0.126
Wales	2,644,023	1,414	0.054
Scotland	5,179,344	1,280	0.025
North	3,252,471	732	0.023

The conclusion seems clear, wrote Peach<sup>(48)</sup> that the majority of West Indians who were employed in England and Wales were in jobs which the white population were leaving or were recruited to employment which could not attract sufficient white labour. Although not all West Indians had been drawn in as replacements for missing white workers, Peach believed nonetheless that his view accurately described reasons for the general conditions of movement, distribution, and employment of West Indians in the United Kingdom during the late 1960s.

1981 Census

According to the 1981 Census<sup>(49)</sup> the proportion of migrants from the Caribbean to different areas of the United Kingdom showed a very similar distribution pattern to that of 1961, viz:-



USUALLY RESIDENT MIGRANTS WITHIN ONE YEAR PRECEDING CENSUS FROM OUTSIDE  
UNITED KINGDOM: COUNTRY OF BIRTH BY AGE BY SEX FROM  
CARIBBEAN TO GREAT BRITAIN

	<u>All Ages</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
To Great Britain	2,212	974	1,238
England and Wales	2,115	940	1,175
England	2,095	932	1,163
North Region	29	13	16
Tyne & Wear	12	5	7
Yorkshire & Humberside	73	34	39
South Yorkshire	10	4	6
West Yorkshire	36	15	21
East Midlands	86	32	54
East Anglia	81	42	39
South East	1,412	626	786
Greater London	949	414	535
South West	162	72	90
West Midlands	159	65	94

In comparing the 1981 with the 1961 figures one may conclude that centres with a high Caribbean population such as the South East and Greater London in 1961 continued to attract a particularly high proportion of migrants twenty years later.

Occupations in Jamaica and in London

Although the migrants were asked to state their previous occupation in the West Indies when they visited the official agency, not all of them in fact did so. Some were too young to have had any, or regular employment before they came to this country; others may have been unemployed for some time.

Nevertheless, Glass<sup>(50)</sup> believed that there was sufficient information available to provide a useful indication of the previous occupational characteristics of the migrants. This information was consistent with that derived from other sources, as may be seen below.

Table 11<sup>(51)</sup>

MALE MIGRANTS FROM JAMAICA BY LAST OCCUPATION IN JAMAICA  
(per cent)

Last Occupation in Jamaica	London Sample 1953-55 arrivals	External Roberts 1953-55 migrants	Data Maunder 1954 migrants
Non-manual workers	13	9	9
Manual workers:			
Skilled	52	61	51
Semi-skilled & personal service	4	2	13
Unskilled	8	8	5
Sub-Total: Manual workers	64	71	69
Farmers, farm labourers	23	21	22
TOTAL CLASSIFIED			
Per cent	100	100	100
Number	187	16,788	420

Ruth Glass's London Sample showed some very noticeable distinctions in the occupational distribution of migrants from the different territories. Glass's findings showed that Jamaica, Barbados and the smaller territories sent a smaller proportion of "black-coated" workers to Britain than Trinidad and British Guiana. Almost all the farmers and farm labourers in the London Sample came from Jamaica; and just under one in five of the Jamaicans had had an agricultural occupation.

Table 12<sup>(52)</sup>PREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS IN THE WEST INDIES BY TERRITORY OF ORIGIN  
(per cent)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Territory of Origin</u>					Total
	Jamaica	Trinidad & Tobago	Barbados	British Guiana	Other Terri- tories	
Professional workers	3	22	5	22	7	7
Other Black-coated workers	13	32	7	22	19	17
Total Non-manl.wrkrs.	16	54	12	44	26	24
<hr/>						
Manual workers:						
Skilled	47	42	58	33	45	46
Semi-skilled	5	4	9	4	5	5
Unskilled	13	-	21	13	18	13
<hr/>						
Total manual wrks.	65	46	88	50	68	64
<hr/>						
Farmers	14	-	-	6	4	9
Farm labourers & Fishermen	5	-	-	-	2	2
<hr/>						
Total agricultural workers	19	-	-	6	6	12
<hr/>						
GRAND TOTAL						
Per cent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	345	55	43	46	119	608
<hr/>						
Per cent (by territory)	57	9	7	7	20	100

Occupations in the United Kingdom

Glass found in her research that Jamaican migrants' aspirations for jobs in London were largely determined by the experiences gained from their previous occupations in the West Indies. She found that a considerable number of Jamaican men and women hoped for a job with

middle class status. When however the information of Table 11<sup>(53)</sup> concerning the previous occupations of Male migrants in Jamaica is compared with Davison's findings<sup>(54)</sup> regarding the occupations of a 10 per cent sample of Jamaican males working in twenty eight of the London metropolitan boroughs in 1961, it is clear that very few succeeded in realising their ambitions in this way. For example of Davison's sample less than 0.5 per cent of the 1,389 Jamaican males were in professional occupations, about 1 per cent were employers and managers, about 39 per cent were skilled manual workers, 4 per cent non-manual workers, 22 per cent were semi-skilled manual or agricultural workers and approximately 34 per cent were in unskilled manual occupations. Glass's view<sup>(55)</sup> that many of them were disappointed, at least in the early period of their stay in London, and a number remained disappointed unless they were able to forget their previous aspirations, and come to terms with the actual situation in terms of employment opportunities available to them is consistent with the evidence. Of those in the London sample who were in employment at the time of her study, Glass estimated that approximately 41 per cent of the West Indian male migrants had the same status in their occupational employment in London compared with their status in the West Indies, about 5 per cent had a higher status than previously and 54 per cent were recorded as having an occupation with a lower rank than they had previously held.

Davison<sup>(56)</sup> discovered in his survey of West Indian male occupations in London that although the number of male West Indians classified as 'professional, employers and managers' in London as a whole was 2 per cent, in Kensington and Fulham the proportion was 4 per cent. In Hammersmith 28 per cent were classified as 'semi-skilled', but in Lewisham and Camberwell the proportion was 15 per cent.

When Davison studied the information regarding occupations from his Jamaican Sample Survey which was not confined to London, he found that the majority were working either in completely unskilled or in semi-skilled occupations. Of the 103 men who replied to his survey Davison discovered that 44 per cent stated that they were engaged in an unskilled occupation, usually described as that of labourer, porter, cleaner, boilerman, stoker, factory hand, handyman or some such designation. Twenty four per cent of the women in Davison's sample worked in unskilled jobs, such as ward orderlies in hospitals, canteen assistants, domestic helps, cleaners or general labourers in factories.

The next fairly clearly defined category in Davison's Jamaican sample into which 12 per cent of the men and 24 per cent of the women were placed, was that including the occupations of machine operator, storekeeper or packer, occupations which required something more than sheer muscle-power and could be regarded as semi-skilled in that a certain amount of specialised training was required which varied, from job to job, e.g. Male Jamaican machine operators worked in the rubber, cycle, shoe and metal industries and Female Jamaican operatives worked in the textile and garment industries (for instance: raincoat manufacturing). Individuals were also employed on machines in the tobacco, radio, sugar confectionery and metal industries.

Semi-skilled or skilled occupations were said to be performed by 40 per cent of the men and 36 per cent of the women in Davison's Sample. Only 2 per cent of the women - and none of the men - were engaged in office work as shorthand typists or telephone operators. A fairly large number of the women were reported to be housewives or expectant mothers. Three men and six women stated that they were unemployed, although some of the housewives were ready to take employment if they could find it.

Table 13

## OCCUPATIONS OF JAMAICAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE U.K. (per cent)

	Male	Female
Unskilled	44	24
Machine operators, storekeepers, packers	12	24
Semi-skilled	40	36
Clerical occupations	-	2
Others	4	14
	100	100
Number of replies	103	123
No clear reply	5	3

Source: Jamaican Sample Survey

Industrial Classification

Davison's Jamaican Sample Survey also provided information about the various industries in which Jamaicans were to be found. For Jamaican males the most important industries, employing over one-third, were engineering - metal, vehicles and chemicals. Transport was the next most important source of employment for men: about 5 per cent were employed on British Railways and a few more in industries connected with road transport, including removal and warehousing. These two main groups of industries accounted for over half the employment of the males; the rest were scattered in ones and twos throughout British industry. None was engaged in agriculture (an occupation in which many had been engaged in a full or part-time capacity in Jamaica) but four of them were working in coal-mining. A few were engaged in clothing manufacture, including making leather goods and shoes: rather more worked in the food-processing industries (cakes, brewing, canning,

potato crisps) and rubber industries. About one in ten was employed in the building and constructional industries, a few were employed in the gas industry, and about one in ten in hospitals, local government, road services, and laundries. Very few were employed in catering or distribution.

The pattern of industrial employment amongst the women in Davison's Sample was completely different. Here the three most important groups of industries, accounting for two-thirds of the total employment, were hospitals, textiles and clothing, and light engineering. Almost one woman in five was employed in the hospitals, either in nursing or in domestic service: only one recorded 'domestic work', which may have been in an institution. Just under one in ten was employed in laundries and almost one in five in clothing factories. One or two were engaged in textile factories, or in making socks or shoes. Those that worked in the engineering and metal goods industries were employed in radio assembly, manufacturing chromium ware, light electrical assembly, car components, marine accessories, cables and packing tubes. Isolated people were reported as working in a wide range of food-processing industries such as sweets and confectionery manufacture, ice-cream making, jellies, canned foods, pickling, brewing, soft drinks manufacture, tobacco and cattle produce. In the service industries catering was the most frequently reported (6 per cent were engaged in this industry), only one on British Railways, 6 per cent in road transport (probably working in depots, canteens, and so forth, not on the road) and only two in retail distribution.

Table 14

## INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF JAMAICAN IMMIGRANTS (per cent)

	Males	Females
(1) Agriculture and mining	4	1
(2) Chemicals, metals, engineering, vehicles	38	18
(3) Textiles, clothing, leather	4	22
(4) Food manufacturing	9	11
(5) Wood, paper, rubber, other manufacturing	6	7
(6) Building	11	-
(7) Gas, electricity, water	3	-
(8) Transport, distribution	16	14
(9) Administration, hospitals, miscellaneous services	9	27
	100	100
Number of persons:	98	100

Source: Jamaican Sample Survey

Methods of Obtaining Employment

As far as obtaining employment in England was concerned a considerable number of migrants from Barbados obtained jobs in Britain in advance. Under a Barbadian Government scheme people on the island were recruited by several British enterprises - the British Transport Commission, the London Transport Executive, the British Hotels and Restaurants Association, and also for domestic work in hospitals by the Regional Hospital Boards. Arrangements for direct recruitment in Barbados began in 1955, at a period when the main industries concerned - transport and catering - were suffering acutely from a shortage of labour. The London Transport Executive sent a recruitment team to



Barbados in 1956 - by the end of 1958 nearly 4,000 coloured workers had been taken on by London Transport; the majority were recruited in England but a considerable number (almost 1,000) came directly from Barbados. Documentary evidence of similar facilities being made available for intending migrants from Jamaica however, does not appear to exist.

Basing his findings upon evidence derived from the Jamaican Sample during the two years of his enquiry (1961-62) Davison found that by far the most important method of obtaining employment for the people interviewed was by means of the personal efforts of a relative - aunt, cousin, brother, brother-in-law, sister, wife or husband - who was already working or had some contact in the workplace. In the first year 36 per cent of the men and 37 per cent of the women obtained their jobs through the personal recommendation of a relative or a friend. This proportion increased to 40 per cent of the men and 49 per cent of the women in the second year. An almost equally important method of obtaining employment was by means of the 'walk and look' method as several respondents described it. Quite often the chance application was not entirely accidental - information came through the 'grapevine' that a job might be available and the individual took a chance by applying, without relying on any personal recommendation. Altogether four jobs out of five in Davison's Sample were found either by personal recommendation or by chance application. The public employment exchange system, the Youth Employment Service, advertisements, or fee-charging private agencies did not play an important role in the process of finding employment for Davison's sample of Jamaican migrants.

Table 15<sup>(59)</sup>

## SECURING EMPLOYMENT (per cent)

<u>Medium</u>	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>	
	1st year	2nd year	1st year	2nd year
Through a friend or relative	36	40	37	49
Chance application	38	41	32	40
Public employment exchange	18	15	26	7
Reply to advertisement	8	4	5	4
	100	100	100	100
Number of replies	104	80	119	96
No reply or self-employed	-	3	-	10

Source: Jamaican Sample Survey

During the interviews conducted amongst the Jamaican migrants the question was asked: 'Are the conditions of employment regarded by you as satisfactory'; 57 per cent replied positively that conditions were satisfactory, 19 per cent whilst expressing general satisfaction at the conditions of employment, made it clear that they personally were dissatisfied, e.g. because they felt they could do more responsible and skilled jobs, 24 per cent replied negatively that conditions were unsatisfactory, e.g. that the work was too heavy, or that the physical conditions were unpleasant (hot, dusty, noisy) or the worker felt that he or she was being unduly rushed (particularly when piecework was in operation). However out of the 216 replies to Davison's question regarding the degree of satisfaction found in employment, only five made specific reference to any alleged colour discrimination at work. From his evidence Davison argued that racial frictions in British industry at the time of his survey were minimal, and such tensions as did arise occurred in no greater or lesser degree than they would amongst a heterogeneous group of workers anywhere. Glass also shared

this view stating that on the whole English people had an entirely different attitude to their workmates than they had to their neighbours or would-be-neighbours. While a man was prepared to work with coloured people, or even under them he might still be most reluctant to accept the idea that they should come to live nearby. He was Glass stated, far more likely to be aware of their dark skin at home than in the factory.

#### Employment Opportunities for Jamaicans since the 1960s

Since Glass and Davison's surveys during the 1960s Nancy Foner<sup>(60)</sup> has made a study of how migration and change has affected Jamaicans living in London during the 1970s based on interviews with a non-random sample of 110 Jamaican persons chosen to meet age, sex and residence criteria during eight months in 1973. Foner located respondents by knocking on doors in neighbourhoods known to have many Jamaican residents. Nearly all the eight people Foner personally interviewed lived in working-class areas of South London (mainly Brixton and Clapham), while most of the thirty people interviewed by her research assistant lived in working-class areas of North London.

Although Davison<sup>(61)</sup> had argued that racial frictions in British industry at the time of his survey in 1966 were minimal, Foner's survey gave support to the view that by 1973 discrimination had become "a widespread and persistent aspect of the general employment structure".<sup>(62)</sup> By 1976 although there had been a slight increase in the number of West Indian supervisors and white-collar workers, West Indians were still underrepresented in higher-level occupations. West Indian with academic qualifications wrote Smith<sup>(63)</sup> lagged far behind whites with equivalent qualifications in getting white-collar, professional, or management jobs and it was these coloured immigrants with the highest

educational qualifications who were most likely to claim discrimination in employment.

Statistics published by the Department of Employment<sup>(64)</sup> showed that between February 1979 and February 1980 unemployment amongst West Indian workers rose by 13.5 per cent compared with 2.5 per cent for the total unemployed for Great Britain. Several factors have been suggested<sup>(65)</sup> to explain why unemployment among black people increases in this way:-

1. There was increasing numbers of black young people leaving full-time education and entering the employment field at a time when job prospects for young people generally are adversely affected by the cutbacks in recruitment during the present recession.
2. The shorter average duration in employment of black workers makes them vulnerable to '1st in, first out' rule at times of redundancy.
3. There have been greater percentage increases in unemployment in the regions - for example, the South East and West Midlands - where most black people live.
4. Racial discrimination by individual employers and in recruitment and selection procedures means that, faced with a plentiful supply of labour, employers will hire white in preference to black labour.

Clear evidence of racial discrimination against non-whites with the same level of qualification as whites as recently as the middle of 1984 was shown in an analysis of Government figures by Bidy Passmore.<sup>(66)</sup> These figures according to Passmore show that blacks in Britain are

twice as likely to be unemployed as whites and that only a small part of this difference is attributable to factors such as level of qualifications or age distribution in a particular ethnic group.

The article, which is based on data from the 1981 Labour Force Survey, breaks down unemployment rates for specific ethnic groups: whites, West Indians, Asians and others. It finds that whites always fare best, with young West Indian men faring worst and Asians (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi) almost as badly off.

Differences for those with the same level of qualifications are particularly striking. Only 9 per cent of white men with 0 level are unemployed, compared with 25 per cent of West Indians and 18 per cent of Asians. For other non-white men, (Chinese, African, Arab or other) the figure is 19 per cent. The figures are similar for women.

At the level of CSE and "other qualifications", the unemployment rate for West Indian men soars to 42 per cent, compared with 15 per cent for Asian men and 13 per cent for other non-white and white men.

The generally lower level of qualifications among non-white groups is clearly shown in the report.<sup>(67)</sup> More than half (55 per cent) of West Indian men and nearly half (48 per cent) of Asian men have no qualifications at all compared with 38 per cent of white men. Only 1 per cent of West Indian men have degrees, compared with 14 per cent of Asians and 10 per cent of whites.

An important factor in the difference in the overall unemployment rates of the various ethnic groups is age distribution. Non-white groups have relatively more young where unemployment is highest, and

fewer old people.

### Housing

#### The First Bases

When migrating Jamaicans were asked on the boat-train to London if they had an address to go to, Glass reported<sup>(68)</sup> that they usually produced an air-mail letter from a relative or friend. The address on the letter would often be their first point of contact in the United Kingdom. In the early fifties there were also some migrants who arrived hopefully without any address. Temporary accommodation had to be found for them - occasionally in Salvation Army hostels and similar institutions - by the welfare officers who met them. Only a minority of the migrants were helped in that way, the majority obtained accommodation through their own personal contacts and efforts. Glass reported that the small group of long-established coloured people in London, as well as recent migrants since World War II, helped to provide temporary accommodation. Their houses became, virtually hostels for newcomers from the West Indies. There was an unofficial 'reception centre' of this kind in North Kensington; there were several in Camberwell and Brixton; one in Islington, one in Hampstead; and a few in areas outside of London, e.g. at Slough, Buckinghamshire and at Baldock, Hertfordshire. These original 'reception centres' - the rooms of some migrants; the houses of others who were already settled - became the nuclei for areas of London where sizeable numbers of West Indians went to live.

In a few cases, however, the location of these first bases was determined not only by the presence of hospitable migrants in a particular district. It was partly a matter of chance, for example, which explains the large settlement of Jamaicans in Brixton. When the first

large party of Jamaican migrants arrived in 1948 on the "Empire Windrush" 242 were temporarily housed in Clapham Common Underground Station, which had been a war-time air-raid shelter. A writer has described the episode as follows :

"The Colonial Office was by now seriously concerned about the 'Windrush' men. Mr. Creech Jones (Secretary of State for the Colonies at the time) wrote to Councillor Jack Simpson, Mayor of Lambeth, whose borough was close to Clapham Common, and asked if some welcome could be arranged. Councillor Simpson took a look at the mayoral purse which allowed £600 for the whole year, and said he could entertain forty Jamaicans. So, on the afternoon of Wednesday, June 23rd, in a room over The Astoria Cinema, Brixton, a representative group of the Jamaicans took tea with the Mayor.

Local officials and two M.P.'s were there. Colonel Marcus Lipton, Labour Member for Brixton, told the men that they should regard Britain as their second home. The Mayor added to his own good wishes the comment: 'When I heard of your coming here, I was moved. A journey like yours does not take place without good reason'. Afterwards, there was a free cinema show.

Back at the shelter that evening, the forty men described the reception to their friends. They spoke with enthusiasm, joyous that a few people had taken the trouble to make them feel welcome. The limited sum of money spent was not important; tea and cakes had been as effective as champagne.

In the unknown and perplexing vastness of England, the Jamaicans now felt they could be sure of one place. Brixton was friendly. In Brixton they would make their homes."<sup>(69)</sup>

Most of these men, Glass stated were placed in local jobs which gave them an additional incentive to remain in the district.

#### Areas of Jamaican Migrant Settlement in London

The areas in which Jamaican West Indians tended to cluster - in North and West London and in the South - chiefly in the seven London boroughs of Lambeth, Stoke Newington, Hackney, Paddington, Deptford, Battersea and Camberwell - had several features in common. They were at the time really the only large-scale districts of the County of London and its fringes where openings existed for the accommodation of considerable numbers of migrants from low income groups. By and large these migrants were unable to find lodgings in the solid working class districts of the East End and the southern river-side boroughs, which had a reduced but a rooted population and stable tenancies, and in whose cottages and more modern apartment buildings there was not space for further sub-division. The solid middle class and upper class districts - of Hampstead, Chelsea, Westminster, South Kensington and similar parts were equally closed to all but a small minority of the more prosperous Jamaicans. As real estate values rose with the increasing competition for sites in Central London, the place of private houses was frequently taken by office blocks, by stores and hotels. The planners wished to 'export', not to 'import', population. Patterns of development were thus designed accordingly and these were not hospitable to a considerable group of newcomers.

The choice of location for the Jamaican migrants was thus very narrow. In fact they had hardly any choice. They had to stay fairly near to the central London labour market, and since they couldn't go to those central London districts - working class, middle class or



upper class - whose patterns of occupation had been stabilised, nor to those which were in the stage of physical reconstruction, planned functional change or social upgrading, they were rather limited to patches of inner London which had been neglected, and which had been already for some time in the process of decline and social downgrading.

The Jamaican newcomers tended to find rooms in streets where the tall houses had been by-passed because of their location, e.g. near a railway, a noisy market, on a main traffic route or in areas of mixed land use. The four and five-storey houses which they moved into usually had dark basements, and were built mainly in the late nineteenth century for the large households of the middle classes. Often they had been left to deteriorate because they seemed so clumsy and ugly, having seemed to the previous occupiers hardly worth while converting into properly self-contained flats or maisonettes.

Gradually these houses were sub-divided though not adapted to multiple occupation. The kitchen, the bathroom, the toilet, which were once used by a single household, now had to be shared by several, and also by transient lodgers. Occasionally, some additional make-shift cooking facilities were installed. Each of the rooms, once scrubbed by servants were now often occupied by a separate group of people - by a family; the remnants of a family; by one lodger, or by several who paid their rent jointly.

### Housing Conditions and the 1961 Census

The 1961 census<sup>(70)</sup> provided useful and important information about housing conditions in the seven London boroughs mentioned previously during the years of considerable Jamaican migration to this country. Figures about overcrowding, the use of facilities (water supply, water closet, etc.), and details of tenure were all made available. Davison<sup>(107)</sup> in his own survey compared English and immigrant groups, and Jamaicans in particular, basing his conclusions on the census figures for the seven London boroughs in order to highlight the situation. The average figures over the seven boroughs taken together showed that in households headed by a person born in Jamaica almost two persons out of three lived in households which occupied three rooms or less, whilst just over one in four (29 per cent) lived in one-room households only. In Paddington four out of five (81 per cent) were living in households which occupied three rooms or less and over one in three (37 per cent) were living in one-room households. In comparison with this, figures from the census showed that the proportion of persons living at a density in excess of one person per room for households with the head born in England averaged only 23 per cent for the seven boroughs. In general the figures for household occupation showed that Jamaican immigrants were more over crowded than the English population; and when they lived in particularly overcrowded boroughs such as Paddington they tended to be even more overcrowded.

With regard to the use of four basic facilities - cold-water tap, hot-water tap, fixed bath and water closet, it was clear from the 1961 census figures that households headed by a person born in Jamaica were much less favourably placed than other household groups in the

matter of household facilities. Only 12 per cent of the Jamaican households, as compared with 40 per cent of the English households had the exclusive use of all four facilities.

As far as property tenure was concerned in the seven boroughs considered, 61 per cent of Jamaican households were renting furnished accommodation in 1961. Compared with this only 7 per cent of the families with an 'English' born head of household were renting on a furnished basis at the time. Hardly any Jamaicans were renting from the council. This fact does not indicate that any form of conscious racial discrimination was being practised in the matter of allocating council houses. The explanation for the different proportions housed by the public authorities was more a matter of time, and of how long families had been on the waiting list.

Finally, interpreting figures from the 1961 census with regard to the proportion of households sharing a dwelling with one or more other households, Davison stated that the average for the seven boroughs where the head of the household was born in Jamaica was 76 per cent (89 per cent in Hackney), compared to an average of 30 per cent where the head of the household was born in England. The incidence of shared dwellings in Lambeth (which includes Brixton) for Jamaicans (79 per cent) was higher than of other immigrant groups living in that area.

#### Housing for Jamaicans living in London since the 1960s

In her 1973 survey<sup>(71)</sup> Nancy Foner discovered that the majority of the Jamaicans living in London she interviewed continued to live in the decaying inner and middle ring of the city. She considered that discrimination clearly played a role in confining them to areas of

"housing stress" although she conceded that many feared isolation or rejection when they gave consideration to moving to the suburban areas or to the new towns. In order to give force to her argument Foner quoted from a survey carried out by Political and Economic Planning in 1973<sup>(72)</sup>. The 1973 P.E.P. tests revealed considerable discrimination in the private housing sector: when applying for rented accommodations Asian or West Indian testers faced discrimination in 27 per cent of cases; when seeking to purchase a house, Asian or West Indian testers faced discrimination in 77 per cent of cases being offered an inferior range of houses in 12 per cent of cases. Further, there had been no dramatic improvement in the quality of the housing occupied by West Indians. Whether West Indians lived in privately rented or owner-occupied accommodations, their housing was much worse than that occupied by whites: it was more likely to be shared; was occupied at a higher density; had fewer amenities; was more likely to be terraced; was older; and tended to be in poorer structural condition than housing occupied by whites (D. Smith 1976 : 136 op.cit). An analysis of the 1971 census data for Greater London by the Runnymede Trust Staff in 1975<sup>(73)</sup> revealed that over half of the GLC tenants of New Commonwealth origin were living in high density pre-war flats while only 11 per cent of the other GLC tenants had such housing. Furthermore the housing amenities of West Indian professional and management workers were found to be inferior to those enjoyed by the families of white unskilled and semi-skilled workers. One approach towards ensuring that black people get their fair share of good quality council housing has been to set a target for allocating more desirable properties to black families. In January, 1979 Lambeth Council announced that a target proportion of 30 per cent of the housing on new estates and modernised properties should go to black people on the waiting list.<sup>(74)</sup>

By 1985<sup>(75)</sup> the Lambeth race target was that a minimum of 35 per cent of new, rehabilitated and relet property was to be allocated to Black households (each category being monitored separately). The actual proportion of black households among total lettings for 1984/5 was 36.4 per cent, compared with 34.6 per cent in 1983/4 and the monitoring target of 35 per cent. Brixton had the highest proportion of allocations to black households at 42 per cent; Norwood and Kennington were lowest at 30 per cent and 32 per cent respectively. Black households were allocated 36.7 per cent of new and improved dwellings, compared with 36.4 per cent of all dwellings and the target of 35 per cent. Black households were allocated 37.9 per cent of relets on difficult to let estates. Black households were therefore allocated a slightly higher proportion of the best property a slightly lower proportion of worst property and a slightly lower proportion of middle-ranking property (the 'better' relets) than white households. The highest proportion of blacks among allocations to new and improved dwellings was in Stockwell (58 per cent) and the lowest in Norwood (33 per cent). The highest proportion of blacks among allocations to relets on difficult to let estates was in Brixton (42 per cent) and the lowest in Norwood and Kennington (both 28 per cent). No details are given by Lambeth as to which racial groups compose their lettings to black or white households.

#### The Process of Integration

According to Davison it is unwise to categorize people too rigidly when trying to assess their attitude to integration but it is possible, conceptually to distinguish as extremes those who positively seek to integrate from those who take the opposite view. There is a third, 'condition' category consisting of those people who, whilst cautiously

willing to move towards some measure of integration, have certain reservations. The large majority of the group in Davison's Jamaican Sample interviewed during the two years could be regarded as 'positive' in some degree, although they faced many obstacles which differed between individuals and for the same person, at different periods of time. Amongst the 'conditional' group, the great majority were those who said in the course of the interviews that they would like to join in some sort of social activity but were reluctant to make the first move - they were waiting for someone to take the initiative and invite them.

In many cases the real attitude to social integration was revealed when the obstacles to it, genuine or imagined, were discussed. The major 'obstacle', preventing many Jamaican immigrants in Davison's group from establishing closer contact with white organised society was their pre-occupation with their family and domestic life. Poor health was mentioned occasionally as a reason for the absence of any kind of social contact, and many of the people interviewed complained that they had either no energy or no time for any kind of organised social activity. As with the majority of English people, Davison and his interviewers found many of the Jamaican migrants perfectly content to do their job and find their amusement with a close circle of friends. They felt no urge to 'integrate' with white or coloured organised clubs or societies outside their immediate circle. The majority whilst expressing no animosity towards the white neighbours surrounding them, clearly indicated that they preferred the company of 'their own kind', meaning Jamaicans. People from the other West Indian islands such as Grenada or Antigua were classed, along with Africans, as friendly, but not intimate, contacts. Very little evidence of racial animosity appeared but where it did it was usually directed

against 'Indians', which probably included Pakistanis also. Time and again it transpired that the only social contact which the Jamaican had with the Englishman, which involved any kind of communication between them arose from the workplace, a social contact which only occasionally appeared to extend outside working hours.

### Social Contacts

During the enquiry everyone was asked if he or she had any English friends. Because of the difficulty of defining 'friends', those who replied in the affirmative to this question were then asked a supplementary: 'Have you every been in an English home?' The results of this enquiry are summarised in Table 16.

Table 16<sup>(76)</sup>

SOCIAL CONTACTS (per cent) END OF SECOND YEAR OF ENQUIRY		
	Men	Women
Social contact with English people		
YES	69	53
NO	31	47
	—	—
	100	100
Of those replying YES		
Been in an English home	61	50
Not been in an English home	39	50
	—	—
	100	100

Source: Jamaican Sample Survey

From the results of this enquiry it may be seen that social contact between men tended to be more frequent than between women (work being the main element in the situation). Over half of each sex claimed to have English friends, and the number of Jamaicans invited into an English home was not insignificant.

#### Church Affiliations

Most Jamaican migrants arrived in England with a strong church tradition; the home social life of many was based upon the revivalist, Pentecostal type of church in Jamaica, not infrequently the offshoot of some American Negro sect - the Church of God, in its many variations was predominant. It was against this background that many Jamaican migrants to England viewed their churchgoing and explained why so many found it difficult to adjust to what they saw as the relatively cold formality of an English church service. The results of Davison's enquiries showed that almost half of the men and just over half of the women in his Jamaican sample claimed to attend church of some kind. The majority were attending a conventional, established English church with a mixed congregation, but a sizeable minority (almost a quarter of the women) were attending churches which were composed almost exclusively of coloured people in the Pentecostal type of service. The great majority of the respondents attended a church meeting held in a recognized church building but some also met together in large houses or school halls. A common aim of many little groups was to acquire sufficient funds in order to erect or purchase a building of their own.



### Training and educational classes

Apart from the church; training and educational classes were the most frequently mentioned organised social groups which appealed to the persons interviewed - one in ten of Davison's respondents asked that they were taking part in some sort of further education, usually with a strong vocational bias. The women said that they were interested in typing, nursing, knitting and sewing classes. The men were interested largely in carpentry, metal-work, engineering or some subject closely allied with their vocational aspirations. There was no evidence of any particular interest in what might broadly be termed cultural educational facilities, such as art; literature or music. In Davison's view the migrants in this sample were not in any way different from the majority of the people in their income group and neighbourhood. Interest in these matters he believed was usually the result of a higher education which had been denied to these migrants and to many of their white contemporaries.

Politics presented little attraction and very few recorded any interest in, far less active participation in, any of the United Kingdom political parties - by far the most important area of social contact between the races was the workplace, rather than the home neighbourhood. Nearly two-fifths of the men and nearly one-fifth of the women were members of a trade union. These figures related to Jamaican people who had been in Britain no more than three years, many of them working in unskilled jobs (and probably non-unionised factories). None was an official, but quite a high percentage claimed to have attended a branch meeting.

### Use of Leisure Time

The greater part of the leisure time of the Jamaicans in Davison's Sample survey was spent at home watching television, reading the Bible, religious magazines, comic strips or the popular newspapers. The radio played an important part in the life of the migrants, but talking to friends, relatives or neighbours provided the main diversion. Football pools were mentioned occasionally, as was Battersea Fun Fair. Games such as cards, ludo and dominoes (which are an important social activity in rural Jamaica) were rarely mentioned.

### Holidays

When the respondents were asked where the last holiday (vacation) had been spent - over half had simply stayed at home: a further quarter either had no holiday at all or spent it visiting friends in one of the cities where, presumably, life continued along much the same lines as it did at home. There was little evidence of any originality in the use of holidays - the migrants had come to England - but they had seen little or nothing of the country, apart perhaps from an occasional day trip. They had made little or no effort to avail themselves of the wealth of art, galleries, parks, museums and other cultural amenities within each. This was not to suggest that Jamaican immigrants were in any way peculiar in this respect - a similar statement might well be made about large numbers of people of the same income group in the same neighbourhood who were born in London.

After the second year of interviewing the migrants in the Jamaican Sample Davison asked his interviewers to make an assessment of the overall relationship of Jamaicans to their new environment in terms of :

domestic life, housing, employment, church, English neighbours, and Jamaican neighbours. Within each of these categories the interviewer was given four alternative conditions and asked to give the best assessment possible of the category in which he or she would place the individual who had been interviewed :

- (a) The individual has no observable problems.
- (b) There are problems but there is reasonable hope of solution within the near future.
- (c) The problems are considerable and there is no immediate sign of solution.
- (d) Hopeless.

The results of this enquiry are given in Table 17 below.

Table 17<sup>(77)</sup>

(a) Men	DEGREE OF SETTLEMENT (per cent)			
	Placed in category			
	A	B	C	D
Domestic life	61	19	19	1
Housing	75	13	9	3
Employment	71	18	9	2
Church	74	3	10	13
English neighbours	56	13	18	14
Jamaican neighbours	94	5	1	1

(b) Women				
Domestic life	77	14	7	2
Housing	69	16	14	-
Employment	74	10	14	1
Church	62	5	11	22
English neighbours	55	10	13	21
Jamaican neighbours	94	1	4	1

Source: Jamaican Sample Survey

The great majority of the men and the women were felt to be in a reasonable state of settlement regarding their Jamaican neighbours in England, but relationships with the English neighbours were apparently much less satisfactory. Nearly a quarter of the women were classified as having an unsatisfactory relationship with their English neighbours with little or no apparent prospect of improvement. Employment relationships for both sexes were regarded as either completely satisfactory or presenting reasonable prospects of a solution being found to any existing problems. Attitudes to housing did not emerge as badly as one might have expected. In view of the highly unsatisfactory housing position of West Indians relative to other birthplace groups, one might have expected a very different result, and it would not have been difficult to understand if a high proportion had been registered as having great housing problems. This was not the case. Although in relative terms West Indians were badly placed in the housing field in England, most of them were better off than they would have been back at home in the West Indies, and were therefore less conscious of their deprivations. Davison predicted that the situation regarding Jamaicans' relative contentment with their housing would undoubtedly change as the migrants became more accustomed to the English way of life and the standards of housing demanded as of right by other members of the community.

Integration of Jamaicans in the United Kingdom since the 1960s

Foner<sup>(78)</sup> found in her 1973 survey that both men and women were gratified by their higher wages and improved living standards in England; 52 per cent of both the men and women in the sample mentioned improved living standards and/or higher income in England when contrasting their position in England and Jamaica. However whether male or female, Jamaicans in London are affected by the overwhelming importance of colour. One of Foner's respondents a Mr. Gordon was an unskilled labourer, in Jamaica - dishwasher in a cafe. In London, he worked as a fitter for the electricity board. "Back in Jamaica," he said, "I would have been happy with the job I got here, but there's other things more important than that." In explaining why he said that his position is worse in England than it was in Jamaica, he told Foner: "It's not the money I make. I earn more here and I didn't have my own house in Jamaica, so I suppose you might say I ought to be better off. But that's not the way it works for Jamaicans in England; people think you got a lousy job because 'all West Indians are like that.' I'd prefer to be in Jamaica with less money in my pocket, because people there take me for what I am."

As far as the second generation of Jamaicans is concerned, i.e. those who were born in England to immigrant parents or who were brought to England young enough to have received their entire schooling there; it is being born and raised in England, not just being at a different life-course stage from their parents, that seems to shape many of young Jamaicans' orientations and much of their behaviour.

A difference found by Foner in her sample was that young people tend to be more hostile, and more likely to express their hostility,

towards whites than their parents are. Foner acknowledges that this difference may be due in part to the consequences of age and the fact that Jamaicans, following a trend reported for other groups, may become more conservative and more tolerant of social inequities as they age. However, young people have been exposed to the bitter effects of racial prejudice and discrimination in England since early childhood, and they do not, like their parents, compare their situation with, or think of going home to Jamaica. Instead, they compare their position with that of other English people with whom they have grown up and gone to school: the comparison usually indicates that they are in a worse position than young whites.

While young Jamaicans' encounters with racial prejudice in childhood mold their attitudes to white people, their subsequent experiences in job-hunting and with the police heighten their hostility to whites. Getting a job, especially a white-collar job, is more difficult for young blacks than for young whites. Peter Figueroa's<sup>(79)</sup> (1976) study of West Indian and British school leavers from the same London secondary modern school in the 1960s revealed that West Indians, especially the young men, were more likely to enter semi-skilled and skilled manual occupations and less likely to enter non-manual occupations than their British counterparts. West Indian young men and women were also less well paid than British young men and women (1976:223-224). The career prospects of black job seekers, however well qualified look bleak according to Ballard and Holden<sup>(80)</sup>, "and will remain so without a radical change in attitudes on the part of employers."

In Foner's view young blacks' anger towards whites and white society is expressed in, reinforced by, and sometimes intensified by their relations with the police. To the young black, the policeman is the "last powerful link in the chain of institutionalised racialism in which the black person may feel helplessly shackled" (Lambert et al. 1974:189)<sup>(81)</sup>. As symbols of law and order, they are the most available and tangible figures of authority with whom the black person interacts. Many policemen are, at the same time says Foner racially prejudiced and especially hostile to young blacks. One reason for this hostility on the part of the police in Foner's view is that young blacks tend to stand up to the police in confrontations. Police thus tend to victimize black youths, often without legitimate cause, and the confrontations that follows merely intensify ill will on both sides (Banton 1974).<sup>(82)</sup>

Young blacks' disappointments and frustrations may not only be expressed in confrontations with the police. A growing number of young people support militant political organisations which espouse radical programmes to improve the position of blacks in Britain. Young, rather than older Jamaicans, may also be attracted to such groups because, as Karl Mannheim suggests, members of the younger generation, who are in "fresh contact" with the political world and whose political ideas are just being formed, are more receptive to new political trends than members of older generations (A. Foner<sup>(83)</sup> 1974:190).

The majority of young blacks says Foner appear to be forging a new identity for themselves as black people in Britain. On the one hand, they are less likely than their parents to identify themselves as Jamaican. A "black born in Britain is a shadow of a man. You are not a West Indian, Pakistani, or African, because you were born in Britain and you know little or nothing about your parents' country"

(Mullard 1973-13)<sup>(84)</sup>. Those born in Britain have "no recollection of an island or village home ..... and they even reject the cuising of their parents in favour of fish and chips" (Midgett 1975:76)<sup>(85)</sup>. On the other hand, encounters with discrimination have undermined their belief that they are British. The response of many has been to focus on their blackness as a basis for identification, both to point out the position of black people in Britain and to emphasize the positive aspects of their black identity. Indeed, one writer (Sivanandan 1976)<sup>(86)</sup> has argued that the fear of discontent among "rebellious black youth" is a crucial factor behind recent, and more stringent, British government measures to combat racism, namely the 1976 Race Relations Act.

That psychological difficulties in adjusting to predominantly white British Society for many West Indians still remain during the 1980s was shown by one West Indian male who describing his experiences stated that there is a need to fight continuously against people's stereotyped ideas. For example one has said "if you act like the jolly buffoon or the thicko who was good at sports you were then conforming to all the stereotyped attitudes that are around, of black people being musical, good dancers, etc. but not very intelligent. If you wear a woolly hat and spend your time building a sound system then you also conform to the stereotype, but if you aspire to be something else - a substitute white, an imitation white as they see it, wanting to study and do well, then you are threatening because you have the ability to take people's jobs away and he in a position of telling other people - especially white people - what to do. But in doing that you don't feel comfortable on either side of the fence because you're not black and you're not white." Similarly a professional black West Indian male describing his experiences during the 1980s has



stated them as follows:- "The passage between stepping off at Southampton into a grey, dismal-looking English south coast and now sitting in a centrally heated, beautifully furnished, artistically decorated office surrounded by symbols of the black man's world, possibly reflects to many an observer, both black and white - success. The mental torture, the psychic scars are not visible and the sleepless nights and crying days of the white man's pressure seems like a distant dream. The trappings of modern society are only symbols. The torture and pain that white society inflicts upon its black individuals can never be compensated for, in spite of those few black faces one tends to see in so-called positions of authority. White society has little room for black faces. Professional blacks are treated as rare specimens by most of their white colleagues. I am no exception. Generally speaking, racist humour is used to make simple conversation and reactions to these generally leaves us, the black individuals, feeling guilty that we have challenged them. It is a continuous process that those blacks like myself, who have moved up (in a manner of speaking) in society, have very often to contend with the labels that not only do we carry 'chips on our shoulders', but we are over-sensitive to racial issues. No one cares if after a hard day's graft the extent of my social pleasures are limited simply because blacks are not allowed; no one cares if I am a professional when I go to the shops and a white employee has no desire to serve me; No one cares if as a black professional, I wish to buy a house in a particular area of the city, when the estate agents would suggest alternatives; and no one cares when as a black professional I question the educational output that is being given to my children and to many of the young people I work with. To white society all that is irrelevant for if I have made it then everyone else can. Making it in white Britain is simply a dream for many whites let alone blacks. My colour, my

cultural norms and me - a person - will always be viewed through white-coloured lenses with all its distortions. To those blacks who would say that they have made it, it must be at a tremendous personal sacrifice and at the end, from my own development, it really is not worth it.<sup>(87)</sup>

### Conclusion

At the commencement of this chapter it was stated that this thesis would be conducted within the theoretical perspective of Brian Holmes' problem (solving) approach. The problem identified has been the gap between the desire of the Caribbean newcomers and in particular those from Jamaica to integrate happily into United Kingdom society and the expectations of the indigenous white population resulting from the persisting behaviour patterns of both groups based upon ethnic traditions and expectations.

In this chapter the numbers involved in the migration have been given and a comparison has been made between the numbers of migrants who came to the United Kingdom from the different West Indian territories, and in particular from Jamaica. Differing views of contemporary Jamaican society have been discussed and the Jamaican Educational system has been briefly examined. Some of the causes of the migration to the United Kingdom from Jamaica have been discussed with special reference to such factors as population growth and unemployment in Jamaica and the industrial expansion of the United Kingdom during the late 1950s and early 1960s. The way the West Indian migrants settled into their new United Kingdom environment has been examined with regard to the methods they used to obtain employment and housing. Studies concerning Jamaican integration into United Kingdom society carried out since the

1960s have been briefly examined with the intention of discovering to what extent matters for them have either improved or deteriorated in contemporary society.

In terms of education for their children the West Indian parent's had views formulated upon what a "good" education consisted of back home which they hoped could easily be translated and indeed improved upon by the education which they would receive in England. The British Educational System however was predominantly designed as the newcomers soon painfully came to realise for the needs and aspirations of white, middle class British citizens, and the inevitable conflict which resulted will next be examined.

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Chapter 2THE ASPIRATIONS AND FRUSTRATIONS OF WEST INDIAN COMMUNITIES WITH REGARD  
TO THE EDUCATION AVAILABLE TO THEIR CHILDREN

The aspirations of West Indian Parents - the frustrations of West Indian communities - the policy of dispersal - bussing, a practical result of the policy of dispersal - West Indian children in English schools and English Language proficiency - the high proportion of West Indian children in E.S.N. schools - British teachers' attitudes towards West Indian parents and children.

Chapter 2THE ASPIRATIONS AND FRUSTRATIONS OF WEST INDIAN COMMUNITIES WITH REGARD  
TO THE EDUCATION AVAILABLE TO THEIR CHILDREN

Amongst the newly arrived West Indian migrants to the United Kingdom there existed the desire that their children should be assimilated into British schools making the most of the opportunities of the kind of education which they admired, and perhaps had themselves been denied at home. Although as Tomlinson<sup>(1)</sup> has pointed out there is very little research available enquiring directly into teachers' views about minority parents, it does appear that the majority of white British teachers also wished the children of the new arrivals to assimilate happily into their schools. Nevertheless certain features of the typical model of the British Primary School clearly frustrated many West Indian parents and there persisted amongst white teachers as far as the education of minorities was concerned the view that the role of the school should be seen as a facilitating mechanism for the assimilation of black students, 'putting over a certain set of values (Christian), a code of behaviour (middle class) and a set of academic and job aspirations in which white collar jobs have higher prestige than manual, clean jobs than dirty .....,<sup>(2)</sup>

However when it became apparent to the West Indian parents that their children were not able to take full advantage of the kind of educational aspirations for which they had hoped and when the white British teachers began to realise that the kind of assimilation of West Indian children into British Primary Schools of the kind they had intended was not taking place then the gap between desired aspirations and persisting behaviour became clearly identified and conflict between

the two groups became apparent. In this chapter some of the reasons for the conflict between the West Indian communities and the teachers in the schools available to their children will be examined.

The aspirations of West Indian parents with regard to the education of their children

The majority of West Indian parents, wrote K. Pryce in his study of West Indian life-styles in Bristol,<sup>(3)</sup> have great academic aspirations for their children. "They believe that ultimately education is the most valuable means whereby their group, as a whole, through their children, can achieve recognition and status on an equal footing with others in society. Amongst West Indian parents there has existed the belief that England had the best system of education in the world, and that England with its system of free Secondary Education would provide their children with the opportunities of becoming doctors, lawyers, and engineers. All the children had to do was to work hard, learn their lessons, listen to their teachers, do their homework and all would be well.

Further evidence to support the view that West Indian parents have high educational aspirations for their children has been provided by Anthony Richmond<sup>(4)</sup> who found that when asked what age they would like their children to leave school and what job they expected their first child to have, West Indian parents were more ambitious for their children than English-born parents in the same working-class Bristol district. Thirty-five per cent of the West Indian parents, in contrast to 16 per cent of the English parents, wanted their children to continue their schooling after the age of eighteen. Twenty-six per cent of the West Indian parents and 10 per cent of the English-born parents expected

their first child to enter professional employment. A report on E.P.A. areas<sup>(5)</sup> found that in both London and Birmingham the West Indian parents were significantly more ambitious for their children than parents from the British Isles, with 50 per cent in London and 40 per cent in Birmingham wanting their child to stay on until he was at least 18.

Nancy Foner<sup>(6)</sup> discovered in comparing her research findings between Jamaican parents in the West Indies and in London a significant difference between the Jamaican parents with respect to the educational aspirations they had for their children. Foner found that most villagers in rural Jamaica associated education with high rank in the national society. Her research in Coco Hill the village in which she stayed showed that villagers regarded education as the key means to success in Jamaica and that they considered the expanded opportunities for their children to attend secondary school the most important change for the better in recent years. Over 75 per cent of the respondents in a sample survey of forty adult household heads in Coco Hill saw education as the most important way to get ahead in Jamaica; 88 per cent felt that there was more opportunity to get ahead in Jamaica than twenty years ago, and 70 per cent of these persons attributed this to increased educational opportunities.

When Foner began her research in London she expected that, as in rural Jamaica, education would be a central focus of interest among Jamaican migrants. She supposed that the previously limited chances for children to acquire advanced educational training in Jamaica would stand in sharp contrast to the wider availability of education in England. Furthermore she anticipated that migrants, like lower-class rural Jamaicans would transfer their own, still unfulfilled mobility

aspirations to their children. Eighty-seven per cent of the respondents in her sample were in working-class occupations at the time of the study or, if unemployed, had, in their last position, filled a working-class job; 73 per cent ranked themselves as working-class when asked to place themselves in the English class structure, while 14 per cent ranked themselves at the bottom, in colour terms, as blacks, in contrast to whites whom they placed at the top. If they had followed the Jamaican pattern, education should have been a dominant theme in their conversations and its importance should have been reflected in the interviews.

The responses of the people Foner interviewed however were not what she had expected. In Jamaica most villagers associated education with high rank in the island-wide class structure whereas in England when Foner's Jamaican respondents were asked to consider whether their position or life had improved or worsened, education was not an important factor in most cases. This was surprising in view of the fact that fourteen respondents acquired advanced educational qualifications in England, qualifications which enhanced their income and/or occupational status.

Foner believed that a major reason for the seeming reduction in educational aspirations which Jamaican parents had for their children was due to the widespread availability of education in England as opposed to the scarce resource which it was in Jamaica. Even relatively well-off parents in rural Jamaica whose children gained admission to secondary school had to sacrifice to educate their children. However in England although education both at primary and secondary level was widely available and free the Jamaican migrants soon discovered that a kind of "educational equalization" occurred and as a result their

children had very limited access to elite British educational institutions, so limited in fact that it was not a realistic goal for the vast majority. At the time Foner was in Jamaica, a fairly prosperous farmer's child (a farmer, say with about twenty-five acres of land) had a better chance of entering an elite Jamaican secondary school or even the University of the West Indies than the child of a Jamaican migrant of comparable status had of entering a British grammar school or university at the time of her study in London. Only one man, the most successful in the sample, sent a child to grammar school, and one of the respondents' children had been to a British university. A gap was therefore noticeably appearing between the desire of the Jamaican migrants to make the best of their educational opportunities in England and the persisting traditions and expectations of the typical British educational institution. This led not only to a diminishing in the Jamaican migrant's high educational aspirations for their children but ultimately to disillusionment, frustration and hostility. The factors which added to this will now be discussed in greater detail.

The frustrations of West Indian communities with regard to the education available to their children

Writing in 1983 Christopher Bagley<sup>(7)</sup> remarked that it is a bitter paradox that the British educational system has in turn failed to meet the needs of Jamaican children, has ignored their linguistic backgrounds and strengths, and has discriminated against them in various ways. The result, he believes, is an increasing alienation of such children from the British school system, with an associated decline in scholastic achievement and an increasingly aggressive stance towards a social system which is seen, correctly, as profoundly racist.

During the 1960s the British educational system was presented with a relatively sudden influx of people for whom it was quite unprepared. Because this new population was concentrated in the major conurbations, in already deprived areas, the existing difficulties of urban education were both illuminated and to an extent exacerbated by the new arrivals. Thus, from the outset, black children in British schools were seen in a 'problem' context. In response there was no and continues to be no coherent government policy towards education in multi racial areas or towards multi racial/cultural education as a whole. During the 1960s there was says Keith Watson<sup>(8)</sup> undoubtedly a mixture of indifference, complacency and laissez-faire, a belief that assimilation would occur naturally. As one critic has cryptically commented, "It is as well to remind ourselves that laissez-faire is not absence of a policy so much as a policy not to have a policy."<sup>(9)</sup> The inexplicitness of British policy in this respect has been described by David Kirp as "doing good by doing little".<sup>(10)</sup> One could argue for the validity of this course of action if both parties to the question, the British government and Jamaican parents had an equal say in the matter. This however was patently not the case; the dice was loaded and many would argue that it continues to be loaded on the whites side. Non-white radicals have typically been treated by being ignored. Racial inexplicitness as British policy makers have quietly practised it, says Kirp has a way of making words like "revolution" sound like the merest nonsense. Benign neglect says Kirp, Troyna and others has been the typical British response to the education of non white students in the United Kingdom. Racial explicitness as practised by "scientific racists" who go beyond evidence or rational judgement in asserting that differences in achievement between black and white are due, not to differences in motivation and the social constraints on achievement, but to biological differences between the two groups, is likely to



provoke outright hostility whereas benign neglect is more likely to result in a festering sore. Perhaps the final result is worse.

#### Matters provoking the frustrations

##### 1. The policy of dispersal

Following the rapid build-up of immigrant pupils particularly in schools in inner city urban areas it was not long before advice on how the new arrivals in the schools should be accommodated began to be issued from the Department of Education and Science. Departmental thinking on this issue was reflected particularly in four documents: "English for Immigrants"<sup>(11)</sup> a pamphlet published in 1963 mainly concerned with methods of teaching English, the Second Report of the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council in 1964<sup>(12)</sup> Circular 7/65 issued in June 1965,<sup>(13)</sup> and finally, the White Paper of August 1965,<sup>(14)</sup> which, with slight changes incorporated the Circular. For example in the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Report it was stated that: "The presence of a high proportion of immigrant children in one class slows down the general routine of working and hampers the progress of the whole class, especially where the immigrants do not speak or write English fluently ..... the evidence we have received strongly suggests that if a school has more than a certain percentage of immigrant children among its pupils the whole character and ethos of the school is altered. Immigrant pupils in such a school will not get as good an introduction to British life as they would get in a normal school, and we think that their education in the widest sense must also suffer as a result."<sup>(15)</sup> The Report concluded that the location and catchment areas of schools should be planned so that they remained mixed, and that dispersal of children would be preferable, as a last result to de facto segregation. In Circular 7/65 in a section headed, 'Spreading the Children' it was stated that "it will be helpful if the parents of non-immigrant children can see that practical measures have been taken to deal with the problems in the schools, and that the progress

of their own children is not being restricted by the undue preoccupation of the teaching staff with the linguistic and other difficulties of immigrant children."<sup>(16)</sup>

By the time the official dispersal policy came to be set out in the White Paper in August, 1965, it was presented not only as an aid to integrating immigrant children, and a way to prevent any fall in the standards of the schools, but also as a help to the organisation of special English classes for immigrant children. This was therefore a further example of Kirp's dictum of doing "good by stealth". The non-whites were intended as the primary beneficiaries of this action although in the British government's view need not race was the predicate for the assistance. It should be noted that in this policy of 1965 no definition of the term 'immigrant pupil' had been given. The definition of 'immigrant pupil' eventually adopted for statistical purposes included, firstly, children of immigrant parents born overseas, who had come to Britain, and secondly, children born in Britain to immigrant parents who had arrived within the previous ten years. Although it was found possible to devise schemes of language instruction, etc., for non-English speaking immigrant children and that these schemes could be run quite successfully; only in a few exceptional schools and authorities was there evidence of a serious attempt to meet the educational needs of children with parents from the Caribbean countries, or to help class teachers to overcome the difficulties which they felt in tackling the problems.

#### Bussing - a practical result of the policy of dispersal

On the face of it, Troyna has suggested,<sup>(17)</sup> DES endorsement of bussing marked a departure from its general policy, i.e. from the

"doing good by stealth" approach. Kirp<sup>(18)</sup> has described the bussing policy as a hasty reaction to a widely regretted event: the concentration of sizable numbers of non white students in a handful of educational authorities. In Troyna's view<sup>(19)</sup> the DES was ostensibly concerned with, first the language needs of 'non-English speakers'; second the potentially deleterious impact of a relatively large proportion of black students on the educational progress of white students; and third, the pressure exerted by teacher unions and LEAs who complained about the professional and financial stresses they experienced in coping with the new (black) immigrants. The first two concerns were predicated on spurious grounds and their relationship with bussing policies, illogical. To begin with, Troyna says,<sup>(20)</sup> if the language needs of students were a legitimate cause for concern then language not skin colour would have been used to decide which students were eligible for bussing. But they were not. Instead as David Milner<sup>(21)</sup> observes: "Immigrant" children were dispersed, irrespective of whether they had language difficulties or not, and this included some West Indian children who, in contrast to what we now know, were then thought not to have language difficulties. Secondly, to propose that the presence of black students, regardless of their proportionate number would affect detrimentally the educational performance of white students unashamedly racist. There were never any tenable educational grounds for dispersal; there were, however numerous educational arguments against this policy. It contravened, for example, one of the general principles enshrined in the 1944 Education Act; namely, that as far as possible 'pupils are to be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents' (section 76, P.56). The wishes of black parents in LEAs such as Ealing, Bradford, West Bromwich and Wolverhampton were never consulted however. In fact, even when the Race Relations Board intervened in the debate surrounding bussing in Ealing the views of black parents and their

children were not sought. As the Board's assessor, Maurice Kogan, put it in his report:

It was not possible within my schedule of visits, nor was it implicit in the terms of reference given to me informally by the Board's officers, that I should meet the parents of children subject to the dispersal arrangements in order to ascertain their feelings about the arrangements ..... I saw a few Asian parents at the Reception Centre in Southall Town Hall but did not speak with them.<sup>(22)</sup>

The LEAs and DES in Troyna's view<sup>(23)</sup> also overlooked the substantial research (some of which the DES had commissioned) which pointed to the educational benefits associated with neighbourhood and community schooling. By forcibly removing black students from their local schools, LEAs, with the duplicity of the DES, effectively prevented anything beyond minimal contact between black parents and their children's schools.

In Troyna's view<sup>(24)</sup> to contend that the dispersal of black students was premised on 'the grounds of educational need' was both cynical and deceitful. The reality shows that it was based purely and simply on the grounds of political expediency: to assuage the anxieties of white parents that central and local government was doing all it could to assimilate black students without disrupting the education of white students.

## 2. West Indian Children in English schools and English Language proficiency

When black children first entered British Schools it was an

assumption of many English teachers and educationists that the forms of English used by black children of West Indian origin were simply forms of language misuse which could probably be corrected. Such an approach says Bagley,<sup>(25)</sup> was profoundly mistaken, since it failed to appreciate the cultural significance of Creole, both historically and in contemporary culture, and it failed to understand that Creole was a separate language in its own right. Accordingly, the language issue was defined as one of teaching English to mainly Asian children who had little or not command of the language.

The initial reaction to the presence of West Indian children in their classes on the part of many white English teachers was one of bafflement, embarrassment and despair, and presented problems which according to Rex and Moore<sup>(26)</sup> the average teacher was not equipped to understand, let alone overcome. Others believing that the language of West Indian children was inadequate for learning, deficient or restricted felt that the school had a dual function, 'that of transmitting the culture to and resocialising the immigrant child'. Such theories says Troyna<sup>(27)</sup> allowed policy-makers and practitioners to legitimate their approaches in educational terms since from this stance, the processes of resocialisation, language tuition and correction, and dispersal could be argued for on the seemingly 'good' educational grounds that the culture, language and spatial concentration of black students not only impeded their educational advancement but also had the potential to affect negatively the educational progress of their white classmates.

Following the "Deficit" position adopted by schools towards West Indian language the Swann committee<sup>(28)</sup> described a second broad educational position as that of "Dialect Interference". Many teachers

says Swann<sup>(29)</sup> who would reject the "deficit" approach would still claim that some West Indian children's language, though not inferior is nevertheless sufficiently different from Standard English to cause difficulties. V. K. Edwards<sup>(30)</sup> maintains from her and others' evidence that, because there is a continuum between standard English and patois, then here is a constant interplay or 'interference' between the two elements and that this places West Indian children in a disadvantageous position when educated through the medium of standard English. Disadvantage arises because teachers are commonly unsympathetic to the problems of comprehension and production of standard English faced by West Indian children, often to the extent that use of patois is believed to indicate low academic ability. There is then set in motion a cyclical process of low teacher expectation leading to low pupil performance.

As far as this issue has been recognised at all, the general response has been to attempt to force West Indian children to improve their standard English at the expense of patois. Edwards argues<sup>(31)</sup> that this is unlikely to succeed and recommends the formal use of patois in British schools and the in-service training of all teachers who are likely to teach West Indian children so that they can recognise and encourage its use, at least in certain contexts.

The third broad educational position adopted by schools to West Indian language identified by the Swann committee in their interim report has been described as the "Repertoire" approach. This approach, says Swann<sup>(32)</sup>, now recognised as being particularly appropriate to West Indian children is one that values all languages and dialects as an important part of the child'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 is that whereas both the "deficit" and "dialect interference" approaches focus on what the child cannot do the "repertoire" approach focusses on what the child can do and builds constructively on the considerable linguistic strengths the child brings to the classroom.

Despite the fact that educational thinking has developed along positive lines with regard to the position of West Indian language in British schools characteristic national policy approaches until at least the late 1970s continued to adhere to the view that it was incumbent on the West Indian students to adapt to the system, rather than the other way round. Illustrative of this view in Troyna's opinion<sup>(33)</sup> was an I.L.E.A. document, entitled "An Education Service for the Whole Community"<sup>(34)</sup> written in 1973 that reflected a commitment to a community-oriented education service. However the document also illustrated the inevitability of frustration on the part of West Indians and other ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom if this could be regarded as the typical educational model (having been written by the I.L.E.A. Education Officer at the time) as the following passage shows:-

"recent immigrants present difficulties of language, insufficient education before arrival, and problems of settling into a strange urban way of life. Their different outlook and background constitute a special challenge to teachers".<sup>(35)</sup>

This diagnosis rested on the assumption that any problems in ethnically-mixed schools derived either from the recent arrival of

migrant students or from deeply embedded cultural differences. Either way they were explicable mainly in terms of migration: they were transient problems which, with the help of the school would disappear with the passage of time. From this vantage point, the availability of ESL teaching, a continued commitment to conventional teaching materials, methods and curriculum and patience were all that were requested of the system.

The gap between the aspirations of West Indian parents and the English Educational System as far as the language needs of children of West Indian origin had not closed by the late 1970s according to a survey carried out by Alan Little and Richard Willey<sup>(36)</sup>. They concluded that there was little evidence that more than a handful of authorities had made serious efforts to evaluate and meet the language needs of West Indian pupils. Their findings suggested that there was a continuing urgent need to clarify the extent to which and the ways in which pupils of West Indian origin have 'special' language needs, and to provide guidance and support to teachers.

By the 1980s the frustration of not only West Indian parents and academics but organisations also such as the National Union of Teachers with traditional approaches to multicultural education had grown to such an extent, that support from multicultural education began to rapidly diminish and instead a more forceful approach to the eradication of racism took its place as the N.U.T.'s 1981 pamphlet, *Combatting Racism in Schools*, its evidence to the Swann Committee the following year and the work of the All London Teachers Against Racism and Rascim (ALTARF)<sup>(38)</sup> testify.



3. The high proportion of West Indian children in E.S.N. schools

In a polemic addressed to West Indian parents entitled "How the West Indian child is made educationally sub-normal in the British School System", Bernard Coard<sup>(39)</sup> put forward five main points to support his argument.

1. There are very large numbers of West Indian children in schools for the educationally subnormal.
2. These children have been wrongly placed there.
3. Once placed in these schools, the vast majority never get out and return to normal schools.
4. They suffer academically and in their job prospects for life because of being put in these schools.
5. The authorities are doing very little to stop this scandal.

With regard to the very large numbers of West Indian children in schools for the educationally subnormal Coard stated that four out of five immigrant children in I.L.E.A.'s E.S.N. (Special) Day schools in 1971 when he wrote his pamphlet were West Indian.

Such concern for the disproportionate number of West Indian children in E.S.N. schools in I.L.E.A. continued until at least 1977. It was stated in a memorandum in that year by the Lewisham Council for Community Relations<sup>(40)</sup> that there were two such schools in the area with percentages of about 40 and 60 respectively of black and immigrant children. In addition, black children also went to schools outside the area. Parents felt very strongly that these were intended for children who were mentally retarded or handicapped and that sending children to such schools in disproportionate numbers inevitably caused "a stigma on them." They argued that the tests which were applied

and upon which children might be sent to E.S.N. schools according to their performance might have been suitable for children with an English background and parentage, but not for black and immigrant children. As a consequence of being sent to such schools the black parents in Lewisham who were interviewed believed that the employment prospects of such children were materially less compared with children dealt with in normal schools and that even if a child was sent to an E.S.N. school on justifiable grounds, he or she should have been re-tested at six monthly intervals with a view to a quick return to an ordinary school at the earliest practicable date.

Ashton Gibson of "Westindian Concern Ltd." in a dialogue with the Rt. Hon. Peter Walker M.P. on 22nd July, 1975 stated that

..... "The future is bleak. The total West Indian population in Britain is about five hundred thousand. This is less than one per cent of the population. Yet, the children of this less than one per cent of the population constitute about forty per cent of all the children in the London Educational Subnormal schools. And this is worse than the figures suggest. The figure of forty per cent is submerged within the whole of the Greater London area, many parts of which have few or not West Indians at all. Thus, in areas with a West Indian population as high as ten per cent like Lambeth, Wandsworth, Newham and Brent; West Indian children in fact average ninety per cent of the educational subnormal schools in those areas. If one is looking to education as a hope for the future, it would seem that West Indian children are not even equipped to take advantage of the educational opportunities which would help them to escape across the threshold of their multiple deprivation."<sup>(41)</sup>

Supporting Coard in his argument that many West Indian children

are wrongly placed in E.S.N. Schools Bagley stated<sup>(42)</sup> that placement of West Indian children in E.S.N. schools seems in most cases to be undertaken for purposes of social control, because, it is claimed West Indian children are disruptive in classrooms because of numerous behaviour problems (I.L.E.A. 1972)<sup>(43)</sup>. Coard and Coard (1971)<sup>(44)</sup> have suggested that this is due, in part, to the fact that society is constantly brainwashing immigrants, and especially West Indian children, to feel inferior."

In an attempt to discover whether West Indian children in British schools really show a greater prevalence of behaviour disorder Bagley and his colleagues carried out epidemiological research<sup>(45)</sup> on all of the 2,000 10 year olds (350 of them West Indian) in state schools in a London Borough. Using screening instruments for completion by teachers, which had previously established norms, reliability and validity, they found that 19 per cent of English children and 41 per cent of West Indian children in the schools had so-called "behaviour disorder" Scores above a previously established cut-off point. West Indian children, according to the observations of their teachers, showed a particularly marked prevalence of behaviour of the rebellious or aggressive type. However, interviews with the parents of a random sample of the "deviant" children indicated that in their normal home life the West Indian children tended to behave in a much more normal fashion; the same was much less true of "deviant" English children. When account was taken of disturbed behaviour in both home and school, the West Indian children actually had a lower prevalence (17.5 per cent) of clinically defined behaviour disorder than the English children, 25.0 per cent of whom were disturbed in some way.

In a study of academically successful black children Bagley concluded<sup>(46)</sup> that it is probable that a number of different factors

having independent origins, but acting in an additive or interactive way, influence the underachievement of black children. Such factors might involve black children's language orientation, teacher prejudice and labelling, the progressive alienation of black children from school and learning, in reaction to racist forces both in and beyond schools, material circumstances such as poor housing, and a range of family variables, including family structure, parental education, linguistic interchange of parent and child and parental authoritarianism.

A conclusion which Bagley drew from his study<sup>(47)</sup> was that in comparison to those from other Caribbean islands Jamaican immigrants to Britain were less well educated than immigrants from other parts of the Caribbean. In Bagley's view one of the reasons for the underachievement of Jamaican children in English schools seems to be the relatively low level of educational achievement of their parents, which stands in contrast to the educational achievement of parents (and their children) from other Caribbean areas.

#### 4. British teachers' attitudes towards West Indian parents and children

In the Rampton interim report<sup>(48)</sup> particular stress was laid on teachers' stereotyped attitudes and negative expectations as likely to be an important factor in the underachievement of West Indian children in British schools. All in all says Sally Tomlinson,<sup>(49)</sup> evidence suggests that teachers hold very negative expectations about West Indian pupils concerning both their academic potential and their possible behaviour, and their views of the parents are similarly negative. P.A. Green in a study of 70 white teachers of 940 white,

449 Asian and 425 West Indian pupils, demonstrated that teachers' racial (or 'ethnocentric' as he called them) attitudes affect not only expectation about pupils but also actual classroom teaching. Teachers who were 'highly intolerant' spent more time with white boys, and then with Asian boys; Asian girls and West Indian boys got least teacher time. Highly tolerant teachers in Green's study gave more time equally to boys and girls and more to West Indian boys.<sup>(50)</sup> In Tomlinson's view Green's research adds substantial empirical connections, between teacher attitudes to and expectations of, West Indian pupils, and their subsequent academic performance. Driver, for example,<sup>(51)</sup> in a study of a Birmingham comprehensive school in the early 1970s, had pointed to a variety of ways in which cultural misunderstandings could arise, which resulted in teachers feeling threatened or anxious in their dealings with West Indian pupils. This could lead to the pupils being 'vulnerable to poor assessment of their abilities' (Driver 1977). Among the problems which could arise, Driver noted teachers' slowness in identifying their West Indian pupils by name, their misunderstanding of West Indian cultural gestures, and the discouragement of the use of dialect. Brittan, in a study of 850 teachers' opinions of their pupils also noted the willingness of teachers to make generalisations about pupils of West Indian origin, and to produce contradictory stereotypes: the pupils were described as lazy/passive/withdrawn, and also as boisterous/aggressive/disruptive. She wrote that 'it is clear that teachers perceive West Indian pupils as of low ability and as creating discipline problems' (Brittan, 1976, p.190)<sup>(52)</sup>. Giles visited 23 London schools in the mid-1970s, and 'became convinced that there are both subtle and overt forms of discrimination taking place in British schools, resulting from teachers' attitudes and behaviour ..... towards West Indian students' (Giles 1977, p.75)<sup>(53)</sup>. One usual type of discrimination documented by Jones (1977)<sup>(54)</sup> and Carrington

(1983)<sup>(55)</sup> is teachers' propensity to view pupils of West Indian origin as likely to be better at sport, and to channel them into sporting rather than academic activities. Carrington has reported that some pupils actually favour sporting activity, seeing it as an opportunity to succeed, and to 'take over' an important area of schools; but many West Indian parents have complained that too much sport militates against their children acquiring academic qualifications.

There is also a good deal of evidence to suggest that teachers have, until recently, viewed the behaviour of West Indian pupils much more negatively than that of white or Asian pupils. Green (1972)<sup>(56)</sup> recorded that teachers saw pupils of West Indian origin as being more aggressive, sulky and resentful, and creating more discipline problems. Rutter (1974)<sup>(57)</sup> asked teachers to rate over two thousand ten-year old London children on a behavioural scale, and nearly half the West Indian boys in this study were judged by their teachers to be 'behaviourally deviant'. Tomlinson (1982)<sup>(58)</sup> found that heads and teachers in Birmingham were more willing to stereotype West Indian pupils as aggressive, disruptive and 'less keen on work', and some teachers felt actively threatened by the behaviour of West Indian adolescents, linking this to a militant black response; one head-teacher spoke of her catchment areas as 'a black power area'. Mabey (1981)<sup>(59)</sup>, reporting data from the I.L.E.A. literacy survey<sup>(60)</sup>, recorded that teachers rate West Indian pupils and their parents more negatively than other groups; they thought that West Indian parents were less likely to be interested in their children's schooling, and that the children did not come from 'culturally stimulating homes'.

The I.L.E.A. Literacy Survey was a study of reading attainment of London black children from 8 to 15 years. The principle findings of the analysis were:

1. West Indian or black British reading attainment was low at the age of 8 years old and by school-leaving age was relatively lower. Even when account was taken of initial, i.e. 8 year-old reading ability there remained an unexplained difference between the black and white British groups at 15 years.
2. Full education in this country had a marginal impact on black British attainment. The average West Indian school-leaver, fully educated, probably born in this country, had a reading level some 3 points higher than the black British who first started school at the junior stage but some 11 points lower than the average indigenous school-leaver.
3. Social deprivation (in so far as it was measured in the I.L.E.A. Literacy Survey) together with restricted education and attendance at an E.P.A. school probably account for about half the difference between the scores of the indigenous and the Black British.
4. The other half of the difference in the scores remains to be explained.

### Conclusion

In this chapter factors contributing to the conflict and frustration of West Indian communities with regard to the education

available to their children have been highlighted.

Despite undoubted aspirations which the West Indian parents had for their children formulated by their own experiences in education in West Indian Islands such as Jamaica, these aspirations became increasingly blunted and changed to frustration as the relentless effects of the typical model of education in England unyielding sought to dominate many aspects of their lives.

The frustration of the West Indian parents was initially provoked by such matters as the U.K. policy of dispersal of which bussing was a practical manifestation, white British teachers' attitudes towards West Indian childrens' English Language proficiency, the presence of disproportionate numbers of West Indian children in E.S.N. schools particularly in I.L.E.A. and the general attitudes of British teachers towards West Indian parents and their children.

Research during the 1980s concerning white teachers' attitudes towards West Indian pupils has demonstrated that little has changed; the frustrations on the part of all the participants - teachers, parents and children continues and is perfectly explicable when the ideal typical model of an English Primary School is examined in some detail.



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Chapter 3THE IDEAL TYPICAL ENGLISH PRIMARY SCHOOL

Aims of the Ideal Typical Primary School - Finance and Administration - the appointment of headteachers - the role of the school governors - organisation of English Primary Schools - age of entry into Primary Schools - length of the Infant School course - arguments for and against transfer to the Secondary Stage at the age of eleven - the curriculum content of an ideal English Primary School - some aspects of the curriculum - Mathematics - Language and Literacy - Language teaching of children from ethnic minority groups - methods of training teachers and in-service support - philosophical ideas concerning the structure and organisation of knowledge - social factors influencing the curriculum - the presence of psychological theories in the curriculum - school experience - an essential feature of teacher training - in-service support - other qualities necessary in an "ideal school".

Chapter 3THE IDEAL TYPICAL ENGLISH PRIMARY SCHOOL

It may be argued that the growing alienation between Jamaican parents and the white British teachers was in terms of Brian Holmes' model due to such factors as the gap between the desired expectations for the education of the Jamaican children by both parents and teachers and the persistence of deeply held views by both parties in spite of the clear failure of the West Indian children to progress satisfactorily in their schools as has been shown in the previous chapter.

On the part of the Jamaican parents there seems to have been a failure to understand that the English educational system was primarily geared to the needs and expectations of white British parents and children and that they would be sadly disillusioned if they persisted in the belief that opportunity and privileges available to the elitist minority in schools back in the West Indies would be freely available to Jamaican children in mainstream British schools. On the part of white British teachers there was either a failure or non-willingness to appreciate that the traditional model of the white English Primary school which they were seemingly so happy to operate was not entirely applicable to the situation of their West Indian pupils.

Reasons put forward for the failure of many West Indian pupils to succeed in British school have included the frustration of ambitions of West Indian parents and increasingly the emergence of claims that the British Educational system was covertly and perhaps in some cases overtly racist. However in the opinion of the writer of this thesis the root cause of the failure of Jamaican children in particular to succeed in British schools was the Ideal Typical Model of the English

Primary School. Thus the frustrations of parents and the seeming failure of the Jamaican children were perfectly understandable and explicable in terms of this model.

It is therefore crucial to look in some detail at the Ideal Typical Model of the English Primary School in order to gain some understanding of why white British teachers, parents and even those who have made accusations of racism against the English Educational System continue to operate the philosophy and values of the Ideal Typical Model whilst at the same time calling for radical changes to the system. This model will now be examined in terms of the aims, administration, finance, organisation curriculum and methods of training of teachers in the ideal typical English Primary School.

#### Aims of the Ideal Typical Primary School

The aims of the ideal typical primary school as outlined firstly in the 1931 Hadow Committee Report<sup>(1)</sup> and later in the 1967 Plowden Committee<sup>(2)</sup> emphasise primarily the process model of education as compared to a content model of education with the emphasis on structured subjects. This process model of education may be seen in the following quote from the Hadow report concerning the general aim and scope of the Primary School:-

"The primary school should afford time and scope for general development in preparation for the more varied forms of teaching that will be adapted to the special abilities and aptitudes of the pupils at a later age. It should arouse in the pupil a keen interest in the things of the mind and in general culture, fix certain habits, and develop a reasonable degree of self-confidence, together with a

social or team-spirit."<sup>(3)</sup>

Again this emphasis upon the transmission of desirable values and attitudes as basic aims in Primary Education is reiterated in the 1967 Plowden Report which states that:-

"a school is not merely a teaching shop, it must transmit values and attitudes. It is a community in which children learn to live first and foremost as children and not as future adults. In family life children learn to live with people of all ages. The school sets out deliberately to devise the right environment for children, to allow them to be themselves and develop in the way and at the pace appropriate to them. It tries to equalise opportunities and to compensate for handicaps. It lays special stress on individual discovery, on first hand experience and on opportunities for creative work. It insists that knowledge does not fall neatly into separate compartments and that work and play are not opposite but complementary. A child brought up in such an atmosphere at all stages of his education has some hope of becoming a balanced and mature adult and of being able to live in, to contribute to, and to look critically at the society of which he forms a part."<sup>(4)</sup>

The aims of the ideal typical primary school conceived of in terms of a process model with an emphasis upon values and attitudes as described in the 1930s Hadow Report and again in the 1960s Plowden Report is continued into the 1980s in the School's Council Working Paper "The Practical Curriculum".<sup>(5)</sup> In this publication the recommendation is made that schools need to have the capacity and the will to help their pupils in at least six ways - viz.



1. To acquire knowledge, skills and practical abilities, and the will to use them;
2. To develop qualities of mind, body, spirit, feeling and imagination.
3. To appreciate human achievements in art, music, science, technology and literature.
4. To acquire understanding of the social, economic and political order, and a reasoned set of attitudes, values and beliefs;
5. To prepare pupils for their adult lives at home, at work, at leisure and at large, as consumers and citizens; and most important of all:
6. To develop a sense of self-respect, the capacity to live as independent, self-motivated adults and the ability to function as contributing members of co-operative groups.

Although the process model of education continues to be well accepted and largely unquestioned one can in recent years detect as far as the aims of Primary Education as represented in some recent official publications are concerned a move towards a more "subject-centred" position with perhaps a greater emphasis upon knowledge and skills. The School Councils Working Paper "The Practical Curriculum"<sup>(6)</sup> suggests that specific aims of a primary school may well include the following:-

1. To read fluently and accurately, with understanding, feeling and discrimination.
2. To develop a legible style of handwriting and satisfactory standards of spelling, syntax, punctuation and usage;
3. To communicate clearly and confidently in speech and writing in ways appropriate for various occasions and purposes.
4. To listen attentively and with understanding;

5. To learn how to acquire information from various sources, and to record information and findings in various ways;
6. To apply computational skills with speed and accuracy.
7. To understand the applications of mathematical ideas in various situations in the home, classroom, school and local area.
8. To observe living and inanimate things, and to recognise characteristics such as pattern and order.
9. To master basic scientific ideas;
10. To investigate solutions and interpret evidence, to analyse and to solve problems.
11. To develop awareness of self and sensitivity to others, acquire a set of moral values and the confidence to make and hold to moral judgements, and develop habits of self-discipline and acceptable behaviour.
12. To be aware of the geographical, historical and social aspects of the local environment and the national heritage, and to be aware of other times and places;
13. To acquire sufficient control of self or of tools, equipment and instruments to be able to use music, drama and several forms of arts and crafts as means of expression.
14. To develop agility and physical co-ordination, confidence in and through physical activity, and the ability to express feelings through movement.

Although publications such as the 1978 H.M.I. Survey of Primary Education in England <sup>(7)</sup> and the Schools Council Working Paper "The Practical Curriculum" <sup>(8)</sup> appear to give some support to a more subject centred approach to the Primary School curriculum it is interesting to note that when some practising teachers were asked in a small scale survey <sup>(9)</sup> to identify the aims they had, the staff seemed little conc-

erned with imparting a body of knowledge to the children. A comprehensive list of 72 aims had been formulated by the teachers, and from these returns a whole staff 'top-ten' was calculated with results as follows:-

Aims concerned with knowledge -	10 per cent
Aims concerned with skills -	30 per cent
Aims concerned with Qualities -	60 per cent

An example of a "knowledge" type aim was "The child should have a general knowledge of his local environment in some of the following aspects: historical, geographical, natural, economic, and social."

An example of a "skills" type aim was "The child should know how to think and solve problems mathematically using the appropriate basic concepts of, for example, the number system and place value, shape, spatial relationships, sets, symmetry and the appropriate language."

An example of a "qualities" type aim was "The child should be beginning to acquire a set of moral values on which to base his own behaviour; for example, honesty, sincerity, and personal responsibility."

It may therefore be argued that even though there has been some recent pressure to give rather more emphasis to the content basis of the Primary School overall the model of the typical English Primary School has in practice changed little since the recommendations of the Hadow Report in the 1930s.

### Finance and Administration

An important point to remember in considering the internal administration of the Ideal Typical model of the English Primary School is that there is a sharp distinction in terms of overall power between the Local Authority in maintaining control of the financial resources of the school and the headteacher in maintaining control over the organisation of the academic curricula in his school. In Suffolk for example every headteacher must produce an annual balance sheet detailing how the school funds have been spent during the previous year, no such overt demand has yet been made regarding the organisation of the academic curricula!

### The appointment of headteachers

The principle of investing a high degree of trust and responsibility in one person begins at the outset of the consideration of persons considered suitable for the role of headship. This principle is embodied in the principle of allowing the chief education officer or his deputy a virtually free hand in the short-listing procedure. Once the short list has been drawn up the area of responsibility is widened to include the school governors who in the prospective head will be looking for those qualities of personality and suitability to the school and the area which any experienced body of 'good men and true' should be able to discern.

From the time of his appointment the power of the headteacher over the organisation and curricular direction of his school is highly apparent. It is quite normal for headteachers in English primary schools to take overall responsibility for the selection of candidates for

interview and appointments of junior staff although some governors feel happier if the chairman at least is brought in.

### The role of the school governors

The Education Act, 1944<sup>(10)</sup> provided that every primary and secondary school, whether county or voluntary should have a body of managers or governors respectively; and that this body should be constituted according to an instrument of management or government drawn up by the authority. Further, there should be rules of management, drawn up by the authority for primary schools, whether primary or secondary, one-third of the managing or governing body were to be foundation members; in aided schools, the proportion was to be two-thirds. Provision was made for two or more schools to share a managing or governing body.

In the Command Paper<sup>(11)</sup> issued by the Ministry after the enactment of the Bill references were made to a number of matters, as follows: it was assumed that governing bodies would include adequate representation of the local education authority as well as provision for other people to serve whose qualifications enabled them to play a useful part in school government. A limited number of co-options was an advantage, and this practice might be continued. A proportion of women should be included on the boards of girls' and mixed schools. Among co-opted governors it would be appropriate to include university representatives and one or more persons associated with commercial and industrial life in the neighbourhood. There was general agreement that the interests of the teaching staff, parents, and old scholars should be reflected in the composition of the governing body.

With regard to the overall administration of individual schools it is strongly recommended in the Taylor Report<sup>(12)</sup> that all schools from the smallest to the largest should each have its own individual governing body in order that a working partnership may be fostered which would give staff, parents and the community an equal part with the local education authority in the government of their own schools. As far as the composition of the governing bodies of schools is concerned the Taylor Report recommended that as a matter of principle, the membership of governing bodies should consist of equal numbers of L.E.A. representatives, school staff, parents with, where appropriate, pupils and representatives of the local community. Furthermore it is recommended that there should never be less than two members in any one category - a minimum of eight for a governing body - and twenty four members should normally be regarded as the maximum for efficient operation. The head-teacher of a school should always be a member of its governing body and be included ex officio in the group of members representing the school staff.

Tomlinson<sup>(13)</sup> has made the important point that the opportunity for minority parents to participate in school decision-making as parent-governors representing their own groups was specifically not recommended by the Taylor Committee, as the following quote shows.

"The importance of ensuring representation on the governing body, of ethnic groups, in areas where there is a high concentration of minorities was stressed in evidence by the CRC and NAME .... after careful consideration we see no need to make specific provision for the representation of particular interests ..... we are satisfied that our overall proposals will result in a significant increase in local participation in school government and ethnic minorities should thus in future receive greater opportunities for participation."

(Taylor Report 1977, para. 4.29). (14)

The small number of minority parents on governing bodies by 1980 prompted the Home affairs Committee chairman to ask what measures were being taken to improve the situation. A DES official replied that it was up to Local Authorities to 'make arrangements' for such parents to be represented (Home Affairs Committee Report 1981, p.271). However, an increasing number of minority group members are being elected as local authority councillors, and they may then be in a position to influence educational decisions in particular areas. In London, for example, by 1982, 72 councillors of West Indian or Asian origin had been elected (New Equals, Autumn 1982).

As far as the external management of the school is concerned besides the interests of the local authority the interest in school management and government of the Department of Education and Science (present day successor to the old Ministry of Education) has three facets, state Baron and Howell. (15)

1. It is part of the body of assumptions, constituting an administrative mystique, concerning the individuality of the school, the leadership role of the headmaster and the freedom of the teacher. Such assumptions, are essential for officials working in a situation in which central direction is considered intolerable.

2. It is part of the carefully worked out series of safeguards, developed over the years, for ensuring that the schools can be defended against over-hasty education committees and their officers.

3. Finally, managing and governing bodies are provided for in the Education Act 1944, and it is the duty of the Department to ensure at

least minimum compliance with the intentions of the Act.

To summarise this section on the Administration and Finance of the Ideal Typical Model of the English Primary School - a great deal of power and responsibility is invested in one person - the headteacher. It is he or she usually with advice at least from the chairman of governors who must make the crucial decisions with regard to the appointment of staff and selection, organisation and direction of the curriculum in his school. The success of the headteacher and ultimately the school is judged by how closely the results of his objectives adhere to the aspirations of the pupils and parents from his school. With regard to finance the appraisal of the headteacher seems to be rather more direct. His success in this direction would seem to be largely based upon the extent to which he can satisfy the L.E.A. that he has managed to balance the books satisfactorily and has spent his allocation of resources broadly in accordance with the stated outlines of the L.E.A.

#### The Organisation of English Primary Schools

According to the Plowden Report<sup>(16)</sup> the choice of five as the age at which children must begin school was made almost by chance in 1870 but the Consultative Committee reported in 1933 that it was working well in practice, and thought there was no good reason for modifying the law. But, with the exception of Israel and a few states whose educational systems derive from ours, the United Kingdom is alone in the world in fixing so early an age. In most countries it is six: in some seven. In this discussion concerning what constitutes an ideal school it is therefore perhaps right to consider carefully the grounds for admitting children to school when they are so much younger.



### Age of Entry into Primary Schools

In England children are admitted to infant schools at intervals of four months, and are transferred to junior schools or classes (generally speaking) only at intervals of twelve months. They must go to school at the beginning of the term after their fifth birthday; they then move on to the junior school (or junior classes) in the September following their seventh birthday. It is common practice, depending upon the number of children wishing to be admitted to the Infant school reception class, for children to be admitted in the term before that in which their fifth birthday falls. The age at which a child may go to school therefore is affected by the conditions of the area in which he lives. In this way some children get nine terms and some only six in the infant school. In order to avoid anomalies such as this the Plowden Committee recommended that the statutory time by which children must go to school should be defined as the September term following their fifth birthday. Some children would therefore be nearly six before they went to school; some no older than at present. The median age would be five years six months.

### The Length of the Infant School Course

The Plowden Committee in making their recommendation that there should be only one entry date a year recognised that this would mean that all children instead of roughly a third would be limited to a two year course in the school. They were however firmly of the opinion that children should have three years in the infant schools and that they should not transfer to the Junior department or school until the age of eight. The Plowden recommendation was therefore that the Infant Stage of education should be approximately from the ages of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  -  $8\frac{1}{2}$ .

The argument in favour of this was that a three year course would allow teachers and children to work steadily without anxiety. It would also give infant school teachers the satisfaction of seeing more results to their labours and of knowing that children had reached, before leaving them, a stage at which they could tolerate a change of school. The Plowden Committee recommended that transfer to junior schools should therefore take place in the September following a child's eight birthday.

Arguments for and against transfer to the Secondary Stage at the age of eleven

Arguments for:-

Members of the Hadow committee in their 1931 report<sup>(17)</sup> were of the opinion that primary education should be regarded as ending at the age of eleven, and that normally all children should then go forward at that age to some form of secondary education. Reasons put forward by the Hadow Committee in favour of the transfer age being at the age of eleven were that children of this age would be less likely to mark time than if transferred to a school for older pupils at an earlier age, it would be better for the more nervous and highly strung, and for the more precocious (see Appendix), who in the committee's view were liable to "slow up" afterwards. Added to this the Hadow Committee members felt that the retention of these pupils in the primary school until they were of an age to take part in the games, in the school societies, and in the practical work of the secondary school was a necessity in the interests of the pupils themselves and in the interests of the school. Nor needed it to be feared in the committee's view that the brighter pupils would suffer by being retained in the primary school at the age of eleven since if necessary, an additional class or

section for them could be provided at the top of the school, and they could always be afforded opportunity for individual study.

Although the Plowden Committee were of the opinion that the age of transfer to Secondary Education should be raised they did acknowledge that from the secondary point of view there were two strong arguments for retaining the status quo. Firstly, it gave the secondary school time to get to know its pupils well before decisions were made on choice of courses at about the age of 14. It allowed eleven and twelve years olds the stimulus of teaching by, or at least of teaching supervised by, the specialists who were in charge of secondary school departments, this being especially valuable in subjects such as mathematics and science where skilled teachers were scarce. Secondly, transfer at 11 allowed a small majority of pupils time to adjust to their new school before meeting the strains of puberty. Against this however it was argued that the variations in the age at which puberty occurs are so wide that it is impossible to fix a transfer age which would be generally satisfactory from this point of view.

#### Arguments against transfer to the Secondary Stage at the age of eleven

The Plowden Committee were largely in agreement with the belief that the junior school course ending at the age of 11 was too early an age for transfer to the secondary stage. They pointed to the experience of teachers and other educationists who had suggested that for many children the changes of curriculum and method associated with a break at 11 cut across a phase in learning and in attitudes to it. For example, an unselfconscious period in art, dramatic movement and writing, may last till 12 or 13. Many children, too, at the top of the primary school develop confidence in devising experiments and using

books in specific situations (often unrelated to "subjects"). In Plowden's view such progress may be slowed down by premature emphasis upon class instruction, adult systematisation and precision in secondary schools. Arguments in support of this view may be found in the findings of Jean Piaget and his English followers on the late emergence of powers of abstract thought. Equally, the junior school curriculum is wider than it was. A foreign language, science (as opposed to nature study) and mathematics (as opposed to arithmetic) used to be confined to secondary schools. They are now taught in junior schools. Today there is a basis for a "middle school" curriculum.

Another line of argument against the age of transfer at the age of 11 turns on the fact that many young people are now staying at school to 16 and 18. The demands made by the growing numbers of these senior pupils in secondary schools are such that highly qualified teachers have little time and energy to devote to younger pupils. Specialist organisation is necessary for the older pupils. It is often extended to the younger pupils for whom it is not. It is difficult to cater in one institution for the needs of 11 year olds and pupils of 15 to 18; either the presence of children will prevent the development of the near adult community, the younger pupils may feel lost, or even by contrast be treated as younger than they are.

#### The Curriculum content of an ideal English Primary School

An argument put forward by the authors of the Schools Council's Working Paper No. 70<sup>(18)</sup> in favour of the process orientated curriculum is that "in whatever part of the country they live, and whether they are girls or boys, children have the same rights, and should enjoy much the same opportunities for education." If children share similar

experiences and knowledge it is the belief of the authors of this report that there will be greater cohesion between different social groups and between the generations.

The Council recognises six central issues in working out a curriculum:

1. The overwhelming need, for each school and for the country as a whole, is to find a rationale for the curriculum now that every child has a right to eleven years' education.
2. Then to identify the irreducible minimum to which every pupil should have a right of access; the Council believes this minimum should reflect the complex diversity of human nature and the capacity schools have to contribute to every aspect of personal and social growth. The minimum curriculum should be broad and stimulating.
3. To decide what mix of subject disciplines and kinds of experience a school should provide to meet the diverse needs of its pupils, and to achieve a reasonable balance over the eleven years of compulsory schooling:
4. To take account of the implications of having externally examined outcomes for most pupils.
5. To negotiate a match between the desired curriculum and the staff, accommodation, equipment and materials available; and
6. To think out ways of discovering whether the planned curriculum achieves what is hoped of it.

Within a process orientated curriculum the main concern of infant teachers is to help their pupils to explore their immediate environment and find the words to describe and discuss it effectively. Early explorations of their environment teach children to look around them, to touch and to feel, to listen, smell and taste. What is said to children as they are watching and imitating, the explanations given, the information supplied and the encouragement to think in certain ways will affect whatever learning the child is accomplishing and will have implications for his future learning. A survey of primary schools carried out by H.M.I. showed that the schools whose children did best at the basics were those which emphasised other kinds of experience too, in Art, Music, History, Geography and Science.

#### Some Aspects of the Curriculum

##### Mathematics

The process model of education in the United Kingdom as far as the teaching of Mathematics in Primary Schools is concerned was advocated as far back as 1937 since in the Handbook of suggestions for teachers published by the Board of Education it is stated: "First, by way of introduction, should come practical and oral work designed to give meaning to, and create interest in, the new arithmetical conception - through deriving it from the child's own experience - and to give him confidence in dealing with it by first establishing in his mind correct notions of the numerical and quantitative relations involved in the operation."<sup>(19)</sup>

In the 1960s the work of the Nuffield Mathematics Project and the publication of Schools Council Curriculum Bulletin No. 1: "Mathematics in Primary Schools"<sup>(20)</sup> gave added impetus to the use of approaches to mathematics which were based on practical experience. As a result there has been a general widening of the mathematics curriculum in most primary schools during the last twenty years to include both a greater understanding of number and also work on measurement, shape and space, graphical representation and the development of simple logical ideas.

The process model is reiterated in the Cockcroft Report<sup>(22)</sup> the most comprehensive review of Mathematics in British School during recent years where it is stated that: - "the primary mathematics curriculum should enrich children's aesthetic and linguistic experience, provide them with the means of exploring their environment and develop their powers of logical thought, in addition to equipping them with the numerical skills which will be a powerful tool for later work and study."

With regard to classroom practice, the Cockcroft Report states that successful Mathematics teaching at all levels and to pupils of all ages should include opportunities for:

- a. exposition by the teacher;
- b. discussion between teacher and pupils and between pupils themselves;
- c. appropriate practical work;
- d. consolidation and practice of fundamental skills and routines.
- e. problem solving, including the application of mathematics to everyday situations.
- f. investigational work.

Although there has been some public criticism of the performance of schools, particularly with regard to the teaching of Mathematics, in Cockcroft's opinion an excessive concentration of the purely mechanical skills of arithmetic for their own sake will not assist the development of understanding in other areas of mathematics; for example the geometry of shape and space and graphical representation of various kinds. It follows that the results of a 'back to basics approach' (as Cockcroft understands the words) are most unlikely to be those which its proponents wish to see, and the Cockcroft committee can in no way support or recommend an approach of this kind.

#### Language and Literacy

As with Mathematics and other aspects of the school curriculum the process model of education is emphasised to a large extent in the most recently influential D.E.S. report concerning Language teaching in schools - the Bullock Report.<sup>(23)</sup> Bullock for example stresses that headteachers have a vitally important role in the promotion of successful language work and reading in the school and that they should fulfil this by:

1. placing a high priority on language and reading in the curriculum and organisation of the school, and consulting with their staff to produce a planned policy to improve them.
2. organising the careful evaluation of new ideas and approaches in language and reading.
3. encouraging their colleagues to have positive expectations of every child and to keep careful records.



4. encouraging in-service training within the school and ensuring that the benefits from attendance at outside courses are absorbed by the whole staff.
5. working alongside their colleagues in the classroom.

If a school decides in favour of mixed ability grouping the following points should be noted stated Bullock:

1. that children with reading difficulties should receive the kind of individual help they need;
2. that there is a flexible pattern of group and individual work, and carefully judged opportunities for learning as a class;
3. that resources, and particularly the range of books, are adequate to meet the needs of pupils from a wide spectrum of ability and interests; for example every primary school classroom should have its own collection of books, constantly refreshed and changing to accommodate new needs.

Within the mixed ability groups of most primary schools will be found children who need particular remedial help in language and literacy work. If the success of remedial measures is to be broad and lasting Bullock stated that a recognition of certain factors is essential:

1. the particular nature of each child's difficulties must be seen in relation to his whole linguistic development;
2. the teacher's relationship with pupils would be such as to give

them constant encouragement through the stimulus of success.

3. that remedial work should not be left to the inexperienced or indifferent teacher, but for the teacher who combines a high level of teaching skill with an understanding of the children's emotional and developmental needs;
4. that remedial help in learning to read should wherever possible be closely related to the rest of a pupil's learning;
5. that there should be every effort made to involve parents and help them to understand the nature of their children's difficulties.

#### Language teaching of children from ethnic minority groups

In the Cockcroft report<sup>(24)</sup> on the teaching of Mathematics in Schools no mention was made of the particular needs of children from ethnic minority groups other than a brief survey of "Mathematical education in other countries" and this simply consisted of short statements about Mathematics teaching in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and United States of America, Denmark, Holland and West Germany.

The Bullock report<sup>(25)</sup> on the teaching of Language in schools did at least pay some serious regard to the needs of children from ethnic minorities in British schools without however questioning the basic traditional model of the ideal typical English Primary School. Authorities with children from families of overseas origin stated Bullock should carry out regular surveys of their linguistic needs in order to maintain flexibility in the arrangements made to cater for them. No

child for example should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold, and the curriculum should reflect those aspects of his life. The role of members of the minority communities themselves is vital said the report and it is particularly important that children from families of overseas origin should see people of their own communities in the role of teacher and helper. Authorities with areas of immigrant settlement should appoint advisers with special responsibility for the language development of the children, able to provide and sustain in-service education and support the teachers in the schools. As far as the education of West Indian children was concerned Bullock advised that a positive attitude to West Indian dialect, as to West Indian culture, would help teachers and children alike in multiracial schools. In Bullock's opinion if these problems, i.e. dialect and culture were better understood by teachers there would be a general improvement in the literacy skills of West Indian children with possibly far reaching implications for their all-round performance at school and their social adjustment.

#### Methods of training teachers and in-service support

The success of the Ideal Typical Model of the English Primary system may perhaps be gauged by reference to the increasingly high academic requirements required of the entrants to the teaching profession. At the present time most of those who teach in schools in the United Kingdom qualify for entry to teaching in one of two ways. The first is by following a course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.). This provides both an academic qualification and also professional training as a teacher. The ordinary degree course lasts for three years, the honours course for four years. The second way is by undertaking a one-year course of professional training leading to the award of Postgraduate

Certificate in Education (PGCE) after gaining a graduate qualification other than B.Ed.

Initial teacher training in England and Wales takes place in both the university and non-university sectors. B.Ed. courses are offered in some eight non-university institutions, which include polytechnics and other establishments of higher education; a few are offered in universities. The structure of B.Ed. courses varies from institution to institution. However, most B.Ed. courses include in addition to professional training and the study of education theory, opportunity to study one or more subjects in depth.

#### Entry qualifications to initial teacher training courses

All entrants to B.Ed. courses are now required to satisfy the normal requirement for entry to first degree courses, that is, to have passed in at least two subjects at A-level or to have obtained an equivalent qualification. This was not the case with the Certificate in Education courses and so the minimum academic level for entry to teacher training is now higher than has been the case hitherto. A further requirement is now higher than has been the case hitherto. A further requirement has recently been introduced in respect of entrants to teacher training who expect to become eligible to join the teaching profession in or after September 1984. These entrants are required to have obtained O-level grade A, B or C or its equivalent in both English and Mathematics before starting their training course.

### Professional training

Professional training within B.Ed. and PGCE courses is related to the age of the pupils - primary, middle or secondary - whom the student intends to teach. Two of the elements of professional training are courses of instruction in methods of teaching particular subjects, commonly called 'curriculum courses' in B.Ed. and 'method courses' in PGCE, and school experience.

A large proportion of time within college in the professional training of prospective teachers is concerned with educational theory and curriculum planning. Many modern educationists in England concerned with theoretical considerations concerning curriculum construction would agree that their views are influenced by:

- a. philosophical ideas concerning the structure and organisation of knowledge;
- b. the sociology of knowledge (especially the social distribution of knowledge);
- c. psychological factors such as child development (especially the work of Jean Piaget) and theories of instruction.

### Philosophical ideas concerning the structure and organisation of knowledge

Dennis Lawton<sup>(26)</sup> has suggested that there are currently two main opposing views concerning the structure and organisation of knowledge. These two views have sometimes been referred to as the

Classical and the Romantic views of knowledge and curriculum. The Classical view of curriculum stresses knowledge in terms of disciplines and ultimately of school subjects, and sees the curriculum as the induction of young members of society into the established forms of thought and understanding; the Romantic view of curriculum, on the other hand, sees education as an integral part of life rather than preparation for the adult world, and stresses experience, awareness and creativity, and sometimes - but not always - the 'unity of knowledge'.

In Britain, the best known advocate of the Classical approach is Professor Paul Hirst. The two most important features of Hirst's views on curriculum are first that he argues very strongly in favour of the necessity of having objectives in curriculum planning, and secondly that he sees objectives largely in terms of the acquisition of fundamental forms of public modes of experience, understanding and knowledge. Hirst suggests<sup>(27)</sup> that there is evidence to support the view that seven forms of knowledge can be distinguished: (1) Formal logic and mathematics (2) the physical sciences (3) 'Our awareness and understanding of our own and other people's minds' (4) Moral judgement and awareness (5) Aesthetic experience (6) Religious (7) Philosophical. Hirst states that it is necessary to envisage the curriculum in terms of limited objectives derived from the forms of knowledge, and in his opinion the traditional subject-based timetable is likely to be a more efficient method of organising content to meet the requirements set out under the headings of objectives than a series of projects or topics.

Charity James in her book "Young Lives at Stake"<sup>(28)</sup> illustrates the Romantic attitude to the curriculum very clearly. Mrs. James objected to the idea of curriculum planning by stated objectives and

doubted whether evaluation could be carried out in terms of the kind of objectives listed by Bloom and others. Mrs. James' own plan for an 'open' curriculum would be much less concerned with knowledge and much more concerned with attitudes, values and experience: to use her own words, "enquiry and dialogue, rather than instruction and obedience, activity rather than passivity, living now rather than preparing for an adult future."<sup>(29)</sup>

### Social Factors influencing the Curriculum

All societies have to face the problem that since they cannot teach all pupils everything about the existing culture, some kind of selection must be made. The methodology and sociology of the curriculum in the training of teachers might therefore well be concerned with matters such as:

1. who - the teacher and his role, social background, self-image and belief systems to which he is likely to be attached.
2. teaches what - this concerns the content of the curriculum and particularly the sociology of knowledge.
3. to whom - pupils and the different kinds of curriculum offered to children from different kinds of social background.
4. by what means - this aspect would examine the effectiveness and appropriateness of teaching methods and organisations of schools to the pupils.

5. for what reasons - this concerns the whole question of objectives in education; sociologists being particularly interested not only in how objectives are decided upon but also in the gap between the ideal and reality.
6. with what results? - the sociology of evaluation and particularly the study of methods of assessment of qualities regarded as important when curriculum is seen as a programme for the transmission of culture.

### The Presence of Psychological Theories in the Curriculum

The idea of development has usually been regarded as of great importance in the field of educational psychology in recent years and two names in particular - those of Jean Piaget and Jerome Bruner have been closely linked with this aspect of educational knowledge.

Intellectual development is an area in which, until very recently, the work of Piaget<sup>(30)</sup> has dominated the educational scene, especially in the United Kingdom. The basis of his model consists of four major stages of development.

1. Sensori-motor (zero to two years approximately)

During the sensor-motor stage the child learns to co-ordinate perceptual and motor functions and to utilise certain elementary schemata for dealing with external objects. The child learns that objects exist even when outside his perceptual field, and he gradually co-ordinates their parts into a whole which is recognisable from different perspectives. This is regarded essentially as the 'pre-symbolic'



stage, but even so during the second year elementary forms of symbolic behaviour begin to appear (for example, a child opens and shuts her mouth while 'thinking' about getting a watch chain out of a matchbox).

2. Pre-operational (two to seven years approximately)

The pre-operational or representational stage is characterised by the beginnings of organised symbolic behaviour - language in particular. The child is now representing the external world by internalising elementary forms of symbolism, but he is completely limited to his own direct immediate experiences and lacks the ability to relate these experiences to similar past or future situations.

3. Concrete operations (seven to eleven years approximately)

The concrete operations stage is reached at about seven years and the child will by now have enlarged his ability to organise means independently of the immediate goal. He will have acquired the concepts of conservation and reversibility and will have thus extended his use of symbols to assimilate past and present experience to future situations.

4. Formal operations (twelve to fifteen years approximately)

The formal operations stage will involve the development of the ability to use hypothetical reasoning based on the logic of all possible combinations and to perform controlled experimentation.

Bruner

Jerome Bruner<sup>(31)</sup> sees development in terms of an evolutionary perspective: he sees man's technological progress as having produced three systems which act as 'amplifiers of human capacities'. These are amplifiers of human motor capacities (for example, a knife, or a weapon, or more recently wheels and mechanical devices); amplifiers of human sensory capacities (from smoke signals to drums to wireless and radar); and finally amplifiers of human thought processes (from language to myth to scientific theory and explanation). Bruner defines development or levels of knowing as 'enactive, economic and symbolic'. Perhaps a significant feature of difference here between Bruner and Piaget is that Bruner sees all these levels of knowing as important throughout life, in different proportions, but he would see children beginning to develop enactive powers before iconic, and iconic before symbolic, although as mature adults they will use all three.

School experience - an essential feature of teacher training

School experience forms part of all initial training courses. It is likely to start with short periods of observation in a school, sometimes in the company of a tutor, and will certainly include at least one extended period of teaching practice during which school staff must assume major responsibility for the student. It is therefore necessary says the Cockcroft Report<sup>(32)</sup> for the staff of schools which receive students on teaching practice and the staff of the training institutions from which the students come to act together in a well-defined and mutually supportive partnership.

## Induction

Initial training prepares a student for entry to the profession but much of that preparation is likely to be less effective than it should be if it is not followed up and developed during the first year of teaching. Most L.E.A.s make provision of some kind for the induction of probationary teachers; some of these programmes include provision for release from normal classroom duties and/or a lightening of the teaching load in order to give the probationer time to, e.g. evaluate his teaching performance with senior colleagues or to allow extra time for lesson preparation.

According to the James Report<sup>(33)</sup> on Teacher Training an understanding of the multi-cultural nature of society should feature in any general education but says James "it would be difficult to give all intending teachers practical experience in multi-racial schools and it would be unrealistic to include in all initial training a study of the teaching problems involved since many teachers would not encounter them at the outset of their careers."<sup>(34)</sup>

## In-service support for all teachers

Any improvement in the standards of teaching in schools stresses the Cockcroft Report<sup>(35)</sup> must come largely as a result of the efforts of those teachers who are already in post; they must, therefore, receive all possible support to enable them to improve the effectiveness of their teaching.

Types of in-service support available for serving qualified teachers  
in the United Kingdom

1. School-based support. This may be directed specifically to the needs of the school and its pupils, so that those who teach develop professionally as a result of working together to improve the work of the school.
2. Meetings with other teachers. Local teachers' centres can play an important part in providing facilities for teachers to meet each other.
3. Visits to other schools. Time spent observing and joining up with the teaching in another school can provide valuable insight into different forms of organisation and different teaching methods.
4. Professional associations of teachers. Membership of such associations enables teachers to meet other teachers, both through local branch meetings and national conferences. They also assist professional development through their journals and other publications.
5. Advisory staff. Amongst the many duties of L.E.A. advisory staff are: to monitor the quality of teaching in the schools for which they are responsible; "to take such steps as are open to them to improve the quality of teaching throughout the L.E.A.; and to encourage and disseminate good practice."<sup>(36)</sup>
6. Establishments of higher education. In addition to providing full-time and part-time courses for serving teachers both on a regular basis and in response to particular needs, their staff

engage in many other kinds of in-service support, e.g. assisting with courses organised by local authorities or teachers' centres and serving on local in-service committees.

7. In-service courses. Courses provide a means whereby teachers from several schools can come together for a special purpose, either to consider a particular aspect of teaching or to add to their own knowledge or qualifications.
8. Radio and Television. These provide material which can be used to form the basis of a course or supplement other work in the classroom; different series of programmes cater for the needs of pupils of different ages and levels of attainment. The programmes are usually accompanied by notes for teachers and often by work books for pupils. Programmes of this kind provide another form of in-service support for teachers which can not only be used in the classroom but can also serve as a basis for discussion by groups of teachers at a teachers' centre or within a school.

#### Other qualities necessary in "an ideal school"

In any discussion of what qualities should be apparent in an ideal school, mention must be made of the importance of the headteacher's role. The Taylor report<sup>(37)</sup> has stated that "we suspect that few, if any, would dispute the truth of the claim made by the National Association of Head Teachers that "the success of schools depends very much upon the calibre of leadership as projected by headteachers whose first duty must always be towards their pupils".<sup>(38)</sup> In addition to his responsibilities towards his pupils the Head must give a lead to his staff, he must be constantly aware of the children's behaviour and progress

and he must do his best to maintain good relationships all round, within the school and with the parents and with the school's neighbours. It is the Head's personality that in the vast majority of schools creates the climate of feeling - whether of service and co-operation or of tension and uncertainty - and that establishes standards of work and conduct. To encourage and guide the best that each can give and to cultivate a sense of unity among all who work in the school, from the young and untried to the older and experienced, and from the less competent to the distinguished, calls for the utmost patience, good sense, humour, humility and sense of purpose.

A school which takes its responsibility seriously will not just leave to chance the working out of its influence over its pupils, stated the Newsom Report.<sup>(39)</sup> It will have a policy, and will try to bring all its resources to bear. Very high on the list must come the corporate life of the school. In its most intimate form this means the way in which its members behave to one another. The assumptions on which staff and pupils meet - friendliness or hostility, for instance, grudging legalism or generous helpfulness - show themselves in speech and gesture and conduct. "A school where the assumptions are positive is likely to be one in which staff and pupils share many out-of-school activities together."<sup>(40)</sup>

### Conclusion

The ideal typical English Primary School is a complex and highly organised structure in terms of its aims, the way it is financed and administered, its organisation and liaison procedures and in its curriculum planning and evaluation. Academic entry requirements for aspiring teacher entrants to its ranks are now high, and the professional

training of those accepted is based upon highly respected Western philosophical, sociological and psychological principles. The ideal typical model of the English Primary school would seem to reinforce the view that a national system of education must aim at producing citizens who can take their place in a society properly equipped to exercise rights and perform duties which are the same as other citizens. It will be shown that few anti-racist writers would disagree with this view but would suggest that the interpretation of these within the framework of the Ideal Typical Model might place West Indian children in particular at a disadvantage. For example it may be pointed out that the aims of the Plowden model are too vague in order for one to know whether they are succeeding or not. In so far as these aims can be measured some of the aims may be based upon impressions or if they are not based upon impressions competence in basic numeracy and literacy may be taken as the measure of proficiency.

Nevertheless it was plain to urban educational authorities at least during the late 1960s and early 1970s that the West Indian children within their schools were failing within the terms of the ideal typical English Primary school model and that there was a paramount need to provide a reconstituted conceptual framework for curricular, organisational and pedagogic procedures. How two educational authorities one urban and the other rural tackled this problem will be examined in some detail in the next chapter.

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Chapter 4CHANGES IN PERCEPTION IN MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATIONDURING THE 1970s and 1980s

Racism - the white man's dilemma? - applying Myrdal's analysis -  
the I.L.E.A. policy documents: Race, Sex and Class - Race Relations Act  
1976 - Race Relations and I.L.E.A. - Assimilation - Cultural Diversity -  
Equality - alternative perspectives upon multi-cultural education -  
Maureen Stone - Antony Flew - Multi-cultural education in Suffolk -  
perceptions with regard to education and racial discrimination in  
Suffolk Schools as viewed by the Suffolk County Working Party.

Chapter 4CHANGES IN PERCEPTION IN MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATIONDURING THE 1970s and 1980s

The recognition of racism as an issue with which schools had to deal in David Milner's opinion<sup>(1)</sup> signalled the end of the 'education for coloured immigrants' era. When this came about cannot be precisely dated says Milner but in the early to mid-1970s black children themselves became no longer the sole focus of the debate, and it gradually became apparent to local education authorities who seriously applied themselves to the problem that clear policies to counter racism needed to be formulated, equally applicable to all ethnic groups within their schools.

But here came the problem - was the rationale behind the Ideal typical English Primary School model clear or capable enough to address itself adequately to the changing conditions of the 1970s and 1980s? In this chapter some of the ideas that influenced the attempt to formulate a clear policy to counter racism will be discussed and how two local education authorities - one urban and the other rural interpreted these ideas in terms of their own local needs and situations will be examined.

Racism - the white man's dilemma?

A clear parallel (although in a different context) between British teachers and West Indian parents holding on the one hand similar desires that the West Indian children should be happily integrated into their schools and on the other hand the gap in their persisting

views as to how this integration should be achieved was drawn by the Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal when he described "an American Dilemma".<sup>(2)</sup>

To the great majority of white Americans said Myrdal in his intensive study of the position of the black Negro in white America the Negro problem has distinctly negative connotations. It suggests something difficult to settle and equally difficult to leave alone. It is embarrassing. It makes for moral uneasiness. The basic moral dilemma for the white American wrote Myrdal is the conflict between his moral valuations on various levels of consciousness and generality. The "American Dilemma", is the ever-raging conflict between the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which he called the "American Creed", where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living, where personal and local interests, economic, social, and sexual jealousies, considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people, and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses, and habits dominate his outlook.

The moral struggle said Myrdal goes on within people and not only between them. As people's valuations are conflicting, behaviour normally becomes a moral compromise. There are no homogeneous "attitudes" behind human behaviour but a mesh of struggling inclinations, interests, and ideals some held conscious and some suppressed for long intervals but all active in bending behaviour in their direction. Indeed said Myrdal it would be impossible to understand why the Negro does not fare worse in some regions of America if it were not constantly kept in mind that behaviour is the outcome of a compromise between valuations, among which the equalitarian ideal is one.

In Myrdal's view in America as everywhere else people agree, as an abstract proposition, that the more general valuations - those which refer to man as such and not to any particular group or temporary situation - are morally higher. These valuations are also given the sanction of religion and national legislation. They are incorporated into the American Creed. Furthermore said Myrdal the idealistic concept of American law as an emanation of "natural law" is a force which strengthens the rule of law in America. Laws become disputable on moral grounds. Each legislative statute is judged by the common citizen in terms of his conception of the higher "natural law". He decides whether it is "just" or "unjust" and has the dangerous attitude that, if it is unjust, he may feel free to disobey it. So we find that this American, who is so proud to announce that he will not obey laws other than those which are "good" and "just", as soon as the discussion turns to something which in his opinion is bad and unjust will emphatically pronounce that "there ought to be a law against .....".

These inconsistencies and contradictions said Myrdal should not be taken as indicating simply personal insincerity. They are, rather, symptoms of much deeper, unsettled conflicts of valuations. The absorbing interest in the form of a matter; the indirectness of approach to a person, a subject, or a policy; the training to circumvent sore points and touchy complexes - which we consider as symptoms of escape - are developing into a pattern of thinking and behaviour which moulds the entire personality. People become trained generally to sacrifice truth, realism, and accuracy for the sake of keeping superficial harmony in every social situation. Discussion is subdued; criticism is enveloped in praise. Agreement is elevated as the true social value irrespective of what is to be agreed upon. Grace becomes the supreme virtue; to be "matter of fact" is crude.

Practically no white people said Myrdal are sufficiently incited by self-interest to scrutinize their beliefs critically. And so through the generations, strengthened by tradition and community consensus, a public opinion among whites is formulated which is plainly opportunistic in the interest of the majority group. The individual in the group can remain confident in his moral and intellectual integrity. He "sees" the facts for himself. Tradition and consensus seem to him to be additional intellectual evidence and moral sanction for what he already believes. They relieve him of any duty he otherwise might have felt to criticize seriously his observations and inferences.

Central to Myrdal's hypothesis is the idea that beliefs are opportunistic and have the "function" to defend interests. The ordinary American's interests in the Negro problem in Myrdal's opinion should not be assumed to be simple and harmonious. They are, instead, complicated and conflicting. The conflicts are largely suppressed and only vaguely conscious.

The dynamics of the problem said Myrdal is this: A primary change, induced or unplanned, affecting any one of three bundles of interdependent causative factors - (1) the economic level; (2) standards of intelligence, ambition, health, education, decency, manners, and morals; and (3) discrimination by whites - will bring changes in the other two and, through mutual interaction, move the whole system along in one direction or the other. No single factor, therefore, is the "final cause" in a theoretical sense. From a practical point of view we may, however, call certain factors "strategic" in the sense that they can be controlled.

There is an observation made by Myrdal which he said may be found substantiated in every aspect of the Negro problem, that the ordinary

white American is the more prejudiced, the more closely individual and personal the matter is. When he becomes formal and particularly, when he acts as a citizen, he is very much more under the control of the equalitarian national Creed than when he is just an individual worker, neighbour or customer. There is often a similar difference said Myrdal between the leaders and the masses in the North of America. Leaders were confronted with the wider issues. Therefore, it was more difficult for them to repudiate, openly, the American ideals of equality. The private individual, on the other hand, Myrdal suggested, sought to pretend that his individual behaviour was an exception which was especially motivated and which created no long-run harm to Negroes. If he failed to hire Negroes in his shop, or to welcome them as fellow workmen, he did not mean that Negroes should not have any jobs, but only that they should not have jobs where his own interests were involved.

The paradox, said Myrdal was that it was the very absorption of modern American culture which was the force driving the Negroes to self-segregation to preserve self-respect. It was indeed an impossible proposition to educate the American Negroes and at the same time to keep them satisfied with their lower caste position, as illustrated by the following quote by Marcus Garvey.

"Being subservient to the will and caprice of progressive races will not prove anything superior in us. Being satisfied to drink of the dregs from the cup of human progress will not demonstrate our fitness as a people to exist alongside of others, but when of our own initiative we strike out to build industries, governments, and ultimately empires, then and only then will we as a race prove to our Creator and to man in general that we are fit to survive and capable of shaping our own destiny."



### Applying Myrdal's analysis

How then can Myrdal's hypothesis be applied to the changes in perception in Multi-ethnic education in England during the 1970s and 80s? Myrdal responded to the 'negro problem' by calling into question the notion of 'fact'. As he saw it a 'fact' which was necessary from say the point of view of the southern white was by no means necessary from the point of view of southern blacks. Myrdal's conclusion was therefore that the social scientist must clarify the ends or goals which he regards as necessary and then ask which institutions, practices or empirical states of affairs are conducive to the attainment of those goals.

This methodological approach or plan of study as John Rex has pointed out<sup>(4)</sup> led Myrdal to suggest two alternative and complementary types of sociology of race relations. The primary one or "higher valuation" was a critical sociology, which looked at the 'facts' from the point of view of the American constitution as interpreted by the Courts. This provided a definition of goals in terms of which existing political practice could be judged. In applying Myrdal's concept of higher valuations to the matters being considered in this thesis the writer would suggest the general aims of Primary Education such as those outlined in "The Practical Curriculum"<sup>(5)</sup> as mentioned in the previous chapter, e.g. "schools need to have the capacity and the will to help their pupils ..... to acquire understanding of the social, economic and political order, and a reasoned set of attitudes, values and beliefs; to develop a sense of self-respect, the capacity to live as independent self-motivated adults and the ability to function as contributing members of co-operative groups,"<sup>(6)</sup> largely represent the "higher valuations" of British education as found in many official publi-

cations that few people would argue against.

The other type of sociology of race relations suggested by Myrdal was based upon the bringing together of the conflicting perspectives or "lower valuations" of the participants and judging what was likely to emerge as a result. During the late 1970s at least one large urban authority in England gave public recognition that such conflicts with regard to race relations in this country existed and made considerable efforts to analyse the problems and make it's own position clear from the point of view of the participants who were actually engaged in the conflict.

#### The I.L.E.A. policy documents: Race, Sex and Class

In the third of it's pamphlets outlining the authority's public position on Race, Sex and Class - "A Policy for Equality: Race"<sup>(7)</sup> the writers of the I.L.E.A. policy document state that different people in Britain see race relations and education in different ways - they have different overall perspectives, different definitions of the problems to be solved, different understandings of the nature and role of racism, different proposals and prescriptions about what should be done in practice.

#### Background to the proposals in the I.L.E.A. documents

Before looking in detail at the multi-ethnic policies described and promoted in the I.L.E.A. documents some of the background to these proposals should be considered first.

Race Relations Act 1976

In a draft statement to the Inner London Education Authority Education Committee by the Education Officer in April 1981<sup>(8)</sup> it was noted that there had been a growing incidence of racially discriminatory activities in London. These activities impinged directly or indirectly on the lives of pupils, students, teachers and others in the I.L.E.A. In these circumstances there was no room for doubt about the nature of the Authority's response.

The Education Officer in his report stated that in providing an education service for a multi-ethnic society, the I.L.E.A. had a legal and educational duty to promote equality of opportunity and to eliminate racial discrimination. The legal duty was straightforward. The Authority and everyone who worked within it had an obligation to comply with the provisions of Section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976.<sup>(9)</sup> That section placed a duty on every local authority to:-

- a. eliminate unlawful racial discrimination, and
- b. promote equality of opportunity, and good relations, between persons of different racial groups.

The educational duty said the Education Officer<sup>(10)</sup> was equally important.

One of the most important recommendations of the 1976 Race Relations Act was for the setting up of the Commission for Racial Equality. In some of the recommendations of the Community Relations Commission the direct forerunner of the Commission for Racial Equality may be found "duties" which local authorities are expected to perform

with regard to multi-racial education. These may be compared to the "high valuations" of Myrdal's analysis and include the following:-

1. Local authorities should ..... "set up advisory teams on multi-racial education to undertake the organisation of groups of teachers to work together to define a philosophy for multi-racial education covering school organisation, lesson content, any special counselling needs that might arise through children experiencing cultural confusion etc."
2. Local authorities should ..... undertake "the development of curricula suitable for a multi-racial school. Such curricula will ensure that minority group children enjoy the same opportunities for achieving self respect and a strong sense of identity as other children and will enable all children to value the range of human effort and achievement rather than restricting them to one ethnically - centred viewpoint. Of particular importance is the re-orientation of curricula for religious studies, literature and geography and history to make these relevant to the needs and interests of the minority community and it's children".
3. "Measures should be taken to increase effective home/school contact in multi-racial schools through the appointment of educational visitors and home/school liaison teachers and through encouraging experiments by head teachers in bringing parents into the school."
4. "It is recommended that local authorities in multi-racial areas provide a diversity of in-service training courses to cater for the various needs of teachers in multi-racial classrooms".

5. "It is recommended that local authorities use experienced teachers from the area to create a resource team which can be used to visit schools draw on local community resources, discuss the training needs of staff with head teachers and provide courses and teachers' centres on multi-cultural education".<sup>(12)</sup>

It should be noted in the above quotes from Community Relations Commission's recommendations that the basic structure and philosophy of the British Educational System is deemed to be sound but that efforts need to be made to help children from ethnic minority groups more successfully assimilate to it. In Myrdal's terms the lower valuations of the ethnic minority groups can be assimilated within the higher valuations of the "ideal typical model" since the aim is to provide a multi-ethnic education suitable for all children.

Under the heading of 'black studies' the Community Relations Council recommends that "black studies can be of great importance to young black people, whether born in England or abroad, to act as a counter-weight to their growing up in a largely white country, and as a source of self-respect and self-help motivation. Black studies often arise in youth clubs and in young people's homes and should be given every encouragement under the aegis of the L.E.A. Further Education or Youth Department".<sup>(13)</sup> Attitudes such as this however are severely criticised by Rex who expresses the view that "it is extremely unlikely that white teachers in a white school setting will understand and be able to interpret this culture in its full significance. What tends to be offered, therefore under the heading of 'black studies' is a castrated form of this culture, which lays emphasis upon its safe and stereotypical products such as steel bans. Not surprisingly, serious students of the educational problems

of West Indian children have seen education of this type in schools as a distraction which at worst labels West Indian children as different and inferior, and at best is a distraction from the more serious aspects of education."<sup>(14)</sup>

#### Race relations and I.L.E.A.

The I.L.E.A.'s commitment to deal positively with consequences of racial discrimination and its proposals for doing so during the late 1970s were set out in two reports to the Education Committee, in November 1977<sup>(15)</sup> and in a subsequent progress report in June 1979<sup>(16)</sup>. Once again the view is expressed that there are recognisable higher valuations or "a British Creed" which is accepted by some ethnic groups and should not itself change but should seek to assimilate or socialise the lower valuations of the conflicting participants in order to create a harmonious society-as is shown in the following statement:-

"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, 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. Recognizing 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 recognized and group and individual identities are secure. To this end, the Authority will undertake a

radical reappraisal of its practices and responds to what it finds. Such a policy is the basis for an effective comprehensive education service in the multi-ethnic London of today."<sup>(17)</sup>

The above statement is illustrative of the dilemma which was going on in the I.L.E.A. during the late 1970s and was to result in the quite radical recommendations in the "Race, Sex and Class" policy documents of the early 1980s.<sup>(18)</sup> On the one hand the statement "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"<sup>(19)</sup> demonstrates a commitment to an assimilationist ideology or to put it more bluntly, it was incumbent on the students to adapt to the system, rather than the other way round - and yet at the end of the statement one reads "the Authority will undertake a radical reappraisal of its practices and respond to what it finds".<sup>(20)</sup> What was it then that should bring about such seemingly opposed ideals within one blanket statement? Troyna<sup>(21)</sup> gives us his answer to this when he states that in his view the I.L.E.A.'s policy initiative was essentially reactive; it did not derive from pedagogical foresight but was impelled by broader and more immediate political and social considerations. The visit to New York city in 1976 by the I.L.E.A.'s Education Officer and his colleagues highlighted the likely social and political implications of unrest engendered by the reactions of frustrated and angry school students (manifested in the forms of indiscipline and truancy rates) and their older, unemployed counterparts. The imperative, therefore, was to ensure that such occurrences did not reach parallel heights in Inner London. As the Education Officer of the I.L.E.A. from 1971-1977 Eric Briault in an interview with Barry Troyna admitted, the notion of assimilation which, until then, had prevailed within the education system remained 'attractive

(and) contains much that is valuable; it was, therefore to be modified only with great reluctance.<sup>(22)</sup>

#### The I.L.E.A. policy documents: Race, Sex and Class

As a result of specific concerns such as those described above members of the Inner London Education Authority, elected in 1981, set themselves four principal objectives. "They resolved to maintain and improve the level of educational provision in Inner London; to reconsider existing arrangements for the education of 16-19 year olds; to expand provision for the increasing number of unemployed school leavers; and to examine the question of achievement in education from the vantage point of working class children, black children and girls."<sup>(23)</sup> Arising out of a consideration of that fourth objective came the series of five I.L.E.A. publications on the subject of "Race, Sex and Class in Education" in August 1983.<sup>(24)</sup>

"The fundamental debate" says the third of the I.L.E.A. documents "is to do with three main values - assimilation, cultural diversity and equality. Over the last three decades three main perspectives have evolved; a perspective emphasising assimilation and integration; a perspective emphasising cultural diversity and pluralism; and a perspective emphasising equality and justice, and combating racism, which should be the basis for policies in the 1980s".<sup>(24)</sup>

#### Assimilation

The description of assimilation in the I.L.E.A. documents emphasises four main features.<sup>(25)</sup> Each of these features refers to "a belief" and in Myrdal's terms this would be a belief in what is



thought to be a commonly accepted Creed. The main features of the Assimilationist perspective are:-

1. A belief that race relations in Britain are by and large good, that it is counter-productive to try to improve them too fast, and that problems are only caused by extreme right wing groups. "Governments," according to the headteacher of one of Britain's prominent public schools, "have started a campaign of preaching and trying to hector the public into believing in the superiority of a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society. To a historian such a belief cannot be substantiated."<sup>(26)</sup> Such views according to two researchers Ellis Cashmore and Carl Bagley appears to be common amongst an influential section representing British educational institutions. Cashmore and Bagley's research in the independent sector,<sup>(27)</sup> covering 42 per cent of Headmasters Conference Schools, indicated that most HMC heads see no need to take account of the increasingly multi-racial nature of Britain and a few are positively antagonistic towards multi-cultural education, though many of them had between 5 and 15 per cent of pupils from ethnic minorities in their schools. "Matters of race should not be at the forefront of our minds," stated the headteacher of a school which has a 10 per cent minority intake.<sup>(28)</sup>
2. The second main feature of Assimilationist perspective states the I.L.E.A. document is "a belief that the curricula of educational establishments should reflect at all times British traditions, history, customs and culture".<sup>(29)</sup> Such a view is again illustrative of the concept of "higher valuations" found in Myrdal's analysis. In this case the "higher valuation" is represented by a "British Creed" which assimilationists would hold exists and

that it is the duty of educationists to initiate the "lower valuations" of those who are being educated i.e. the school children in order that the higher valuations of the British Creed and the lower valuations of those who are being educated may be merged together as harmoniously as possible. As Mr. David Smith - headmaster of Bradford Grammar School told the Aston University researchers "my highly intelligent pupils are either Anglicized or are anxious to become so".<sup>(30)</sup>

3. The third main feature of the Assimilationist perspective states "A Policy for Equality"<sup>(31)</sup> is a belief that 'Children are all children', and that teachers should pay as little attention as possible to racism in education and society at large. Such a view or "higher valuation" in the opinion of the writer of this thesis may be found reflected in the Plowden Report<sup>(32)</sup> where one reads - "The curriculum of the primary school with a substantial intake of immigrant children should take account of their previous environment and prepare them for life in a different one. Their culture can enrich the school's geographical and historical studies and, if used imaginatively, can improve other children's appreciation of the newcomers besides enabling immigrant children to value their own culture and language."<sup>(33)</sup> Illustrative of the view that in a multi-cultural context 'Children are all children' was a remark given by one headmistress in a London school in the following words: "We are colour blind in a colour-conscious world".<sup>(34)</sup> In response to Cashmore and Bagley's survey<sup>(35)</sup> Mr. Bruce McGowan headmaster of the Haberdashers' Aske's School, Hertfordshire stated "The fact of the matter is that most people here are colour

blind and it takes something of a conscious effort to notice who comes from an ethnic minority and who does not."<sup>(36)</sup> However the assertion by the writers of the third description of the assimilation perspective in the I.L.E.A. document that teachers and others who hold views similar to those above "pay as little attention as possible ..... to racism in education and society at large"<sup>(37)</sup> is a view which in the opinion of the writer of this thesis needs to be challenged. That lack of concern for racism in education and society at large does not necessarily follow as a logical sequel to a "colour blind view" is shown by Mr. McGowan who continued "within the school there is a strong tradition of mutual tolerance and understanding in which the right of each individual to be different from all the others is readily accepted on all sides."<sup>(38)</sup>

4. The fourth main feature of the Assimilationist viewpoint states the I.L.E.A. document is "a belief that black people, before they can possibly learn anything else or be integrated into the mainstream of the education system, need to learn to speak and write correct English"<sup>(39)</sup> However as Christopher Bagley<sup>(40)</sup> has pointed out the assumption of many English teachers and educationists when black children first entered British schools that the forms of English used by black children of West Indian origin were simply forms of language misuse is a view which if still held is profoundly mistaken since it fails to appreciate the cultural significance of Creole, both historically and in contemporary culture and fails to understand that Creole is a separate language in its own right. Further, Edwards<sup>(41)</sup> has recommended the formal use of patois in British schools and the in-service training of all teachers who are likely to teach West

Indian children so that they can recognise and encourage its use, at least in certain contexts.

Fundamental to the Assimilationist view point within the British educational system is that there exists a clearly recognizable "British Creed" which contains the "higher valuations" to which all educationists should aspire. The assertion that there is any such thing as "a British Creed" however is challenged by Jagdish Gundara<sup>(42)</sup> who states that the assertion that Britain is a monocultural society needs to be challenged since the issues raised by multi-culturalism extend beyond the simplistic notion of "ethnic" groups which live in British society. In Gundara's opinion British society has always been, and continues to be, diverse ..... in terms of language, religion, territoriality, race and class. In linguistic terms, Britain has historically had a number of languages and dialects (Celtic, Icelandic, German, French and Flemish). African, Asian and Caribbean languages merely add to this linguistic repertoire. Similarly, in religious terms, Britain has always been a diverse country (pagans (sic), Roman Catholics, Fundamentalists, Anglicans, Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists and Jews). The addition of Sikhs, Muslims, Rastas and Indus simply extends this diversity ... Scotland and Wales are the obvious examples of territoriality which exist in British society. The term "race" is not a scientific category but illustrative of racism which is currently directed mainly against the visibly different black community but which historically has been directed against the Celtic, Jewish and the travelling communities. These descriptive categories are related to each other in terms of the power relationships which underlie the class system in British society. Hence, multi-culturalism as a feature of British Society is not a result of the presence of the black British community but has complex historical roots."<sup>(43)</sup>

In addition to the criticisms of the Assimilationist perspective by writers such as Ellis Cashmore and Carl Bagley,<sup>(44)</sup> Jagdish Gundara,<sup>(45)</sup> Christopher Bagley<sup>(46)</sup> and Vivienne Edwards<sup>(49)</sup> the writers of the I.L.E.A. document<sup>(48)</sup> also state that the Assimilationist perspective is wrong for the following reasons:-

- a. It defines the black communities as 'the problem', and therefore not only fails to challenge negative views about black people but also actually promotes and strengthens such views, both in the education service and in society.
- b. It is racist, because it is based on, and communicates, a notion of white cultural superiority. This is damaging to white people as well as to black.
- c. It discriminates against black people, since if they are to succeed in the education system they are required to ignore or disown their own cultural identity and background, and their own and their community's experiences of discrimination and prejudice.
- d. It reflects an inaccurate or inadequate view of Britain's position in world society, both historically and at the present time, and therefore miseducates everyone, white as well as black.
- e. It fails to appreciate that white people have very much to learn from the experience of black people; their struggle against oppression, their movements in daily life between two or more cultures, their achievements as individuals and communities in coping with rapid social and cultural change.

### Cultural Diversity

The second of the three main perspectives, i.e. the perspective emphasising cultural diversity and pluralism has says "A Policy for Equality"<sup>(49)</sup> been promoted by a series of reports and papers published by the Schools' Council and by numerous books and articles on Multi-cultural Education. It can be argued that the report of the Suffolk County Council Working Party<sup>(50)</sup> appointed to consider the interim report of the 'Rampton' Committee of inquiry<sup>(51)</sup> into the education of children from ethnic minority groups, "West Indian children in our schools" also represents this perspective as will be shown.

The main features of the perspective emphasising mainly Cultural Diversity said the I.L.E.A. document<sup>(52)</sup> included:

Firstly, a belief that British society is adequately summarised, with regard to education and race relations, as being multi-cultural or multi-ethnic, and that aspects of the cultures of various ethnic groups should be taught in schools - e.g. in the Suffolk report one reads that "schools with significant numbers of West Indian pupils should seek to increase opportunities to utilise the linguistic repertoire through drama, creative work, discussion, role play etc." and gain - "schools should seek to extend the range of materials used to recognise other cultures and their value in the development of language".<sup>(53)</sup>

In terms of Myrdal's analysis the higher valuations represented here are the beliefs or creed of British society and the lower valuations are the desires of teachers in schools to socialise their ethnic minority pupils into British culture through the use of methods and materials which are acceptable to them.

A second feature of the perspective emphasising mainly Cultural Diversity as described by the I.L.E.A. document is "a belief" that a low profile should be maintained in relation to issues of racism and that the most effective way to deal with these issues is to promote Cultural Diversity.<sup>(54)</sup> Illustrative of this attitude are statements in the Suffolk report such as: "the Working Party is firmly opposed to establishing segregated courses or dual standards of discipline and expectation of pupils. It is considered to be particularly important that every opportunity is given to enable all pupils to become fully assimilated into the community as a whole" and again - "in-service training of teachers should, where appropriate, include modules on cultural diversity, an introduction to the particular difficulties encountered by West Indian pupils and other from minority groups."<sup>(55)</sup>

In terms of Myrdal's analysis the higher valuations represented here are that the British Creed is most effective in relation to multi-cultural education when a low profile is maintained in relation to issues of racism and the lower valuations are that teaching in schools and the in-service training of teachers should be organised along these lines.

A third feature of the Cultural Diversity perspective is "a belief that such teaching about culture will promote a 'positive self-image' amongst black people, and tolerance and 'sympathetic understanding' amongst white people: - e.g. "our society is a multi-cultural, multi-racial one and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up our society ..... the curriculum of schools ..... must reflect the needs of this new Britain."<sup>(57)</sup>

In terms of Myrdal's analysis the higher valuations represented here are a belief in the British Creed's ability to promote 'a positive self-image' amongst black people, and the lower valuations are that British schools are capable of bringing this about within the confines of their existing curriculum arrangements and with the teachers who are in post at the present.

A fourth feature of the Cultural Diversity perspective states the I.L.E.A. document<sup>(58)</sup> is a belief that educational establishments should make greater efforts to explain their policies and practices to black parents. A statement illustrative of such a view in the Suffolk report is "Pastoral staff should encourage, where appropriate, the promotion of home visits as well as encouraging West Indian parents to visit the school in the normal way"<sup>(59)</sup> and in Plowden - "Contacts with the home are especially important ..... the appointment of suitably trained immigrant teachers who would combine part-time teaching with welfare functions could be helpful. They could interpret the school's aims to immigrant parents and the parents' wishes and anxieties to the schools."<sup>(60)</sup>

In terms of Myrdal's analysis the higher valuations represented here are that multi-cultural policies within the philosophy of the British Creed are capable of satisfying the needs and demands of black parents and the lower valuations are that school's can satisfy the needs and wishes of West Indian parents within the existing liaison arrangements between schools and homes.

A fifth feature of the Cultural Diversity perspective states the I.L.E.A. document<sup>(61)</sup> is a belief that mother tongues other than English should be valued positively by schools, and that bi-lingualism should therefore be encouraged. In the Suffolk report one reads for



example - "whilst recognising that the successful language development courses arranged by the Authority have included elements of 'English as a second language' and have promoted an awareness of individual linguistic needs, it is felt that the in-service training of teachers in areas of language development should reflect the importance language diversity and methods of utilising dialect and linguistic differences."<sup>(62)</sup>

In terms of Myrdal's analysis the higher valuations represented here are that the British Creed gives sufficient value to mother tongues other than English and encourages bi-lingualism. The lower valuations are that schools are successfully responding or are capable of responding to individual linguistic needs by means of the in-service training of teachers etc. within the existing structure.

#### Analysis of the "Cultural Diversity" approach

A feature of the "Cultural Diversity" approach regarding structural reform of the curriculum to accommodate ethnic minority children is to say that what is wanted is not special and separate provision but reform of the curriculum as a whole and for all children to take account of the fact that we are living in a multi-cultural society. John Rex<sup>(63)</sup> has pointed out that this kind of approach can be very misleading. Unless the thrusts of multi-culturalism and quality of opportunity for ethnic minority children are deliberately institutionalized it is unlikely that anything will happen to the syllabus as a whole and the protestations of those who talk in general terms about a suitable syllabus for a multi-cultural society are all too often a cover for an intention to do nothing.

The third I.L.E.A. document<sup>(64)</sup> expresses the view that although the "Cultural Diversity" approach represents a decisive departure from the explicit racism of the "Assimilation" approach, it should be criticized for the following reasons:

1. Its almost exclusive emphasis on aspects of culture and cultural differences tends to obscure or ignore other issues; e.g. the economic position of black people in relation to white people; differences in access to resources and in power to affect events; discrimination in employment, housing, and education; relations with the police.
2. It conceives of racism as merely a set of mental prejudices held by a smallish number of unenlightened white people, and hence ignores or denies the structural aspects of racism, both in the education system and in society.
3. It reflects a white view of black cultures as homogeneous, static, conflict-free, exotic. It ignores the power relations between white and black people, both in history and in the present.
4. It ignores the issues which black people themselves consider to be of vital importance - that is, the issue of racism and the promotion of racial equality.
5. Although it recognises the right of people to maintain their own cultures, in practice this is limited to support for marginal activities, which do not impinge on mainstream social policies and programmes.

Furthermore, the writers of the I.L.E.A. document<sup>(65)</sup> see the Cultural Diversity viewpoint as essentially tokenist - i.e. they hold the view that in education the changes seen to be required are often in the content of certain subjects rather than in the ways in which teachers see and treat their pupils/students. Curricular changes which do occur too often tend to focus on what are in practice rather marginal subjects - religious education, art, topic work - as distinct from the main body of the curriculum, concerned with literacy, mathematics, science and the study of society.

#### A perspective emphasising primarily - Equality

The third of the main perspectives, i.e. the perspective emphasising equality and justice and combating racism is the basis for I.L.E.A. policies in the 1980s state the I.L.E.A. multi-ethnic policy documents.<sup>(66)</sup> This perspective includes some of the policies associated with the concern for diversity, particularly those which involve acknowledging and valuing black peoples' cultural identities and bilingual competence, and promoting mutual respect between cultures. However, it places them in a different context which has eight different points of focus, i.e.

##### 1. The central and pervasive influence of racism

There are certain routine practices, customs and procedures in our society says "A Policy for Equality"<sup>(67)</sup> whose consequence is that black people have poorer jobs - according to a Unit of Manpower Studies report black workers are greatly underrepresented at supervisory levels, they have poorer health - up until 1982 there was no systematic or detailed evidence available about the health of black people in Britain according to "The Runnymede Trust and

The Radical Statistics Race Group"<sup>(68)</sup> and the writer of this thesis does not know of any such systematic or detailed evidence which has been collected since. Available information however suggests that Asian babies in Britain have low birth weights and high levels of perinatal and infant mortality in comparison with the indigenous population. In 1971 Bamford<sup>(69)</sup> found that between 1967 and 1969, 15.1 per cent of 3024 babies born to Asian women in Bradford were of low birth weight, compared with 8.6 per cent of 12,694 babies born to indigenous women. The central and pervasive influence of racism is also to be seen in housing, claims "A Policy for Equality"<sup>(70)</sup> - in a Department of Environment Report<sup>(71)</sup> it was shown that 10 per cent of the census enumeration districts house 70 per cent of the black population. In these districts they comprise 20 per cent of the total population. Also these districts contain three times as many households living at a density of over one and half people per room (the statutory overcrowding level). In Education, say Hatch and Zimet<sup>(72)</sup> the appearance of black children in British schools has served to expose the ethnocentric and racist bias in the curriculum and in textbooks.

"The web of discriminatory policies, practices, and procedures" says 'A Policy of Equality'<sup>(73)</sup> is what is meant by the term 'institutional racism' nevertheless "most white people dismiss the view that Britain is a racist society with impatience and indignation" - e.g. "Race simply isn't an issue in primary schools. Before secondary age children don't notice colour. They don't see themselves like that. You'd be putting it into their heads if you brought it up."<sup>(74)</sup>

## 2. Black perspectives:

Opposition to racism, says "A Policy for Equality"<sup>(75)</sup> both in society and in the education system, should be informed by the experience of the people who bear the brunt of racism. This involves developing new kinds of consultation and liaison between white and black people, ones in which black people have considerably more power and opportunity than hitherto to express and communicate their views, and to participate in decisions which affect everyone, and in which white people listen rather than speak. This view is shared by Chris Mullard<sup>(76)</sup> who wrote "more attention must be paid to assuring equal opportunities for blacks ..... more attention must be paid to listening to the views and wishes of blacks" and by Gerry Davis<sup>(77)</sup> who wrote "multi-cultural education initiatives at school level should be concerned with changing the white ethnocentric perspective within education. This perspective serves to perpetuate the notion of racial superiority and supports racism in society. In order to change, it would be necessary to challenge the established norms, values and attitudes which have developed in custom and practice, and which perpetuate racial prejudice and racism primarily within the education service." What may perhaps be described as the 'hardline' black view of education is expressed by Tuku Mukherjee<sup>(78)</sup> when he says "we need to wrench ourselves free from the 'golliwogish' definition of multi-cultural education dominated by white orthodox view of education, teaching and schooling, and enter the arena of discourse with a black perspective to formulate a 'revolutionary definition', not just as a theory, but as an active approach rooted in our experience of oppression, to challenge every fact of white society, 'White speech, White schooling, White law', and above all the white teaching profession".

3. Social, political and moral education

All pupils/students says "A Policy for Equality"<sup>(79)</sup> should be learning about the theory and practice of government, rights and responsibilities, the rule of law, social justice, peaceful resolution of conflict, the role of the police, the role of the mass media, economic development, production and trade, political change. Such concepts and topics would be studied with regard to world society as a whole as well as to Britain in particular."

4. Removing discrimination in educational establishments

"If schools continue either to ignore the realities of race or to convince their black pupils that discrimination does not exist ..... then the education system will not just be doing itself a disservice but will be lying to its black pupils" says Mullard.<sup>(80)</sup> Bearing such views in mind the writers of the I.L.E.A. perspective emphasising primarily Equality state that "it is necessary to remove those practices and procedures which discriminate against black pupils/students and their families. These include courses, syllabuses, schemes of work, topics, textbooks, materials and methods which ignore or deny the validity of black experience, perspectives and culture; some of the tests and other criteria, including teachers' expectations, which govern access and admission to particular schools or post-school courses, or are used to allocate pupils/students to particular sets, streams, classes or bands; some of the general priorities affecting the allocation of staffing, and other resources, within and between departments and year-groups; and some of the ways in which educational establishments communicate and consult with parents and local communities."<sup>(81)</sup>

5. Training of all Education Authority staff

In Mullard's view "student teachers should be screened before being admitted to a college or institute of education. To guarantee that all student teachers are fully aware of race relations and their role in changing or reinforcing attitudes, courses in race should also be obligatory in all colleges and institutes of education."<sup>(82)</sup> In addition says "A Policy for Equality"<sup>(83)</sup> courses, workshops and conferences on the nature of racism, and on principles for combating racism in the education service, will be organised over a period not only for teachers but also for all non-teaching staff, including administrators, clerical workers, kitchen staff, lunchtime controllers, and schoolkeepers; and also from Members of the Education Committee".

6. Code of Practice

A code of practice relating to racism and racial equality should regulate the work of all staff, both teaching and non-teaching, stated the I.L.E.A. perspective emphasising primarily Equality.<sup>(84)</sup> In another I.L.E.A. document<sup>(85)</sup> it was stated that the governors and staff of all I.L.E.A. schools would be required to produce an Anti-Racist Policy and Code for the school, in the light of their discussions about the Authority's Anti-Racist Statement and Guidelines: this was to be submitted to the Education Officer by the end of the Spring term 1984.

7. Positive action on employment and appointments

"Steps will be taken," said "A Policy for Equality"<sup>(86)</sup> in accordance with the provisions of the 1976 Race Relations Act,<sup>(87)</sup> to encourage the recruitment and promotion of black people at all levels of the educational system, particularly senior levels, and their appointments as school governors."<sup>(88)</sup> During the 1980s black teachers' groups have complained of discrimination in employment (Lister and Spencer).<sup>(89)</sup> The Secretary of the National Convention of Black Teachers wrote in a letter to the T.E.S. in 1983 that: "Although we are teachers of Afro-Caribbean/Asian origin, the problems we face in employment, jobs and promotion are not due to our ethnic origin, but because of the colour of our skin."<sup>(90)</sup>

8. Continuous monitoring of policies and provision:

"The I.L.E.A." stated "A Policy for Equality"<sup>(91)</sup> will ensure that information is collected about its progress in promoting racial equality and that its policies are evaluated". This is essential wrote Bev. Woodroffe<sup>(92)</sup> if the strategies developed are to be effective, and those involved committed to their implementation. As institutions work towards their whole school/college policies for anti-racist teaching and the development of a multi-cultural curriculum, both short and long term goals will need to be established, and progress will have to be documented and evaluated. Ultimately, the test of the success of our policies will be in the achievement of all our pupils and students."



### Analysis of the Equality perspective

Unlike the Assimilationist and Cultural Diversity perspectives the Equality perspective does not hold to the notion that there exists an official code of beliefs or higher valuations, and that it is part of the purpose of education to reconcile the lower valuations of the participants in the educational process to these higher valuations.

Instead the Equality perspective recognises that valuations differ and often conflict amongst different ethnic groups, and it is only when such valuations are deliberately institutionalized that anything is likely to happen and improve the status of multi-cultural education as a whole.

### Alternative perspectives upon Multi-Cultural education as compared with the I.L.E.A. as represented in it's documents: Race, Sex and Class

#### Maureen Stone

Although in Jenny Williams' <sup>(93)</sup> opinion it is the views of black social scientists such as Chris Mullard and Maureen Stone which are represented most fully in the I.L.E.A. policy package the central recommendation of Maureen Stones' study <sup>(94)</sup> is for the use of more formal methods of teaching for West Indian children throughout primary and secondary schools. These methods she says are understood and approved of by West Indian (and other working-class) parents and in the light of what she regards as the dismal failure of the present approach, formal

teaching methods can only offer an improvement on the present situation. The present methods have resulted in low attainment by West Indian pupils and concentration of black children in lower streams of the comprehensive schools, remedial classes and special schools for the educationally subnormal.

The implications of her findings as far as Stone is concerned are that policy decisions should encourage teachers in urban schools to have as their primary objective the teaching of skills and knowledge and the development of associated abilities in children. Teacher training she believes should emphasize that teachers' professional interest lies in 'the inducting of children into knowledge, skills and abilities' rather than in the provision of 'social work or therapy to children'. Training courses, says Maureen Stone could encourage teachers to consider the use of more formal methods of teaching which appear to have more overall parental support and which may be more effective for certain children. If there is significant demand for Black or Ethnic Studies from the West Indian community states Stone this would need to be examined sympathetically by the LEAs and the DES - but it should not be assumed that the introduction of Black Studies programmes in schools will in itself have a notable effect on (a) the performance of West Indian children as a whole, or (b) reduce the tendency towards alienation, and the development of what has been termed as 'School counter-culture' amongst West Indian adolescents. The issues says Stone are far too complex, and are tied in with other economic, social and political factors which schools in themselves can do little about.

#### Analysis of Maureen Stone's argument

The writer of this thesis would argue that there is some inconsistency of approach in Maureen Stone's argument if on the one hand she is

advocating a policy for equality for all children within the perspective of I.L.E.A.'s process based Hadow-Plowden philosophy of education and yet on the other hand is arguing for a content based curriculum in her demand for the use of more formal methods of teaching for West Indian children throughout primary and secondary schools. In a similar fashion Jenny Williams has pointed out<sup>(95)</sup> theoretical and substantive inconsistencies in the way I.L.E.A. presents data on the academic achievements of girls and Blacks. Unlike the latter, says Williams "girls are not typified generally as 'educational underachievers' but are shown to perform differentially in certain subjects. The I.L.E.A. therefore, calls for policies which will redirect girls' energies and interest toward more vocationally-oriented, high status subjects such as maths and sciences - areas of the curriculum where traditionally they have performed least well. Significantly, however, says Williams<sup>(96)</sup> and in sharp contrast to theories of black 'educational underachievement', "the poor academic performance of girls is seen in the ILEA as a self-volitional response; it is explained in terms which see 'unfemininity' as more threatening(sic) to their self-image than 'underachievement'. Differences in theoretical explanations are only part of the story however because they lead, directly and indirectly, to distinctive policy recommendations designed to combat the impact of racism and sexism on the academic performance of Blacks and girls." Unfortunately, says Williams<sup>(97)</sup> "the absence of any unifying framework in which these differential policy responses might be located and justified prevent us even from speculating on why or how educational policy-makers have reached their decisions on these matters. But when 'race' and gender inequalities are simply highlighted together, as in the development of equal opportunity units and policies, then the lack of clarity in the understanding and policy diagnoses is starkly evident." Similarly, the writer of this thesis would argue that there is a lack of consistency and

clarity of approach in much of the case put forward for dealing with the underachievement of children of West Indian parentage in the English Primary School. If for example as Stone has argued<sup>(98)</sup> more formal methods of teaching based upon a content based curriculum are likely to achieve better results with West Indian schoolchildren then strategies for achieving equality and equal opportunity must be designed with such a philosophy in mind.

### Antony Flew

An opponent of the ideology expressed in the anti-racist policy of the I.L.E.A. is Antony Flew, emeritus professor of philosophy at Reading University and visiting professor at York University, Toronto who states that "such policies undermine the long-established tradition of integrating ethnic minorities into British society and would transform schools into instruments of revolution."<sup>(99)</sup> Flew pinpoints four 'fundamental fallacies and favourite falsehoods' underlying the anti-racist policies.

The first is that environment is omnipotent. Research by Frank Reeves and Mel Chevannes<sup>(100)</sup> for example into Jamaican education, and their experience with the black supplementary school, has led them to conclude that far too little attention has been paid to the class background of West Indian children and the educational level of their parents, when analysing the causes of poor performance in schools. Many of the West Indian parents in Wolverhampton come from rural parts of Jamaica where educational opportunities are most restricted and the illiteracy rate is highest. Their children do less well in Britain than those children whose parents come from Trinidad and Guyana and from more middle class backgrounds. However, says Flew<sup>(101)</sup> such

findings conflict with evidence from America that different immigrant groups from equally deprived backgrounds have shown enormous differences in performance.

Secondly, Antony Flew cites the "perennial confusion between equality of opportunity and equality of outcome". Differences in outcome cannot be confidently construed as demonstrating corresponding differences in opportunity unless those compared started out "Equally able, equally eager and equally well qualified."

Thirdly, Flew contests the assertion that no language or culture is or could be superior or inferior to any other - e.g. see Labov in "The Logic of Non-Standard English".<sup>(102)</sup> Whatever the non-instrumental value of the various languages, it is says Flew "simply silly to insist that every language is equally good for every possible practical purpose."<sup>(103)</sup>

Similar principles, says Flew apply to cultures. Some features of foreign cultures are likely to constitute handicaps, others may be positive advantages in a very different social environment".

Finally, Antony Flew comes to the sensitive issue of genetic differences between different races and different racial groups (apart from racially defining characteristics). He thinks it improbable there are none but stresses that "any relevant differences which may eventually be discovered are going to be differences solely on average."

Arguments against Flew's hypothesis

Peter Newsam the present chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality believes that Antony Flew has got into a terrible tangle with the whole business of looking at "racism" and a number of other notions in the vocabulary of race relations.<sup>(104)</sup> Following a similar line to that of Myrdal<sup>(105)</sup> in his proposition that in human relationships there is conflict on various levels of consciousness and generality, Newsam states<sup>(106)</sup> that confusion arises partly because there are two distinct elements to "racism". The first starts from an attitude of mind. This attributes inferiority to certain racial groups and includes hostility towards them. The second element in "racism", says Newsam denotes a condition of affairs; A set of circumstances which disadvantages one or more racial groups and cannot be justified.

The response to racism, states Newsam depends on which element of it is being tackled. Intentional racism, direct discrimination can be dealt with directly, e.g. "This is how and what we teach in this school and this is how we deal with racist remarks in the classroom."<sup>(107)</sup>

Institutional racism, indirect discrimination, has to be dealt with rather differently. The first task is to understand how it works. Newsam gave as an example a school which has a rule that pupils who are suspended can return only if a parent comes to school with the child at a given time in the school day. On the face of it, there is nothing unreasonable about such a rule. But suppose, because it does not believe problems go away if you choose not to notice them, the school also notices that a disproportionate number of black pupils are among those who are out of school longest because a parent has not complied with the rule.

Then suppose it to be discovered that a high proportion of black parents cannot get permission to leave their jobs in the way the school's rule requires. Where does this leave the school? The obligation on the school, is to try to change the rule which is having a discriminatory effect. Sometimes the change will be possible; sometimes it will not. A "racist" institution in Newsam's opinion is quite simple one in which discriminatory rules or systems apply and no-one has either noticed or tried to remove them.

### Multi-Cultural Education in Suffolk

#### Background

As a largely rural county with little in the way of major industry, Suffolk has not for the most part attracted significant numbers of immigrants though there is a small Polish community around Brandon in the north, scattered groups of Vietnamese who fled from that country in the late 70's and a few Chinese, Asian and West Indian Families (e.g. in 1981 outside Ipswich there were 47 West Indian pupils in a total pupil population of over 40,000).<sup>(108)</sup> The one exception to this rule is Ipswich, where a greater concentration of industry and dock work did attract a significant number of West Indians in the 1950s and 60's and a lesser number of Asians (especially Bangladeshis) and a few other small groups. Much the biggest group are the West Indians and although pupils from this background numbered some 550 out of a total Ipswich school population of just over 23,000 in 1981, their concentration in a few schools encouraged the Local Education Authority to examine the implications of the Rampton Report when it was published in June 1981.

## Policy Developments

The County Education Committee at its meeting in October 1981, decided to set up an "interdisciplinary professional working party with the following terms of reference:<sup>(109)</sup>

1. To consider the Rampton Report "West Indian Children in our Schools"<sup>(110)</sup> and the extent to which its comments and recommendations are applicable to the schools of Suffolk, with particular reference to the Ipswich area, taking account as appropriate of the views of other agencies.
2. To report to the County Education Officer with any recommendations it may wish to make in the light of the report, bearing in mind the very difficult financial climate prevailing at the present time."

The Working Party took evidence from a large number of groups and individuals and also undertook significant research says Leach,<sup>(111)</sup> in a number of areas. These included, the numbers of West Indian children in the different school age groups, their performance throughout the educational system, the relationship of schools with parents, the prospects for employment amongst these children and the whole area of in-service training of teachers in multi-cultural education. Some attempt was also made to suggest guidelines for approaching the curriculum from a multi-cultural point of view, while the importance of reviewing text books and other curricular materials for racial bias was emphasised. The report of the County Working Party was published in May, 1983.<sup>(112)</sup>



Perceptions with regard to education and racial discrimination in  
Suffolk Schools as viewed by the Suffolk County Working Party

Having concurred with the view expressed in the Rampton Report<sup>(113)</sup> that teachers holding explicitly racist views are very much in the minority the writers of the Suffolk report<sup>(114)</sup> then stated that it would be useful to analyse racism, perceived and otherwise, in schools and the working party's response to it in three categories;

1. Intentional racism
2. Attitude-based unintentional racism
3. Responses perceived as racism but arising from "genuine misunderstandings.

1. Intentional racism

Referring to Section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976<sup>(115)</sup> which places upon Local Authorities the duty to carry out their various functions with due regard to the need to:

- a. eliminate unlawful discrimination
- b. promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups

the Working Party stated that they "deplore intentional racism whether expressed by word or deed. When proven, and we do not underestimate the difficulty of this, we recommend that the matter should be dealt with under the Disciplinary Procedures adopted by the Authority."<sup>(116)</sup>

2. Attitude-based unintentional racism

In their comments under this heading the writers of the Suffolk report<sup>(117)</sup> seem to the writers of this thesis to reflect very strongly the Cultural Diversity Perspective as described in the I.L.E.A. documents.<sup>(118)</sup>

The Working Party noted the phrase "unintentional racism" to describe "the behaviour and attitudes of other teachers whom it would be misleading to describe as racist in the commonly accepted sense."<sup>(119)</sup>

Within the category of attitude-based unintentional racism the writers of the Suffolk Report would place the problems caused by the tendency of some schools to have low academic expectations of black youngsters to regard them as "problems" and to stereotype them as being exclusively interested in such areas as sport, dance and drama so leading overall to negative and patronising attitudes. The changing of such attitudes is not brought about either simply or quickly. Although stating that it was beyond their scope the writers of the Suffolk report stated that they recognised the importance of developing multi-cultural awareness in initial Teacher Training. Even when this was done, it would be necessary for the Authority, by in-service training, to heighten the cultural awareness and knowledge of its teachers. It would be necessary to take teachers beyond the "colour/blind" approach whereby all children were seen as having the same needs and therefore treated the same. "It is recognised", says the Suffolk report<sup>(120)</sup> "that children do present a wide range of individual needs related to social, intellectual and physical influences.

If it is accepted that the needs of black children differ in some ways from white children, it can then be seen that what teachers are being asked to do is to recognise these differing needs that in many cases stem from their culture and to allow for them in their teaching."

3. Responses perceived as racism but arising from "genuine misunderstandings"

Accepting the detrimental effects on children discussed above, the writers of the Suffolk Working Party Report<sup>(121)</sup> stated that they felt that there were some actions taken by some schools that were regarded as discriminatory by black parents, but which were, in fact based on genuine misunderstandings. Evidence was received by members of the Working Party Committee concerning matters such as black youngsters being excluded from 'O' level sets after previous good reports and misunderstanding over disciplinary procedures, etc. There was reason to believe said the writers of the report that some of these incidents could have been quite adequately explained by the school on educational grounds and the problem was lack of communication with parents leading to misunderstanding and assumptions of racism.

4. The position of the individual teacher and racism

The writers of the Suffolk report stated that full recognition should be given to the even greater demands that were being placed on the individual, well intentioned and sincere teachers within the profession. It was important for all teachers to be aware of the need for pupils, indigenous or otherwise of whatever ethnic

group to be adequately prepared for life in a multi-cultural society. This may require a change of approach in attitude and teaching method but must be achieved if all pupils are to benefit to the full from the educational facilities provided.

It is recognised said the writers of the report<sup>(122)</sup> that such a positive expression of the principles of multi-cultural education could well evoke resistance from some elements of both the white and the black members of the community if it is not handled sensitively. At the same time, the Working Party - "is firmly opposed to establishing segregated courses or dual standards of discipline and expectation of pupils. It is particularly important, that every opportunity is given to enable all pupils to become fully assimilated into the community as a whole."<sup>(123)</sup>

In conclusion, the writers of the Suffolk report stated that - "it is the firm view of the Working Party that the Authority must do all it can to support teachers by means of in-service training and by the development with the black community of the links between schools and parents which are essential if every child is to get maximum benefit from his or her education in a happy and purposeful environment."<sup>(124)</sup>

### Conclusion

The intention of this chapter has been to examine the changes in perception in Multi-ethnic education during the 1970s and 80s with particular reference to two L.E.As one urban - the I.L.E.A. and the other rural - Suffolk.

This investigation has been conducted with particular reference to the analysis of "the American Dilemma" by Gunnar Myrdal<sup>(125)</sup> and his hypothesis that although higher order valuations are the desired intentions of inter-racial relationships the persisting realities are commonly those of a lower order.

The higher and lower valuations of Myrdal's hypothesis which the writer of this thesis would suggest are mirrored in the concepts of desired and persisting behaviour patterns in the Brian Holmes' problem solving approach<sup>(126)</sup> have been applied in this chapter to the varying perceptions of multi-culturalism as described in the I.L.E.A. documents on Race, Sex and Class.<sup>(127)</sup>

The suggestion has been made that although the "higher valuation" or "desired behaviour" may be Equality the reality is that persisting behaviour or lower valuation in Myrdal's terms is commonly an Assimilationist practice and research has been quoted to support this assertion; or at best a perspective reflecting Cultural Diversity.

By reference to anti-racist literature, eg. the research of Maureen Stone<sup>(128)</sup> the suggestion has also been made that conflicts is likely to occur if forms of desired behaviour e.g. a wish for a content based curriculum by parents of children of West Indian parent-age is not consistent with persisting educational practice, e.g. valuations based upon the Hadow-Plowden philosophy of education.

Besides the I.L.E.A. and Suffolk, other L.E.A.s in the United Kingdom have started producing multi-cultural documents and policies during the 1980s. In the next chapter a study which has been made of some of these U.K. policy documents will be examined with the intention of finding out to what extent the multi-cultural practices of these authorities match up with the views expressed in their policy documents.

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Chapter 5LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITY RACIAL POLICY AND PRACTICE IN THE  
UNITED KINGDOM DURING THE 1980s

Description of the Search - the Letter Survey - Documentary  
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Chapter 5LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITY RACIAL POLICY AND PRACTICE IN THE  
UNITED KINGDOM DURING THE 1980s

The point has already been made in this thesis<sup>(1)</sup> that disillusionment and frustration has occurred on the part of ethnic minority groups when the lower valuations of these groups appear to be in conflict with the lower valuations of the British Educational System even when the higher valuations of both would appear to be based upon an acceptance of the British Creed.

In practical terms the previous chapter showed that although in Myrdal's terms higher valuations such as "equality of opportunity" may be the desired outcomes of groups with differing perceptions of multi-culturalism the frequent outcome is an Assimilationist practice.

An aim of this chapter is to examine the statements made by a number of L.E.A.s in the United Kingdom in relation to multi-cultural education in order to observe whether the higher valuations expressed in these statements are in agreement or not with the main features of the British Creed expressed in such documents as the Plowden Report<sup>(2)</sup> and the Practical Curriculum.<sup>(3)</sup> In order to do this research carried out by Chris Mullard, Lemah Bonnick and Birthe King in Race Relations Policy and Practice<sup>(4)</sup> will be examined in some detail.

Description of the Research

During 1982 a letter survey<sup>(5)</sup> was carried out by the Race Relation Policy and Practice Research Unit in the Department of



Sociology of Education at the University of London Institute of Education in order to attempt to ascertain just how many local education authorities in the United Kingdom had started to develop specific racial (multi-cultural, multiracial, multiethnic or anti-racist education) policies and practices.

All 125 L.E.A.s were contacted by Chris Mullard the Director of the Project asking for their co-operation in the survey whose aims he outlined in his letter as:-

1. to trace the development of thinking in the field of multi-cultural education in respect to each local education authority,
2. to ascertain whether your authority has produced any papers, documents, or firm policy statements on this subject,
3. to compare and evaluate these statements in respect to other statements from other local education authorities.

Mullard further explained in his letter<sup>(6)</sup> to all 125 U.K. L.E.A.s that the purpose of his work was to assist rather than hinder progress in the field of race and education. It was also hoped that the Research Unit's findings would ultimately be of some benefit to those local education authorities already working in the field as well as those who were still in the process of making up their minds as to the relevance or otherwise of multicultural education in their areas.

The letter was sent out on the 10th May, 1982 with the request that responses together with any supporting material or documentation should be sent to the Unit by the end of the month.

By the end of June 1982 seventy-five of the 125 L.E.A.s had responded to the letter and the decision was made to send out another letter of reminder to those L.E.A.s who had not so far responded. Thirty-five further L.E.A.s responded to the second letter and so in all 110 out of the 125 U.K. L.E.A.s eventually made some kind of a response to the Research Unit's letter.

#### Findings from the response to the request to take part in the Letter Survey

##### a. L.E.A.s who declined to participate in the research

Nine Local Education Authorities declined to participate in the research. These were: Bromley, Sutton, Bury, St. Helens, Sefton, Doncaster, Hereford and Worcester, Norfolk, and Northumberland. It is interesting to note that this list includes both metropolitan and rural authorities.

#### Reasons given for declining to take part in the research

The consistent theme of 'no ethnic minorities' and therefore no policy surfaced amongst the 9 LEAs which declined outright to participate in the research. Although in writing most of them declined because of 'staff shortages' (7 out of 9), follow up telephone conversations with all of them firmly established that the relative absence of 'ethnic minority groups' was also central in their decision not to take part in the research. A conversation with one such authority revealed the information that,

'We don't have many foreigners or ethnic minorities - is that what you call them? ..... We have some refugees from Vietnam, but not

ethnic minorities. I know that in the Midlands they are swamped with them.'<sup>(7)</sup>

Less stridently, the same point was made by at least two other LEAs which refused to participate in the research. The first simply replied:

'We don't have a terrible amount of ethnic minorities. Any situation that arises, we deal with on a one off basis.'<sup>(8)</sup>

Whereas the second merely stated:

'We have more sheep here than we do people. They're not such a problem as the Pakistanis in Bradford ..... and we don't have many of them up here to worry about.'<sup>(9)</sup>

Two further letters from L.E.A.s declining to take part in the research illustrated their views that multi-cultural concerns were just a metropolitan 'problem'.

'You will appreciate that as a Shire County we do not have the same kind of problem concerning the education of immigrant children as do some conurbations. In these circumstances this Authority has not produced any significant papers on the subject of multi-cultural education.'<sup>(10)</sup>

'this Authority has not produced any papers, documents, or firm policy statements on the subject of race relations policy. As you will appreciate it is not an issue which looms largely on the \_\_\_\_\_ horizon. This being so, any contribution the Authority would have to make, would, I think, be minimal in the context of the major situation which exists in the metropolitan areas.'<sup>(11)</sup>

b. L.E.A.s who accepted the invitation to take part in the research

Despite the minority of L.E.A.s who either did not respond to the letters sent out by the Unit, or declined to take part in the research the ultimate response to the Letter Survey was most encouraging to the researchers and four reasons were given for this high participation rates; however differing reasons for the participation by the London and Metropolitan District L.E.A.s as compared with Non-Metropolitan District L.E.A.s were put forward:-

#### London and Metropolitan District L.E.A.s

The researchers concluded that the four main reasons for the high participation rate of London and Metropolitan District L.E.A.s were:-

- i. A significant proportion of pupils of Afro-Caribbean and Asian origin in the area served by the LEA. Thus the research was seen as being relevant.
- ii. A history of real concern supported by policy documents and in some cases accounts of developed practices and projects in the field.
- iii. A conception of professional and educational centrality or non-peripherality and progressiveness which seemed to be primarily informed by DES attitudes, publications, and thinking in the field. To and for them participation in the research seemed to be the only progressively correct and reputationally proper response.

- iv. A belief that many current policies and practices needed to be improved, completely re-oriented, or developed in quite a different way if positive changes were going to be achieved. In fact, nearly all LEAs covertly requested, and several which were at the stage of developing initial policies, openly sought advice and guidance. Thus many London and Metropolitan District LEAs saw their participation as a legitimate route to such guidance.

#### Non-Metropolitan District L.E.A.s

According to the researchers the main reasons for the high participation in the research by the Non-metropolitan L.E.A.s were.

- i. An appreciation that the concerns of the research affected all local education authorities irrespective of racial composition of the pupil population.
- ii. An awareness that Non-Metropolitan District LEAS could learn from the mistakes of London and Metropolitan District LEAs.
- iii. An understanding that the research could help to change the attitudes of the actual political members of LEAs and to cast off, for some, a reputation of being peripheral, remote, and unconcerned with one of the chief educational issues of today.
- iv. A request for guidance and advice.

Although 110 out of the 125 U.K. LEAs made some response to the request to take part in the Letter Survey only 36 of these L.E.A.s

at the time of this research had produced any documents relating to multi-cultural education. These 36 L.E.A.s who had produced some multi-cultural documentation were the subject of a more intensive study by the Race Relations Policy and Practice researchers.<sup>(12)</sup>

### Documentary Analysis

A total of 81 documents were sent to the Unit by the 36 L.E.A.s who had at the time of the survey produced any multi-cultural documents. It appeared that the beginning of the 1980s was the most significant time in terms of the date when the majority of documents were produced. Of the 36 L.E.A.s under consideration, 9 had produced documents during the mid of late 1970s, compared with the remaining 27, produced during the early 1980s (between 1981-82). A similar observation may be made of these 27 L.E.A.s as that made by Troyna when he commented that the response of the I.L.E.A. was "essentially reactive"<sup>(13)</sup> likewise these L.E.A.s producing documents in the 1980s had responded to a number of national developments, including the 1980/81 'riots', the DES Circular 81<sup>(14)</sup>, and the growing national debate on multi-cultural education. Another factor which made itself clear in the research was that the London and Metropolitan education authorities had had a longer history of developing policy and practice in the field of multi-cultural education than the non-metropolitan authorities. In addition they appeared to be more responsive to national redirections in policy and more ready to examine their policy against new developments.

In contrast to the Metropolitan authorities the documents submitted by the non-metropolitan authorities represented multi-cultural thinking at a far more embryonic stage. In the opinion of the researchers the

policy statements submitted by the non-metropolitan authorities in the 1980s entered the debate where many London and Metropolitan education authorities had left it in the late 1970s.

The contrast between the Metropolitan and non-metropolitan authority policy statements

a. London and the Metropolitan Authorities

Of the 81 documents sent by the 36 LEAs to the Research Unit the I.L.E.A. featured as the most prolific, having produced at least 20 documents. Bradford featured second with 6 documents, and Brent third with 5. Examples of the at least implicit questioning of the higher valuations of the British Creed in relation to multi-cultural education may be seen in such statements as:-

"The background of the discussion is based on the potential social disquiet among ethnic minorities, crystallised in low expectations and aspirations, and lack of confidence in the education system which itself appears not fully to take advantage of the vitality and richness to be derived from a multicultural society."<sup>(15)</sup>

Unlike a large number of LEAs, for the Brent authority underachievement, mother-tongue, and poor self-image were not the overriding factors in the pursuance of the multi-cultural education objective. Such an emphasis in the view of one of its reports, ignores the 'deficiencies in the school structure.'<sup>(16)</sup> In another policy statement the Brent authority declared its commitment to:-

"a fundamental and significant change to a multi-cultural education based on a concept of cultural pluralism. The recognition that all people and cultures are inherently equal must be a constant from which all educational practice will be developed."<sup>(17)</sup>

Similarly the Haringey Authority accepted a universalistic concept of multi-cultural education and defined it as follows:

'..... one which is appropriate in the education of all pupils, whatever their background, by reference to a diversity of cultures. The variety of social and cultural groups should be evident in the visual images, stories, and information disseminated within the school. However, this selection should not be made in such a way as to reinforce stereotyping life styles, occupation, status, human characteristics, or one particular culture.' (18)

A Manchester document gave support to the view that insertions such as "Black Studies" into an established curriculum were not of themselves sufficient for the establishment of a totally balanced multi-cultural curriculum, as is shown by the following quotation:

"If we are to do anything to improve race relations through educational work in schools, it cannot be achieved by the insertion of additions such as "Black Studies" into an established curriculum but by giving the pupils, across the curriculum, enough varied material to understand the complexities of a given society, to contemplate its cultural and historical achievements and to understand its contemporary problems.' (19)

b. The Non-metropolitan and rural authorities

In contrast to metropolitan authorities such as I.L.E.A., Bradford, and Brent the non-metropolitan authorities had individually produced far fewer multi-cultural documents at the time of the survey. Most of these non-metropolitan authorities had produced only one main document reflecting persistent and orthodox themes such as E2L, cultural disadvantage, and cultural tolerance. Others produced leading documents



which were linked directly to an issue of specific cultural relevance to one minority group - such as mother-tongue teaching. With regard to the Afro-Caribbean groups the question still very much centred on whether Creole was to be defined as a language or not, as expressed by Birmingham,<sup>(20)</sup> Derbyshire,<sup>(21)</sup> and Nottinghamshire<sup>(22)</sup>. In this latter case the concern about the issue was expressed via underachievement. Advice to schools from LEAs varied from treating creole positively with encouragement to teachers to get acquainted with its structure (ILEA) or the recommendation that it should be viewed as a language in its own right (Birmingham). The Dudley statement sought to give reassurance to those who may be worried about E2L training by asserting that 'the overwhelming importance of the learning of English is not in dispute ..... the desire for integration is shared by all ..... mother-tongue teaching should not be divorced from the mainstream of school activity.'<sup>(23)</sup>

Another specific issue referred to in the documents of non-metropolitan and rural authorities as well as others was that of West Indian children and underachievement. Kirklees<sup>(24)</sup> for example regarded as 'urgent' the need to clarify the extent to which children of West Indian origin are said to have 'special language needs', in order that guidance and support could be provided for teachers. In the view of some non-metropolitan authorities there was no need to make an analysis of the school environment with the objective of changing it to reflect other cultures than a European one. Instead cultural and racial differences are viewed as divisive. Multi-culturalism is directed to the transmission and assimilation of the English Language. In the introduction to a letter sent to the Research Unit by the Knowsley Education Authority<sup>(25)</sup> in which it outlined two circulars sent to governing bodies on the educational implications of Section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976<sup>(26)</sup> the multi-cultural position and practice

of this authority was stated accordingly:

"When multicultural problems arise they are dealt with at the time, rather than specific issues introduced as a regular part of the curriculum."<sup>(27)</sup> The point is also made quite frequently that the number of pupils in Knowsley schools from ethnic minorities is very small and therefore there is not thought to be a real problem.

In Hertfordshire linguistic problems generated by the 'influx of new immigrants'<sup>(28)</sup> precipitated the Authority's limited incursion into multi-culturalism. For the Authority, with linguistic difficulties came the incumbent difficulty of integration. Levels of integration, it noted, varied 'considerably', depending on whether or not children 'were born in this country to parents whose command of English is good and who have integrated well into English society.'<sup>(29)</sup> These children, the statement said, could be 'expected to settle at school without any particular problem.' While the statement argued that the 'needs of a school with a substantial ethnic contingent is apparent', it conceded that although 'less obvious, but no less real, are the needs of a school which is faced for the first time with the arrival of a family of immigrants with little English.' It was for this reason that the focus of the education authority's policy was to sift out such schools and support them in dealing with 'immigrant contingents'.

An unquestioning acceptance of the higher valuations of the British Creed was demonstrated by the Calderdale multi-cultural document<sup>(30)</sup> which stated that multi-cultural issues must always be subordinated to British culture. Multi-culturalism it was argued, should not be allowed to diminish British culture which has been 'established over time and has been tested within the Christian ethnic and tradition.' Integration,

it went on to argue could best be achieved by Westernising ethnic minorities gradually. 'Social pluralism' resulted in 'separate clubs', social gatherings' and 'political groups'. Multi-culturalism should be directed towards the customs and traditions of the host community. 'Tolerance and respect should be a two-way process.' Furthermore, 'any form of Black studies type course should be discouraged.'

#### The research is extended

Following the Letter Survey<sup>(31)</sup> and the documentary analysis<sup>(32)</sup> of the 36 L.E.A.s who responded positively to the 1982 survey it became clear to the researchers at the Race Relations Policy and Practice Research Unit that a far more in depth survey was required in order to ascertain as far as possible how specific educational policies and practices in the field of multi-cultural education were being developed and managed. The key instrument the Unit employed to establish this was a questionnaire based survey to all participating Local Education Authorities in the U.K. Of the total survey population of 125 LEAs in the United Kingdom 78 responded positively to the invitation by the Unit to take part in the survey (62.4 percent) and by 14th February, 1983, the final cut-off date for completed returns 56 LEAs had returned completed questionnaires. In other words less than 50 per cent (44.8 per cent) of all the L.E.A.s in the United Kingdom had accepted the invitation to answer a questionnaire on their current multi-cultural policies and practices, despite several reminders.

The intention of the Unit after the information returned by the L.E.A.s had been collated analysed was to publish the findings in three further working papers under the general title of "Process, Problems, and Prognosis: A survey of Local Education Authorities'

Multi-cultural Education Policies and Practices" the specific sub-titles of each working paper would be as follows:

- Part One: The Multi-cultural Process (Working Paper III)<sup>(33)</sup>  
 Part Two: The Problem Identified and Explained (Working Paper IV)<sup>(34)</sup>  
 Part Three: The Prognosis (Working Paper V)<sup>(35)</sup>

However, up until 1987 only Working Papers III and V had been published. In response to a question by the writer of this thesis as to when Part Two: "The Problem Identified and Explained" (Working Paper IV) would be published, a spokeswoman at the Unit replied that it would be unlikely to be within the near future since the researchers at the Unit "had now moved on to other interests".

#### Some findings from the Second Survey

##### Terminology: Multicultural, Multi-racial, Multi-ethnic Education

Of the 78 L.E.A.s who responded to this further survey 55 or 73 per cent of the sample, used the conceptual terms multi-cultural, multi-racial, or multi-ethnic education interchangeably. Of 42 L.E.A.s who stated a preference 41 opted for the conceptual term multi-cultural education.

##### Policy Formualtion

Only 39 L.E.A.s by the beginning of 1983 had produced any form of internal documentation, working papers or memoranda. In respect to external policy or discussion papers an even smaller number, some 30 L.E.A.s had produced them by 1983.

The administrative process appeared not to be a linear process, moving, for example, from internal discussions, production of policy, documents to specialist appointments; but instead a somewhat jumbled or ad hoc process.

### Rationale for Policy Formulation

The following three reasons in order of priority/emphasis were given for the introduction of policy formulation work;

1. The presence of (Black) ethnic minority children in both the schools and local geographical area served by the L.E.A. (21 L.E.A.s)
2. The existence of the Race Relations Acts, National DES directives, and other significant recommendations in the field (14 L.E.A.s).
3. The necessity for an L.E.A. to reflect as far as it can in its work and schools the 'multi-cultural' nature of society (10 L.E.A.s).

Only 1 L.E.A. attributed its main reason for the introduction of policy formulation work to 'the pressure from ethnic minorities' and only 1 L.E.A. saw its rationale in terms of a set of school based initiatives and decisions.

L.E.A. defined skill-based objectives of Multi-cultural Education

The largest group of LEAs who responded to the question asking about Multi-cultural objectives indicated in terms of Myrdal's hypothesis<sup>(36)</sup> that in their higher valuations they recognised a common 'creed' amongst the indigenous population - viz.

"the development of awareness, understanding and respect for cultures, beliefs, and lifestyles different from those of the indigenous population" (18 LEAs)<sup>(37)</sup>

In terms of Myrdal's lower valuations 14 LEAs defined their skill-based objectives in terms of:-

"the development of linguistic skills so that all ethnic minority pupils could communicate in English: the development of Mother-tongue language skills; and a development of the understanding of 'their own' culture."<sup>(38)</sup>

In summary, with regard to policy formulation - the primary concerns of the LEAs investigated are firstly, the presence, problems and needs of (Black) ethnic minority children, and, secondly, the need to reflect in schools the 'multi-cultural' concerns and nature of society.

L.E.A. Discussion of Reports and Papers

The questionnaire sought to ascertain how great an importance Education Authorities attached to papers and reports concerning Multi-

cultural Education published within recent years. The intention was to discover also how much influence they had had in L.E.A.s on 3 levels - political, administrative and professional. The following results were reported.

Bernard Coard's Paper, 1971<sup>(39)</sup>

In general terms Bernard Coard's paper received little if any serious discussion on all three levels. The writer of this thesis would suggest that the reason for the summary dismissal of Coard's paper by so many L.E.A.s could well be connected with the close identification of the L.E.A.s in their educational philosophy with that of the Ideal Typical Model or in Myrdal's terms with the higher valuations of the British Creed as opposed to the radical views of Coard who explicitly blames the British School system for the failure of the black child.

In Coard's view the Black child acquires two fundamental attitudes or beliefs as a result of his experiencing the British school system: a low self-image, and consequently low self-expectations in life. These are obtained through streaming, banding, bussing, E.S.N. schools, racist news media and a white middle class curriculum: by totally ignoring the black child's language, history, culture and identity. In Coard's view through the choice of teaching materials, British society emphasizes who and what it thinks is important - and by implication, and by omission,

who and what it thinks' is unimportant, infinitesimal and irrelevant.

Redbridge Report, 1978<sup>(40)</sup>

The Redbridge Report received no discussion on the political level some discussion on the administrative level, and slightly more discussion on the professional level. As with Coard's paper it could be argued that the generally low level of attention given to the Redbridge Report by the majority of L.E.A.s was basically due to the implicit criticism of the Ideal Typical Model contained within this report also. For example the D.E.S. is severely criticised for not responding to West Indian parents increasing concern over the quality of education received and the serious under-achievement by West Indian pupils by giving such a weak lead in the area of multi-cultural education that it's recommendations and proposals have simply been ignored by many L.E.A.s. British teachers are censured in the Redbridge Report for their over sensitivity to the question of race which has led to a failure to treat black children as normal human beings.

C.R.E. The Fire Next Time, 1980<sup>(41)</sup>

This publication published soon after the unrest in the St. Paul's district of Bristol was discussed on all three levels by 3 L.E.A.s a



further 3 discussed it on the administrative level and an additional 5 introduced it for discussion on the professional level. This report broadly in support of the higher valuations of the British Creed re-emphasises the kind of statements made in the "After the Fire"<sup>(42)</sup> report, i.e. the idea that schools should take a broader positive role in "helping immigrant children to adjust to a new society".

The Rampton Report, 1982<sup>(43)</sup>

This highly influential report - the starting point for many L.E.A. multi-cultural documents and broadly in support of the higher valuations of the British creed was not only discussed quite extensively on all three power-authority levels, but it received some considerable discussion on the professional level, especially during in-service sessions with teachers.

DES Circular 6/81<sup>(44)</sup>

This was discussed generally on all three power-authority levels, although it appeared for discussion more times on the political (with a mean average of 24 discussions) and professional level (with a mean average of also 25 times) than on the administrative level (with a lower mean average of 17.5 times).

D.E.S. Circular 7/65<sup>(45)</sup> (often referred to as 'the Dispersal Policy')

This publication which in Troyna's view advocated "forcibly removing black students from their local schools, LEAs, with the duplicity of the DES, effectively prevented anything beyond minimal contact between black parents and their children's schools<sup>(46)</sup>" was the first publication to be consistently discussed on all the three power-authority levels by the L.E.A.s in the survey.

D.E.S. Green Paper, 1977<sup>(47)</sup>

This official consultation publication urged all LEAs and schools to reflect the multi-cultural nature of society and received discussion all the power-authority levels in at least 11 LEAs.

Scarman Report, 1982<sup>(48)</sup>

The Scarman Report was discussed on each of the three power-authority levels, but particularly on the administrative level.

Schools Council Report 1971 (Townsend and Brittan)<sup>(49)</sup>

This report was only discussed on all levels by 1 LEA - there existed more discussions on both the administrative and professional power-authority levels.

Schools Council Report 1981 (Little and Willey)<sup>(50)</sup>

This report was discussed by a relatively small number of LEAs at the political level, by double the number at the administrative level and by a relatively large number of LEAs at the professional level.

1976 Race Relations Act<sup>(51)</sup>

Whilst the 1976 Race Relations Act featured for discussion at all power-authority levels, it was discussed by marginally more LEAs at the political than at the other two levels.

1981 Home Affairs Committee Report<sup>(52)</sup>

Even though it was discussed at all three power-authority levels, it was at the administrative level that more LEAs viewed it as a report for discussion.

The Significance of the 12 reports in L.E.A. Multi-cultural Policy Formulation

L.E.A.s considered the DES Circular 6/81 (first)<sup>(53)</sup>, 1976 Race Relations Act (second)<sup>(54)</sup>, The Rampton Report (third)<sup>(55)</sup>, and the Scarman Report, 1982 (fourth)<sup>(56)</sup> to be of most significance in their policy formulation work.

The publications which directly addressed the educational concerns of Asian and Afro-Caribbean groups, Bernard Coard's paper<sup>(57)</sup>, the Redbridge Report<sup>(58)</sup>, and the CRE's "Fire Next Time",<sup>(59)</sup> were considered by LEAs to have had either 'no' or very 'little' significance on their policy formulation work.

It is interesting to note that publications which at least imply a controversy with the higher valuations of the British Creed are those which are paid least attention to when L.E.A.s refer to source material for their multi-cultural policy documents. The implication is therefore that frustration and an exacerbation of the controversy will continue so long as the views of radical anti-racist writers are ignored as far as giving "official" credit to their contributions are concerned until there is a recognition are:-

1. The non-acceptance of the higher valuations of the British Creed on the part of some multi-cultural policy makers is made explicit rather than implicit, and that due recognition is given to this fact.
2. That those not accepting the higher valuations of the British Creed realise that the Ideal Typical Model of the British Primary School is not capable of incorporating many of the changes advocated made by them so long as it's underlying educational philosophy is

fundamentally different from their own.

3. That there is a recognition on the part of the radical anti-racist writers and the supporters of the 'official view' that although fundamentally different outlooks remain both groups have valuable contributions to make towards the evolving of a truly multi-cultural policy for an ethnically diverse society.

### Language Training

The most common element in the 36 documents analysed by the Research Unit in the Letter Survey and gain in the responses of the 78 LEAs to the questionnaire was that of language training, and the language provision of education authorities in multi-cultural areas. Whilst in larger authorities the cultural value relevance of English language no longer constitutes an explicit justification for it comprising the major part of LEAs multi-cultural budgets, in authorities with a small or average Black population as in Tameside, Gateshead, Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire, "Unfamiliarity of cultural ignorance through lack of English"<sup>(60)</sup> (sic) was still being seen as the major cause or hindrance to the integration of 'immigrant groups'. Of all the LEAs sending multi-cultural documents to the Research Unit only Waltham Forest<sup>(61)</sup> and Walsall<sup>(62)</sup> confirmed the observation of Rampton<sup>(63)</sup> that what was now at issue was not the 'provision of special needs, such as E2L teaching,

but the much more fundamental concept of a multi-cultural curriculum.'<sup>(64)</sup>

In the view of Mullard et al<sup>(65)</sup> the representation and significance of language in the multi-cultural policies and practices of LEAs in the U.K. during the present time represents a crucial aspect of the ideological debate re constitution of racism, which dictates that the cultural beliefs and the language of minority groups constitute a major source of disadvantage rather than the actual operations of institutional racism; or as Myrdal may have put it - the largely unquestioned belief in the higher valuations of the "British Creed" dominates and dictates the lower valuations of most LEAs as exhibited in the operation of their multi-cultural policies.

### Changes

When LEAs were invited to reflect upon the kinds of changes that would need to be made in the curriculum by teachers and by LEAs themselves in order to secure the continued development of multi-cultural education the following responses emerged:-

1. Changes in attitudes which makes the multi-culturalising of the curriculum acceptable.
2. Changes that would increase the knowledge of minority cultures in all areas of the education authority irrespective of whether minorities were present or not.

3. Changes that would increase teachers' awareness of their own cultural bias, so that attempts could be made to reduce them.
4. Changes in and development of methods that would increase the emphasis of multi-culturalism in teacher training.

In reflecting upon the responses made above the point may be made that the changes advocated by LEAs are very generalised in character. They do not refer to the structural basis of the curriculum but concentrate more on the assumptions and values which are thought necessary to promote multi-culturalism. Once again the point can therefore be made in accordance with Myrdal's hypothesis that there seems little explicit questioning of the higher valuations of the basic creed, even by LEAs accepting the need for change and looking to make changes in their present multi-cultural policies and provisions.

### Conclusion

A major aim of this chapter has been to make a comparison between the higher valuations concerning multi-cultural education of L.E.A.s in the U.K. which have been involved in the research of the Race Relations Policy and Practice Research Unit.

An examination of this study has shown that some distinction can be made between the higher valuations concerning multi-cultural education

of rural and metropolitan authorities. Whereas in general rural authorities tend to support the higher valuations of the British Code, metropolitan and urban authorities are much more likely to question basic assumptions although criticisms of the higher valuations of the British Code are generally implicit rather than explicit.

The Race Relations Policy and Practice Research Unit study revealed that in the choice of resource documents - multi-cultural research, DES and Schools' Council Reports etc. L.E.A.'s in general are far more likely to refer to and seek validation from source materials which are broadly in support of the higher valuations of the British Code than those which are highly critical of it. The suggestion has been made that frustration and disillusionment will continue until the contributions of varying opinions are given official recognition.

In this chapter a comparison has been made between the higher valuations concerning multi-cultural education of different L.E.A.s in the United Kingdom. It is however important to come to some understanding of how these higher valuations are translated into practice in terms of the lower valuations or school practices of Primary Schools. This objective will be undertaken in the next chapter when a comparison of the multi-cultural policies and practices of a selected number of Primary Schools in I.L.E.A. and in Suffolk is made.



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Chapter 6THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MULTI-CULTURAL POLICIES WITHIN SOME PRIMARY  
SCHOOLS IN I.L.E.A. AND SUFFOLK

Background to I.L.E.A. multi-cultural initiatives with regard to the production of individual school policy documents - observations of five I.L.E.A. Primary Schools with particular regard to their policies and practices relating to Multi-Cultural Education - Multi-cultural Education in Suffolk Schools - policy developments - the multi-cultural perspective of Suffolk County Council Education Committee - observations of five Ipswich Primary Schools with particular regard to their policies and practices relating to Multi-Cultural Education.

Chapter 6THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MULTI-CULTURAL POLICIES WITHIN SOME PRIMARY  
SCHOOLS IN I.L.E.A. AND SUFFOLK

In the previous chapter an attempt was made to analyse the survey of L.E.A.s in the United Kingdom by the Race Relations Policy and Practice Unit at the University of London Institute of Education<sup>(1)</sup> in terms of the higher valuation of the L.E.A.s as expressed in their policies.

Although varying perceptions are expressed with regard to the multi-cultural objectives of different authorities there does not appear to be any explicit challenging of the higher valuations of the British Educational System as expressed in such documents as the Plowden Report<sup>(2)</sup> and the Practical Curriculum,<sup>(3)</sup> by L.E.A.s in terms of their own multi-cultural policies.

When one compares the multi-cultural documents of rural and metropolitan L.E.A.s - and in the case of rural authorities it would be more accurate to say the lack of multi-cultural documents - the research would seem to suggest that although rural authorities largely regard problems associated with multi-cultural policy initiatives as being slight; metropolitan authorities on the other hand are more likely to give recognition to the fact that conflict over multi-cultural policy initiatives can be considerable. However these fears continue to be expressed implicitly rather than explicitly. Consequently many L.E.A.s analyse the problems in Myrdal's terms, i.e. an analysis of the 'facts' of their multi-cultural perspective from the point of the British Creed with most of the ensuing policy documents implying that the higher



valuations expressed in documents such as Plowden are acceptable.

Unlike the "Plowden and British Creed" based higher valuations of many L.E.A.s the "Equality" perspective of the I.L.E.A. starts from the basis that the British Educational system is pervaded by racism and that the primary purpose of all establishments within the I.L.E.A. must be to take all possible steps to eradicate this. Compare to the I.L.E.A. the "higher valuations" expressed in the multi-cultural documents of the rural authority of Suffolk are far closer to the Plowden model.

In this chapter a report of the observation of five Primary Schools in the I.L.E.A. and in Ipswich, Suffolk will be described and analysed in order to assess whether the higher valuations expressed in the Multi-Cultural policies of these two Authorities have been implemented in the lower valuations of the teachers in these particular schools and how.

Background to I.L.E.A. multi-cultural initiatives with regard to the production of individual school policy documents

In the paper entitled "Delivery of the Authority's Initiative on Multi-Ethnic Education in Schools"<sup>(4)</sup> the I.L.E.A. in the introduction to the paper stated that it had expressed very clearly its full commitment to pursue as a top priority the development of its initiative on multi-ethnic education in schools with an overall perspective of equality and anti-racism. The paper briefly set out the main lines of activity for schools, the people who would mainly be undertaking them, and the time-scale.

The main feature of the policy initiative was about change; change which would ensure equality and the elimination of racism. The main agents of change would be; (a) the Education Committee; (b) governors and teachers in schools; (c) the Authority's Inspectorate and Advisory Staff; (d) the Administration and School Support Services. Other groups of people would also wish to be involved actively in developing the initiative. They included parents, community groups, and statutory and other agencies.

School Governors, Heads and particularly, teachers were seen as the key agents in the delivery of the policy initiative through the various facets of the school's life and work: its organisation, structure, curriculum policies, teaching, counselling and external relations.

With these points in mind, and recognising that a number of schools would already be well advanced in this direction, a programme of action involving each member of the teaching and non-teaching staff of schools within I.L.E.A. was put forward as follows:

1. That School governors and staff should consider and discuss "A Policy for Equality: Race"<sup>(5)</sup> and the associated documents: discuss the present situation of the school in relation to the policies, as a preparation for detailed reviews in the Summer and Autumn Terms 1984.
2. That School governors and staff should produce an Anti-Racist Policy and Code for their school, in the light of their discussions about the Authority's Anti-Racist Statement and Guidelines; to be submitted to the Education Officer by the end of the Spring term 1984.

3. That schools should produce a whole school policy statement, covering all aspects of school life and embodying aims and objectives of equality for pupils. This policy statement needed to be based on a review, in the light of the Authority's policy and guidance papers, of the structure and organisation of the school: the curriculum; pastoral and counselling work; educational achievement; careers; parental, community and external relations and communications.
4. That schools should review detailed curriculum policies to reflect multi-ethnic initiatives across the whole curriculum as well as within particular departments or subject areas.
5. That particular external support requirements be identified by schools, e.g. in-service training needs, changes in examination syllabi.
6. That schools should produce a programme and time-table for change; to begin implementation as soon as possible.
7. That a report indicating progress, with copies of the review of the whole school situation, the whole school policy statement, the curriculum reviews, and the programme and timetable for change be sent to the Education Officer (via the District Inspector) not later than the end of 1984. Amendments, if any, to the school's anti-racist code were also to be included.

It was recognised by the I.L.E.A. that the plan of action described above was an ambitious programme making significant demands upon schools, and in particular upon their teaching staffs. Sympathetic

consideration was therefore promised to requests for help to support programmes within schools which were designed to develop the policy. The Authority also promised that resources for in-service training and other support would be concentrated upon the initiative as a major priority, and correspondingly less pressure would be put upon other aspects of the curriculum so that schools would have more time to devote to the programme outlined above.

The delivery document<sup>(6)</sup> outlining this plan of action stated that the Authority "regards this initiative as being of a different order from others and is particularly anxious to give what support and assistance it can to ensure its wholehearted success." There would therefore be an increased emphasis on resources for this area of work. The 1983/4 INSET budget contained a sum of £300,000 specifically to provide additional resources to support the Authority's in-service priorities, and a substantial proportion of this would be allocated to multi-ethnic and anti-racist INSET. In addition, some of the resources available in 1983/4 for secondments and other forms of individual study, for centrally organised courses, for specialist and multi-purpose teachers' centres, and for school focused INSET, were available to support multi-ethnic and anti-racist initiatives.

The I.L.E.A. document "Delivery of the Authority's initiative on Multi-Ethnic Education in Further, Higher and Community Education"<sup>(7)</sup> is in essence very similar to the general Authority's Initiative on Multi-Ethnic Education in Schools although related particularly to establishments of Further, Higher and Community Education.

Observations of Five I.L.E.A. Primary Schools with particular regard to their policies and practices relating to Multi-Cultural Education

During the first week of July, 1984 the writer of this thesis was granted one weeks study leave by Suffolk County Council for the purpose of making five whole day visits to I.L.E.A. Primary schools in different parts of Greater London. The arrangements for these visits, and the selection of schools to be visited were made by the School Relations Department of the University of London Institute of Education. No particular criteria was used in the selection of the schools to be visited except that it had been requested that if possible they should have a significant proportion of West Indian children within the school population and also that the schools to be visited should in the School Relations Officer's opinion represent a diversity of perspectives in relation to Multi-Cultural Education and policy. These schools were again contacted during the latter part of 1987 in order to discover what further progress if any, had been made.

Geographical position of the schools

Three of the schools to be visited were situated south of the River Thames and the other two were north of the river. The approximate geographical position of the five schools is noted on the maps overleaf.

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Comparative study of Ipswich and I.L.E.A. Primary SchoolsVisit No. 1 to I.L.E.A. Primary SchoolContext

This was a school in South London built during the late 1960s on a single storey site; unlike many Primary Schools during the mid-1980s it had an expanding school population and was literally "bulging at the seams" with children when visited by the writer of this thesis. At the time of the visit the school had a half time nursery of 40 children, a full-time nursery of 30 children and 338 children in the main school aged 5-11.

Aims

The state aim given in the Anti-Racist Code of this school was that the school would follow the I.L.E.A. Equality perspective which "will inform all the work of the Authority". The interpretation of the Equality perspective as given by the school in its Anti-Race Code was that ..... "the school will offer a friendly, secure environment where children learn to live, work and share together. Our aims will be to set an achievement of equality involving equal opportunities for everyone, no matter what their race, religious background or sex. We strive to aim for racial harmony and to have positive objectives to encourage this."<sup>(8)</sup>

With regard to teacher behaviour in the event of racial incidents the Anti-racist code of the school states that:

"In cases where racist or other abusive comments are used, our immediate response will be to express our personal disapproval and try to explain the wrong done. Whether this is to be discussed further with

the children involved or a wider group will be a matter for our own judgement. The conclusion of this school's Anti-racist Code states: "Overall we aim to encourage all our children to have a pride and interest in themselves, their ethnic background and culture and to provide a suitable climate where racial harmony is our objectives."

### Demography

Table 4 of the School's Annual Review<sup>(9)</sup> showed that children from British family backgrounds comprised by far the highest proportion of the school roll (approximately 70 per cent), followed by West Indians (15 per cent), children from various other nationalities including Turkish (5 per cent), mixed nationality (3 per cent), Asian (3 per cent), Far Eastern (2 per cent), Greek (1 per cent) and African (1 per cent).

### Organisation

The Annual Review of Summer 1984 of this Primary School showed that it had a total roll of 408 children; there being 70 in the Nursery for 3 and 4 year olds (40 children in a half time nursery, 30 in a full time nursery) and 338 children in the main school aged 5-11. The main school was organised into 12 classes - the highest number on roll of any class was 30 and the lowest was 25. In addition to the full time teaching posts (13 including the head) the school was allowed 0.2 part time teacher to work with children whose mother tongues was not English - the Annual Review showed that thirteen per cent of the children had a first language other than English, and also 0.2 part time teacher to work with children who had special needs.

### Finance

The headteacher told the writer of this thesis that he allocated a certain sum of money from the main school capitation allowance at the

commencement of each financial year to the nursery and the teacher in charge of the nursery was given responsibility for its expenditure. The nursery also held its own fund raising events. The Annual Review of the School revealed that several charities had benefitted from the goodwill of parents, friends and children, amongst them "Help the Aged", and Dr. Barnardos. The school also supported the R.N.L.I. and Rose Day organised by the Mayor's Parlour. The Annual Review of the school further showed that 8.875 per cent of the total roll received a clothing grant, and 20 per cent of the school roll received free meals.

### School Governors

The Annual Review of the School stated that "Parent-governors will know that special occasions are arranged for parents to come and discuss their children's progress". The headteacher in his review further stated that "Governors are always welcome, at any time, with or without notice. If neither a member of staff or myself is available to escort you around the building there are always willing children."<sup>(10)</sup>

### Curriculum

During the one day visit by the writer of this thesis the underlying emphasis in the classes visited was upon a child-centred curriculum in line with the higher valuations of the Plowden Model as described in Chapter 3 of this thesis.<sup>(11)</sup> There was a good supply of multi-cultural books in the Book Corners of classrooms and in the Infant and Nursery areas dressed dolls from different nationalities were much in evidence.

### The Staff

As recommended by the I.L.E.A. Multi-Ethnic policy document - "Initiative on Multi-Ethnic Education in Schools"<sup>(12)</sup>, and also in the fifth point of the eight point I.L.E.A. "Equality" perspective viz:

"Training of all Education Authority staff; Courses, workshops and conferences on the nature of racism, and on principles for combating racism in the education service, will be organised over a period not only for teachers but also for all non-teaching staff, including administrators, clerical workers, kitchen staff, lunchtime controllers, and schoolkeepers; and also for Members of the Education Committee"<sup>(13)</sup>

- several members of the staff had been to in-service courses in multi-racial education organised by the I.L.E.A. and had found them to be well organised and helpful.

#### Visit to No. 2 to I.L.E.A. Primary School in South London

##### Context

The second I.L.E.A. Primary school visited was a Victorian building of two storeys with the Infants occupying the bottom half of the school and the Juniors the top half. It was situated in an area of fairly dense housing, had no playing field of its own, but had a large asphalt playground adjacent to which was a Youth Centre which shared some of the school facilities. Because of the construction of the building and entrances and exits being in difficult and not easily observable positions, security within the school represented a real problem. One was advised to carry any valuables about the whole time and to leave nothing unguarded for fear of theft; not from the children but from unofficial "visitors" whom the staff said frequently inhabited the school.

##### Aims

In the introduction to the draft copy of the schools' policy document which the writer of this thesis was permitted to have sight of but not take away the headteacher stated that with regard to multi-

ethnic education she would produce an on-going policy that would be a positive statement of intent to meet the requirements of the Authority. "It would be explicit, and written down in a form to be acted upon and understood by all. The recognition of the equality of race, sex and class must be a matter for professional concern, not personal views."<sup>(14)</sup> Unfortunately this headteacher took early retirement at the end of 1984, and by the end of 1987 when this school was last contacted by the writer of this thesis the multi-ethnic statement of intent of this school had still not been published.

The general aim of the school as given in the school brochure ... "is to provide a broad-based curriculum supported by the provision of the best of resources, and put into practice by able and conscientious teachers".<sup>(15)</sup>

#### Demography

The school did not keep any statistics regarding the ethnic composition of the school population during the time of the visit and has not done so since (by the end of 1987) however the deputy head-teacher estimated that at least two thirds of the schools' population were from West Indian families. Although not prepared to state exactly how many she did further say that many of the children were from single parent homes and contact between home and school was often difficult from the school's point of view due to such factors as the parent being at work during the day and doing housework in the evenings when meeting for parents would be most likely to be held.

### Organisation

The school had eight classes with a total main school total of 201 children age 5-11 plus a Nursery with 30 parttime pupils, during the time of the visit. There were eight full time members of assistant teaching staff plus the headteacher and deputy head.

The School brochure stated that children at this school are placed into year groups as far as possible. In organising the education of the children within her school the headteacher further stated in the brochure that "we endeavour to meet fully the needs of all children, and plan and organise additional help for the 'slow learner' as well as the 'high flier'. Children do not develop at the same pace - some go ahead fast - others take more time. Please do not worry if your child seems behind his/her friend. We will ask you to come and see us if there is any indication of learning problems, very soon after he/she starts school. All our children are observed very closely for any indications of such difficulties, and we do not waste time before trying to sort them out and planning the best way to help or overcome them."<sup>(16)</sup>

### Administration and Finance

School meals were cooked on the premises and were available for every child who required one. The School Brochure stated that "free meals are available to many families, and the Educational Welfare Officer visits school every week, and deals with requests for help promptly". Parents were further advised in the brochure that during their child's stay at the school he/she would be invited to go on many outings, school journeys, etc. Parents were asked not to turn down invitations because they could not afford them. Instead they were requested to let the school know since there might be ways to help. School uniform was not insisted on by the school ..." only that

children come to school in practical sensible working clothes with particular attention to footwear. Children go up and down stairs frequently and so need well-fitting shoes".

### Curriculum

With regard to the teaching of English the headteacher stated in her draft multi-cultural document that - "it is our responsibility to see that children are given the opportunity to learn English, but these children must at the same time be helped and encouraged to contribute to the life of the school, using the mother-tongue ..... Parents should be encouraged to use mother-tongue at home - at least some of the time ..... we must accept dialects and other local speech patterns but discuss and encourage use of standard English as the accepted norm for general conversation and communication. "(17)

During the day of the visit one member of staff was doing an R.E. topic with her class in which the children were writing prayers to "the God I believe in". The children had gathered together ideas with regard to the different religious beliefs of both children and staff within the school, and these were illustrated by graphical representation - an interesting link with Mathematics! The class had also carried out considerable work on the costumes and celebrations of different religions.

### The Staff

Despite the fall in the number of children at the school during recent years the senior status' of the schools' teaching staff had been maintained since out of the eight full time members of the assistant teaching staff no fewer than five had Scale 3 posts, one had a Scale 2 post, and two had Scale 1 posts. By 1987 four of these members

of staff had left. However under the 'Baker' structure three members of staff were entitled to protected 'B' allowances and one to an 'A' allowance. The member of staff responsible for home/school relations had attended a number of I.L.E.A. multi-ethnic education courses and stated to the writer of this thesis that she was committed to the "Equality" perspective (this was the teacher of the class carrying out the R.E. topic - see "Curriculum").

### Conclusion

In the conclusion of the School Brochure the headteacher stated that this school ..... "has the advantage of drawing its children from a multi-ethnic community. The varied cultural backgrounds greatly enrich the life of the School. However, problems and difficulties arise from time to time - mostly due to a mutual lack of knowledge or information or understanding. No member of our staff, teaching or non-teaching, would ever knowingly offend or upset our families. Therefore, we do ask parents if this happens, to be as tolerant and understanding towards our problems as we are to theirs."<sup>(18)</sup>

### Visit No.3 to School in South East London

#### Context

This school was situated in the South Eastern corner of the I.L.E.A. It was a Victorian building with approximately 350 children aged 5-11 on roll. Although the school did not keep precise statistics regarding the ethnic composition of the school population at the time of the visit, and still had not done so by the end of 1987, the headteacher told the writer of this thesis that a very large proportion of the children who attended the school were from Asian communities. Furthermore for over 50 per cent of the children in the school English was a second language. The headteacher also stated that the racial character of the



area had changed greatly over the years. During the 1960s much of the housing in the area had been rented by West Indians, but when these houses had been put up for sale a large number had been bought by members of the Sikh community from the Punjab, India. The headteacher also stated that of the parents of the children in work, some were employed as dockyard workers, others worked for Fords at Dagenham and others worked light industries, particularly the clothing industry.

### Aims

The headteacher with the help of his staff had drawn up a short Anti-Racist Policy and Code for his school. This stated that:

"It is the policy of..... School to aim at meeting the individual needs of every child in our school. We believe all pupils must have the chance to develop their full potential ..... staff will encourage the sharing of cultural experiences in assemblies, display, classwork and across the curriculum ..... we seek to promote positive attitudes towards our multi-ethnic society. The school will seek to widen pupils' knowledge and understanding of their own and other cultures."<sup>(19)</sup>

The general Aim of Education of the School as outlined in the School Brochure is "to enable a child to develop as fully as possible as an individual and as a member of society".<sup>(20)</sup>

To achieve this the School must:-

- a. Provide opportunities to learn about the world he lives in - to develop skills to give him personal satisfaction.
- b. Reconcile the needs of the child considered with those of others and the needs of society.
- c. Encourage the inter-action of the child as an individual and as a member of society.

### Organisation

The school had 350 children aged 5-11 on roll at the time of the visit. These children were organised into twelve classes. The School Brochure states that "the school is organised on broadly traditional lines, has always had an interest in games and swimming, and is justly proud of its continued success in music and drama."

The School Brochure further states that "class organisation is such that children of similar ages are taught together. Every opportunity is taken to use the available extra staff resources (2 part-time Junior and 1 part-time Infant Staff) to support children requiring special help either in the classroom or in smaller teaching groups withdrawn from classes".

### Administration and Finance

The School Brochure states that School dinners are ordered and paid for daily, school uniform is not compulsory however shoes worn by the children" should promote good foot health and soles and heels should be of modest depth and NOT made of wood or other rigid material". The brochure further states that "A school journey is arranged annually. Grants to help families whose circumstances warrant some help with the cost of the journey can be arranged by the Head Teacher through the Welfare Service, if parents so desire ..... the Education Welfare Officer comes to school once a week and is available then, by or appointment if parents wish to seek advice".

### The Curriculum

The School Brochure states that "a language unit is well established within the school to aid those children from minority ethnic groups for whom English is a second language." The writer of this

thesis was shown around the school by the teacher with responsibility for the Language Unit where children were withdrawn from their normal classes in groups of approximately 6 to 10 to learn English as a Second Language. The School Brochure states that the school "serves a multi-ethnic community and Religious Education here is non-denominational though with some emphasis on Christian values and is directed towards giving children an understanding of different world religions. Arrangements are made for the withdrawal of children if parents so wish ..... Educational visits to complement the work in the classrooms are arranged to such places as the Science, Natural History and London museums, the Tower of London, Dover Castle, if possible a farm, the field centre at Wrotham and to musical and dramatic performances."

#### The Staff

Three of the members of the teaching staff were Asian teachers and they were able to undertake mother-tongue Punjabi teaching for children in their classes and throughout the school. The writer of this thesis was told by the headteacher that staff meetings concerning the schools' Multi-Ethnic and Anti-Racist Policy had taken place. He and one other teacher in the school had recently attended courses held by the I.L.E.A. on Multi-Ethnic education. The local Multi-Ethnic adviser was a frequent visitor to the school and the school had recently been given extra money from the I.L.E.A. inspectorate in order to increase its multi-cultural resources. This had been spent on items such as maps of the Caribbean and Multi-cultural reading books.

The teacher with responsibility for the Language Unit told the writer of this thesis that there was considerable racial tension between ethnic groups in the adult community in the neighbourhood of the school.

In her opinion although overt racist incidents between children in the school were rare she did not feel that the school was doing an adequate enough job in preparing the children to face the racism outside of the school that they would increasingly come into contact with as they grew older.

#### Visit to I.L.E.A. School No. 4 in North London

##### Context

The fourth I.L.E.A. Primary School visited was a modern single storey school built during the 1970s with 270 children on roll.

At the time of the visit to the school in July 1984 the headteacher of the school explained to the writer of this thesis that the school was still in the planning stage as far as producing an Anti-Racist statement and Policy Document concerning Multi-Ethnic education was concerned and unfortunately no school based literature on these aspects of the school organisation and curriculum had yet been produced. However by the end of 1987 when the school was again contacted by the writer of this thesis these resources had been produced under the leadership of a new headteacher.

##### Aims

The aims of the school as outlined in it's Anti-Racist Statement and Policy<sup>(21)</sup> are sevenfold. They are, to continue to:-

- a. develop clear links between school/home/community.
- b. develop the schools own anti-racist materials and curriculum.
- c. develop staff awareness of their own prejudices and how they have come about.
- d. monitor any racist incidents.

- e. discuss the schools policy with parents and inform them of the schools stance.
- f. continually evaluate the situation and review the policy of the school in this light.
- g. seek to incorporate good practice as it is learnt about.

### Demography

When the school was visited in 1984 the headteacher told the writer of this thesis that seventeen different mother tongue languages were spoken in the school. Thirty five per cent of the children in the school were Turkish, and approximately ten per cent of the children were of Caribbean origin although the headteacher thought that none of the children of Caribbean origin had been born in the U.K. In addition to the Turkish and Caribbean children there was a sizeable group of children from the Indian Sub-continent and also a large number of Greek children. The head was glad to have so many different races represented in his school because in his words it meant that the school "was not overburdened by one particular ethnic group." By 1987 booklets of information for parents about the school had been printed in Urdu, Gujerati, Spanish, Turkish and Bengali.

### Organisation

The school at the time of the visit had 270 pupils on roll aged between 5-11 divided into ten classes. In addition the school had a Nursery Unit with 30 children on roll.

### The Curriculum

The daily programme of the school as outlined in it's brochure includes basic skills teaching in the mornings with a quiet period at the end of the morning for RE/Moral Education. With regard to the

teaching of R.E. the school brochure states - "We live in a multi-cultural society. The children therefore must be helped to develop an understanding and respect for the varied beliefs and practices we have within the school".<sup>(22)</sup> With regard to curriculum resources the Anti-Racist Statement and Policy of the school states that "we will be watchful to see that the materials we use do not promote stereotyped images, provide inaccurate facts or use language with racist connotations. We will encourage the children to be critical of materials too. Any offensive materials will be removed from stock and a letter of complaint sent to the suppliers and manufacturers." By the time of the visit in 1984 an evaluation of the reading books had been carried out by the staff and as a result a number of books had been discarded to be replaced by books which more closely reflected the current multi-cultural perspective of the I.L.E.A.

### The Staff

At the time of the visit to the school three out of the twelve members of the full time teaching staff (including the head and deputy) had attended courses on Multi-Ethnic education which had been arranged by the I.L.E.A. Centre for Urban Educational Studies and involved attendance on the course for one day per week for a year. By 1987 over half of the staff had attended this course. The school brochure states that "teachers who have specific responsibility for an area of the curriculum are given a small amount of time on a rota basis to enable them to share their expertise with other colleagues and children and to organise their departments. This valuable time is sometimes lost if other teachers are away and there are no cover teachers available."

The Anti-Racist Statement and Policy of this school states that

"the staff of ..... Primary School are firmly in agreement with the I.L.E.A. in its belief that all our pupils must be given equal opportunity to benefit from the best possible education that we can provide. We believe that ALL children should be encouraged to develop knowledge and understanding both of their own cultural heritage and of the diversity of cultures in Britain today ..... Class teachers should always be informed of their children's attitudes or behaviour revealed by incidents so that they can be discussed with the peer group and lead the children to question attitudes among themselves. The teachers will take every opportunity to teach against racism and for racial harmony and equality."<sup>(23)</sup>

#### Visit to I.L.E.A. Primary School NO. 5 in North London

##### Context

The fifth and last of the I.L.E.A. Primary Schools visited was situated in an area which has been described as "one of the most economically deprived areas in Britain, showing all the stresses and extremes common to a majority of our inner cities, including high unemployment, overcrowding, poor housing conditions and few amenities."<sup>(24)</sup> Results from the 1981 Census<sup>(25)</sup> showed that the area in which the school was situated has one of the highest unemployment rates in London, at over 18 per cent of the population; that this rate is steadily rising; that large numbers live in over-crowded accommodation (9.0 per cent); that 11.9 per cent of its households lack the exclusive use of a bath and an inside W.C.; and that the area proportionally contains the largest number of single-parent families (10.6 per cent) in the country. Up until the present time (1988) the most recent statistics with regard to the ethnic distribution for the area have been provided by the National Dwelling and Housing Survey<sup>(26)</sup> which showed that in the late 1970s ethnic minorities formed over 25 per cent of the population

of this area, one of the largest proportions in any local authority in the country, with West Indians, Africans and Asians constituting 19.5 per cent. West Indians were the largest group among the ethnic minorities, at 13 per cent, the largest concentration of West Indians in any London borough. Asians made up 3.5 per cent and 3 per cent were of African origin.

### Aims

At the time of the visit to the school by the writer of this thesis the school had not produced an Anti-Race code and Policy for Multi-Ethnic Education. Since the visit however an Anti-Race code has been produced by the school with the following aims:-

"The school is multi-cultural, and all that goes on within it must strive to reflect and build upon this basis.

Culture is central to a child's identity, and the learning environment must reflect the cultures of those learning within it and within society at large.

Teachers must become aware of the cultures from which children come, and the customs and attitudes within them.

Teachers can encourage positive ethnic/cultural self identity by initiating activities which reflect a multi-cultural society. They should aim to give broad-based information and images about each cultural group, drawing as much as possible from the childrens' experience in a way that avoids the risk of stereotypes.

Questions about racism, name-calling incidents, etc. should never be side-stepped or over responded to. Children should be given appropriate information when and where situations arise. Teachers must avoid the denial of differences that do exist between groups and cultures because these act as a cover for racism.

It is important for teachers to be sensitive to the feelings of parents and children where these relate to cultural conflict.



Teachers must be aware of the racist connotations in language, and avoid such language personally and discourage its use at all times."<sup>(27)</sup>

### Demography

The headteacher told the writer of this thesis that over fifty per cent of the children in the school were from West Indian homes and there was also a large proportion of Turkish children from whom mother tongue teaching was provided. In the headteacher's opinion the I.L.E.A. had been slow to introduce mother tongue teaching; the inspectorate however were now using the school for "ethnic monitoring".

### Organisation

At the time of the visit there were 208 children in the school aged 5-11. In addition to the main school there was also a nursery unit of 25 children - 15 full-time and 10 part-time. Besides the headteacher there were fourteen full-time members of the teaching staff plus eight ancillary classroom helpers.

### Curriculum

During the visit to the school the writer of this thesis had the opportunity to attend school assembly which was non-religious in character. A number of West Indian boys gave a demonstration of "break dancing" and several of the children read poems and showed items of handicraft that they had recently made. The school had made great efforts to make the most of and improve the school environment. The Regents Canal passed closely by the school and some of the children from the school were helping a canal artist to paint murals on a wall alongside the canal. A school garden and wild area had also been created together with areas of seating.

### The Staff

A number of the staff had attended training in Multi-Ethnic education and the school had currently a member of staff serving who had been seconded to the school to study the effects of sexism in schools. The head was particularly keen to attract black members of staff and was very much concerned that a number of black teachers in the I.L.E.A. currently felt aggrieved through only being offered temporary teaching contracts. Continuous monitoring of the policies and provision of the school was being undertaken both by the school and members of the I.L.E.A.

### Multi-cultural Education in Suffolk Schools

Unlike the I.L.E.A. the Suffolk County Council Education Committee has not as yet produced a large number of documents concerning Multi-Ethnic Education nor has it yet required individual schools within the Authority to produce Anti-racist statements and guidelines. All schools in Suffolk are required to undertake a continuous self-appraisal and to produce a full self-appraisal document together with a summary for the school governors once every four years. Suffolk Curriculum Papers and County Guidelines<sup>(28)</sup> have been produced by various working parties of teachers and local Education Authority officers to help with this task.

### Policy Developments

Following the publication of the report of the County Working Party appointed to consider the interim report of the 'Rampton' Committee of enquiry into the education of children from ethnic minority groups, "West Indian children in our schools" in May 1983<sup>(29)</sup> (discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis) Suffolk has developed its policy in the following ways:-

1. A policy statement for multi-cultural education has been approved by the Education Committee and issued to all schools. (Appendix 2)
2. All schools are asked to 'take steps to adopt the approaches set out in the policy statement'.
3. Further In-Service courses are to be provided for teachers. A D.E.S. funded Regional Course for teachers began at Homerton College, Cambridge in September 1984 which involved the setting up of local working groups to develop multi-cultural policies and was completed in March 1985.
4. A Multi-cultural Resource Centre has been established at St. Helen's Primary School in Ipswich. This centre provides materials, visual aids, and reprographic facilities for schools and is also the base for the team of Section 11 teachers providing English as a second language to schools. The resource room is available for in-service training purposes, meetings and generally for teachers to review material on many aspects of multi-cultural education.
5. An Advisory Teacher for Multi-cultural Education was appointed by the Authority (the first in Suffolk) in the Spring of 1985.
6. Two Teacher Associateships were established at Homerton College, Cambridge in 1984 to explore the further implications of the Policy for Multi-cultural Education. The research paper of one of these Teacher Associates was published by Suffolk County Council Education Department in 1985.<sup>(30)</sup>
7. The Authority has established a permanent group of Officers and Advisers to monitor progress in this field across the county.
8. The multi-cultural aspect is made explicit in both the Authority's 'Self-Appraisal' document<sup>(31)</sup> and in its curriculum guidelines produced in response to D.E.S. Circular 6/81.<sup>(32)</sup>

The Multi-Cultural Perspective of Suffolk County Council  
Education Committee

Although Suffolk County Council Education Committee as yet has not produced anything like the comprehensive rationale for its Multi-Cultural Policy as has the I.L.E.A. as set out in the five "Race, Sex and Class" documents it has produced a Policy Statement on Multi-Cultural Education and all schools within the Authority have been asked to take steps to adopt the approaches set out in it.

It is clear from reading the statement that the multi-cultural perspective favoured by the Suffolk County Council Education Committee at least until another Policy Statement is drawn up is that of Cultural Diversity. Point 5 of the nine point Policy Statement states that "curriculum policy and other educational programmes will recognise the multi-cultural nature of society and the positive advantages of the presence of cultural diversity. Multi-cultural education does not constitute a separate or additional subject but should be an integral part of all curricular and educational areas. The multi-cultural perspective within the total curriculum will be reflected on a number of levels - staff attitudes, pastoral arrangements, choice of materials used, etc."<sup>(33)</sup>

Given that the Cultural Diversity perspective includes "a belief that British Society is adequately summarised, with regard to education and race relations, as being multi-cultural or multi-ethnic, and that aspects of the cultures of various ethnic groups should be taught in schools,<sup>(34)</sup> it may be argued in Myrdal's terms<sup>(35)</sup> that Suffolk County Council Education Committee as represented by its present policy would not expect any conflict between the higher valuations of

it's own policy and those of the British Creed represented in educational terms by Plowden.<sup>(36)</sup>

In order to test out this hypothesis and also to try and discover how great an importance urban primary schools in Ipswich, Suffolk placed upon multi-cultural education as compared with primary schools in the I.L.E.A. the writer of this thesis during the first half-term of Autumn Term 1984 made once weekly half-day visits to five Primary Schools in Ipswich with follow-up visits in the early part of 1988. As mentioned in the Introduction to the Suffolk County Council Education Committee Policy Statement on Multi-Cultural Education<sup>(37)</sup> Suffolk is a predominantly rural county with only a very small percentage of people from ethnic minority groups and practically all of them live in Ipswich and its immediate vicinity. The five Ipswich Primary Schools chosen with the help of the Advisory Head Teacher for Children with Special Needs (Southern Area) were thought to contain the highest proportion of children from West Indian families living in the area.

#### Geographical position of the schools

Two of the schools visited were situated in the eastern part of Ipswich, two were in the central area and the fifth was situated on the Western side of the town. All five schools were situated in areas of fairly dense housing.

#### Visit to Ipswich Primary School No. 1

##### Context

This was an Infants school for 5-7 year old children situated on the eastern side of Ipswich. Most of the children who attended the

school lived in well established council housing.

### Aims

The basic aims of the school as given in the school brochure<sup>(38)</sup> are:-

1. To provide a happy, stimulating environment in which the children can achieve their true potential and can be helped to develop self confidence and self control.
2. To help the children acquire the skills of reading, writing and numeracy.
3. To encourage the children to develop a positive attitude to work, a pride in achieving a good standard, an enquiring mind, an eagerness to learn, to observe closely and reason logically.
4. To promote the growth of physical skills.
5. To provide opportunities in which the children can extend their knowledge and use of language as well as to learn to work and play in groups, to share with others, to be tolerant of different opinions and cultures.
6. To help children develop respect for moral and religious values, to think for themselves and realise a responsibility towards the community.

### Demography

The headteacher had been at this school for over twenty years and had seen a significant change in the ethnic population of the school over the years. She told the writer of this thesis that during the middle to late 1960s there were a large number of West Indian children in the school. However the number had declined over the years and there were now less than 10 per cent of the children in the school from ethnic groups other than English.

### Organisation

At the time of the visit to the school there were 162 children on roll placed in the different classes according to their age. A 25 place nursery unit was opened at the school in May 1984 and this caters for children from the age of three years.

### Curriculum

No written statements regarding it's multi-cultural perspective had been produced by the school either in response to the Suffolk County Council Multi-cultural Curriculum policy or in it's self appraisal document or in it's school brochure, when visited by the writer of this thesis in 1984. When contacted again in 1988 the school still had no written statements concerning it's own institutional policy with regard to multi-cultural education; however the headteacher told the writer of this thesis that two members of her staff were currently (February 1988) attending a multi-cultural course and when this was completed the school's multi-cultural policy would be drawn up and written.

### Staff

One member of staff had special responsibility for children to whom English was a second language (less than 10 children in 1984 and still no more in 1988). In the headteacher's opinion the most significant multi-cultural initiative undertaken by the staff was by the teacher with special responsibility for children to whom English was a second language translating the School's Nursery Education application form into Bangladeshi and efforts made by the school to welcome Bangladeshi mothers to bring their children to the school's playgroup by organising coffee mornings for the parents of the new entrants.

## Visit to Ipswich Primary School No. 2

### Context

This was a County Junior School catering for girls and boys between the ages of seven and eleven and was situated on the eastern side of Ipswich. The school was built between the wars as a Secondary School and remained as such until 10 years ago when it was converted to a Junior School.

### Aims

The Aims of the school as given in the school brochure<sup>(39)</sup> were that:

- "i. During his time at the school the child learns the elements of discipline and behaviour and how to subordinate his own wishes to those of the majority.
- ii. The school stands in the best tradition for sound work, good manners and all-round development. The child is thus fitted, not only for the next school but for the future in general.
- iii. The skills of reading, writing, and number, music, art and craft-work are all encouraged and practised. Emphasis is placed on stimulating and satisfying the child's natural curiosity."

### Demography

The headteacher told the writer of this thesis that not more than 10 per cent of the children on the school roll (approximately 300) were from Ethnic Groups other than English. The West Indian group however was easily the second highest ethnic group in number in school at the time of the visit to the school.

### Organisation

The writer of this thesis was told by the headteacher that broadly



speaking the classes were organised on mixed ability lines. In addition to the mainstream classes the school had a two class 'Special Unit' for children of below average ability. This serves an area rather wider than the usual school 'catchment' area.

### Curriculum

The School Brochure states that "considerable importance is placed on the basic skills to be developed in the Primary years. A carefully structured reading scheme is followed and the individual progress of each child regularly monitored. A thorough understanding of number concepts is the keynote of the approach to Mathematics where there is a judicious balance between computation and a more liberal practical form of study. The development of an attractive style of handwriting is encouraged in every child and competitions for permanent trophies in every age group are regularly held." The School Brochure also states that .."English remains of paramount importance and the children are taught the fundamentals necessary for the comprehension of our language and to express themselves effectively in speech and in writing. Our national heritage, in the form of History and Geography, is given due attention and studies of the environment include work in Simple Science and Natural History."<sup>(40)</sup>

When visited by the writer of this thesis the school had no school based written documents concerning multi-cultural education and the only mention in the School Brochure was an oblique reference to a "visiting teacher who takes those children with an English speaking problem". The school was again contacted in February, 1988, still no institution based multi-cultural policy had been produced and the headteacher informed the writer of this thesis that there was no intention to produce one within the near future.

### The Staff

When asked for their opinions by the writer of this thesis the teaching staff in the school in general stated that they did not feel that they needed to make any special efforts with regard to multi-Cultural Education. Several were firmly of the opinion that the West Indian parents of children in the school much preferred a definite "English culture based" education and gave as an example the hostile reaction from other black parents which one "West Indian adult had received who had complained that the previous head had been racist in his attitudes towards the black children in his school. The new headteacher told the writer of this thesis that although he had not noticed any racial friction amongst the children during the time he had been at the school, racial relations amongst ethnic groups in the Youth Club situated next door to the school had become so hostile that the leaders had felt forced to segregate the 'blacks' from the 'whites'.

### Visit to Ipswich Primary School No. 3

#### Context

This school was an old building built during the 1870s and due for renewal. It was sited in the central area of the town. Most of the children who attended the school lived in local authority housing.

#### Aims

The aims of the school as described in the school brochure<sup>(41)</sup> are as follows:-

1. To give the children the best possible start in life that we can.
2. To leave the school with the basic skills including reading, writing and calculating.
3. To learn these skills in such an enjoyable way that they will want to go on improving them.

4. These skills are best learned through a wide range of subjects.
5. As well as having these skills we want the children to be kind and considerate and able to get along with others.

### Demography

At the time of the visit by the writer of this thesis to the school in 1984 the headmaster of the school was uncertain as to how many children from ethnic minority backgrounds there were currently in his school. Following an investigation of the school registers by the headteacher and the writer of this thesis it was discovered that out of the main school total of 158: 28 were from ethnic minority backgrounds, including 13 West Indians, 4 Indians, 3 Bangladeshi, 1 Chinese, 1 Yugoslav and 4 children from mixed race backgrounds.

The Nursery contained a higher proportion of children from ethnic minority groups. Out of the total of seventy children on role twelve were from West Indian backgrounds, three were Indians, four were Bangladeshi, there was one Yugoslav and one Chinese child and five children were from mixed race backgrounds.

### Organisation

The 158 children in the main school were divided into seven classes according to age (one class for each of the age groups between 5 and 11). In addition to the seven classroom teachers a full-time remedial teacher is employed at the school to help children in their normal classes or in small withdrawal groups. The school brochure also states that "a few children for whom English is a second language now receive additional help for several hours each week".

### Curriculum

At the time of the 1984 visit the headmaster explained to the writer of this thesis that the school did not as yet have any particular Multi-Cultural Policy and no extra money had been allocated by the local authority to the school to purchase extra Multi-Cultural resource materials such as books, toys, etc. The headmaster had photostated the Suffolk County Council Education Committee Policy Statement on Multi-Cultural Education and had issued each of his members of staff with a copy with the intention of discussing the contents at a future staff meeting. When the school was contacted again by the writer of this thesis in February 1988 the headmaster felt that the school had still not made much progress towards developing it's own multi-cultural policy and documents.

### Staff

Since the visit by the writer of this thesis to the school in 1984 two of the seven members of the teaching staff had been appointed by 1988 to headships in schools within Ipswich that had large proportions of pupils from ethnic minority groups.

### Visit to Ipswich Primary School No. 4

#### Context

This was a County Junior School for children aged 7+ to 11 years of age situated in central Ipswich close to the River Orwell. During the time of the visit there were approximately 200 children attending the school.

### Aims

Virtually nothing of this school's general aims is commented upon in the school brochure and no institution based material in 1984 or since has given the writer of this thesis any further definite evidence of what they might be. The introduction to the brochure states:

"It is virtually impossible to give anything but the sketchiest outline because we lay a lot of emphasis on the needs of each individual child ... Your child is important to you ..... Your child is important to us."<sup>(42)</sup>

### Demography

The headteacher told the writer of this thesis that as with most other primary schools in Ipswich the number of children from ethnic minority backgrounds particularly those from West Indian backgrounds had fallen significantly since the 1960s and at the time of the 1984 visit there were no more than about 20 children with a West Indian background attending the school. There was a similar number when the school was again contacted in 1988.

### Organisation

The 200 children on the school roll were divided into 7 class groups. In addition a teacher was employed to teach children with special educational needs.

### The Curriculum

Although there was some evidence around the school of an interest in multi-cultural education - projects concerning Muslims being apparent in connection with current B.B.C. T.V. programmes during the 1984 visit; no explicit reference to Multi-cultural education was made in any of the schools own documentation. There was not even any mention made of ethnic minority children in the schools brochure and of the kind of help they might expect to receive whilst they were at the school.

The school was again contacted by the writer of this thesis in 1988. He was told by the deputy head of the school that the school still had no definite policy as far as multi-cultural education was concerned, however if the children in the school from ethnic minority groups had any problems they would receive a sympathetic hearing.

### The Staff

The headteacher was very interested in the concept of Multi-Cultural as was also one of her members of staff who had curriculum responsibility for Language and Communication skills. This teacher had given voluntarily of her time to help with a Saturday supplementary class at the Ipswich Caribbean Centre.

### Visit to Ipswich Primary School No. 5

#### Context

The last of the Ipswich Primary schools visited was a Junior school for children between 7+ to 11, situated on the western side of the town and in the centre of a large estate of local authority housing. The school building was vast with the Juniors occupying the top half and the separate Infants school the bottom half of the shared building.

#### Aims

The policy of the school as described in the School Brochure is that "the school aims to provide a sympathetic environment appropriate to the particular needs of our children, an environment where experience will enable every child to fulfil it's full potential as an individual and as a member of society ..... The community aims of the school are to encourage self reliance; self discipline; respect for other people; the ability to work individually and in harmonious groups; to have

enquiring and open minds; to develop critical faculties as far as possible; to develop the child's individual interests and creativity; an awareness of community needs and of their personal role in that community; the ability to appreciate and enjoy our cultural heritage."<sup>(43)</sup>

### Demography

The headteacher had been at the school for over twenty years and told the writer of this thesis that he had seen the school roll drop significantly over recent years. From having approximately 400 children on roll when he was appointed to the school during the late 1960s, there were now just 169 children on roll. Besides the overall fall in the number of children at the school there had also been a fall in the proportion of the numbers of West Indian children at the school. The headmaster estimated that up to 30 per cent of the school population during the late 1960s and early 1970s were from West Indian families. Following an examination of the school registers by the writer of this thesis and the headteacher in 1984 it was discovered that children of West Indian parentage numbered no more than 10 per cent of the total school child population. When the school was once again contacted by the writer of this thesis in 1988 it was discovered that the proportion of children of West Indian parentage in the school was still no higher than 10 per cent.

### Organisation

This school for children aged between 7+ and 11 was organised into seven classes. Because the school population had diminished so considerably in recent years a number of classrooms were available for use for remedial work, handwork, environmental studies, group work, indoor games, for showing films and film strips, resource centre and art room.

A peripatetic member of the School's Remedial Service takes withdrawal groups from each class for further lessons. The school brochure states that "children in these groups are children in need of additional help and yet not poor enough academically, to be placed in a full time remedial class."<sup>(44)</sup>

### The Curriculum

No written documentation with regard to multi-cultural education had been produced by the school itself. This was rather surprising since the school under the same headmaster had a higher number of pupils of West Indian parentage than any other primary school in Suffolk during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

### The Staff

In the headmaster's opinion because the percentage of children from ethnic groups other than British was low no particular initiatives needed to be taken as far as Multi-Cultural Education was concerned. When the writer of this thesis visited the school in 1984, a new deputy head had recently been appointed to the school from the London borough of Brent. The new deputy had a high degree of multi-ethnic awareness and was convinced that multi-cultural education was vital even in the rural county of Suffolk with its relatively low proportion of ethnic minorities. He told the writer of this thesis that he hoped to use his influence and ability in making his new school more multi-culturally aware. The deputy however only remained at the school for two years before being appointed to the headship of a school in another authority. When contacted again by the writer of this thesis in February the headmaster stated that no further progress had been made with multi-cultural education and he didn't consider that there would be any within the near future.



## Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to make a comparison between the multi-cultural policies of a selected number of Primary Schools in the I.L.E.A. and Suffolk with the intention of discovering to what extent the lower valuations of these schools in terms of teacher behaviour conflict or otherwise with the higher valuations of the Local Authority Multi-cultural documents which are used as their basis. Some of the conclusions reached are as follows:-

### With regard to the I.L.E.A.

1. The Authority gives clear and explicit guidance as to the multi-cultural direction that all it's educational establishments are to take - each of the I.L.E.A. schools visited were aware of their obligation to produce an anti-racist policy in accordance with the wishes and views of the I.L.E.A.
2. Although the Multi-cultural goals of the "Equality" perspective<sup>(45)</sup> are clear the pedagogical implications for this are not i.e. teaching strategies to bring about the desired goals of the "Equality" perspective are implicit rather than explicit.
3. Because the teaching strategies or lower valuations are not made explicit in the I.L.E.A. documents teachers continue to operate the same philosophy with regard to Multi-Cultural Education that they have been used to i.e. Plowden ideals and the British Creed.
4. Because the higher valuations of the Equality Perspective and those of Plowden and the British Creed are not compatible in terms of Multi-Cultural Policy and Practice confusion exists amongst the educators and frustration is likely to continue as far as ethnic minorities are concerned.

With regard to Suffolk

1. The County document<sup>(46)</sup> is vague as to the multi-cultural direction that the Authorities educational establishments should be taking. Cultural Diversity is to be recommended but not enforced; no practical response in terms of the production of Multi-cultural documents is demanded of the educational establishments. Nowhere is Cultural Diversity and it's implications discussed and described in the County documents; it is therefore implied that teachers understand what the perspective of Cultural Diversity means and involves - this research has shown that by and large they do not.
2. Because the higher valuations of the Cultural Diversity perspective are broadly in agreement with those of Plowden and the British Creed it is not surprising to discover that teacher behaviour or lower valuations are largely consistent with this philosophy also.
3. If the findings from the five primary schools in Ipswich are applicable to the situation in schools throughout Suffolk as a whole it would appear that the Suffolk County Council Multi-cultural policy has little affect upon either individual school documents or teacher behaviour. Added support to this view has been provided by Leach<sup>(47)</sup> who during the Autumn of 1984 sent questionnaires to all Secondary Schools and a random 10 per cent sample of Primary, Junior and Middle Schools across the County in order to make an assessment of current attitudes towards multi-cultural education in Suffolk Schools and to gain an early indication of responses to the County policy. Leach discovered that few schools (20 per cent) considered it necessary to develop specific policies to meet the needs of ethnic minority pupils and where this did happen it was in almost every case in respect of the pupils' language needs. A significant number of schools

(20 per cent) stated they had no intention of developing policies in this field, while approximately 25 per cent felt that their existing policies already met the need. The rest of the schools (approximately 35 per cent) failed to respond to the questionnaire. Leach also lends support to the view that schools in metropolitan situations are more multi-culturally aware than those in rural areas when he states that from the evidence of his survey "it would be true to say that, generally, schools in town situations were marginally more sensitive to multi-cultural needs than those in villages - a tendency perhaps further confirmed by the fact that a majority of those questionnaires not returned were those sent to village or rural areas".<sup>(48)</sup>

4. If the situation in Suffolk is to be improved upon the County must make it's Multi-Cultural perspective far more clear and explicit. Teaching strategies for children at the different stages of education based upon this perspective must be devised and initiated and a particular target must be the "all white" schools in rural areas.

In the concluding section of this thesis some research carried out by members of the Swann committee<sup>(49)</sup> amongst "all white schools" will be discussed together with a summary of the thesis as a whole and recommendations for Multi-cultural education in Primary Schools in the United Kingdom based upon the findings which have been made in this study.

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Chapter 7

IS "EDUCATION FOR ALL" AN ATTAINABLE OR REALISTIC GOAL  
IN RELATION TO THE DIVERSITIES OF PRESENT DAY MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATION  
IN BRITISH PRIMARY SCHOOLS?

The Swann Report compared to the higher valuations of Plowden -  
Aims - Administration - Finance - Curriculum - The Training of Teachers -  
Anti-racist perspectives with regard to Multi-Cultural Education -  
Conclusion - Recommendations.



Chapter 7

IS "EDUCATION FOR ALL" AN ATTAINABLE OR REALISTIC GOAL  
IN RELATION TO THE DIVERSITIES OF PRESENT DAY MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATION  
IN BRITISH PRIMARY SCHOOLS?

The thesis commenced with the identification of a problem; a problem foreseen in a different context by a distinguished Swedish sociologist, Gunnar Myrdal, when he described "an American Dilemma"<sup>(1)</sup>. The basis of the problem as Myrdal saw it was that individual, white Americans held at one and the same time two conflicting sets of values in relation to the negroes or blacks. From such observations Myrdal's study gave theoretical support to the hypothesis that the gap between desired behaviour and persisting behaviour patterns was logically identifiable. Myrdal's hypothesis has been applied in this thesis to the settlement of West Indian families - particularly those from Jamaica in the United Kingdom and their hopes and expectations with regard to their children's settlement and success in British Primary Schools. Compared to this has been the attitudes and expectations of the indigenous white British society, particularly represented by the teachers and the persistence of view that the newcomers would be quite prepared to be assimilated within the traditions and expectations of a white, middle class, Christian and largely rural society. Although initially the newcomers were prepared to tolerate poor housing and limited opportunities for conducive employment; when it became apparent to the West Indian parents that their children were not able to take full advantage of the kind of educational aspirations for which they had hoped and when the white British teachers began to realise that the kind of assimilation of West Indian children into British Primary Schools of the kind they had envisaged was not taking place then the gap between desired aspirations and persisting behaviour became clearly identified and conflict

between the two groups became apparent. This was not surprising since the ideal typical model of a British Primary School was based upon white British middle class values in terms of its aims, finance and administration, organisation and curriculum and seemed ill equipped to deal with the potentially disruptive influence of culturally and linguistically different groups on British institutions and ways of life. This problem had been recognised by large urban authorities such as the I.L.E.A. who had formulated clear policies to counter racism and had established perspectives which were to underly school educational philosophies during the 1980s. However, the higher valuations upon which the new anti-racist policies were based tended to remain consistent with the Plowden philosophy<sup>(2)</sup> and no attempts until now appear to have been made to try and ascertain whether the higher valuations of Plowden and Anti-Racism are theoretically compatible. In terms of teacher behaviour with respect to those cases studied in this thesis there appears to be considerable confusion in the minds of teachers in urban areas who attempt to adopt anti-racist strategies in their teaching styles yet continue to base their personal higher valuations upon the Plowden model. Teachers in rural areas such as Suffolk on the other hand have largely based their higher valuations upon those of Plowden and have ignored the higher valuations of Anti-Racism. It could therefore be argued that there is less confusion in the minds of rural teachers as far as multi-cultural education is concerned however they may well also be accused of being either oblivious of or deliberately negative towards the needs of ethnic minority interests in present day British education. From the review of the literature undertaken by the writer of this thesis it would appear that very few teachers have asked themselves (a) whether the process based Plowden model is appropriate to the needs and expectations of ethnic minority parents and children and (b) whether Anti-racist models although offering a "broader fields" approach in terms of a pluralist society also offer any alternative to

the process approach particularly with regard to curriculum content.

In the opinion of the Swann Committee who produced their report in 1985<sup>(3)</sup> nationwide changes would only come about when it was widely recognised that the problem facing the educational system in the United Kingdom was not just how to educate the children of the ethnic minorities but how to educate all children. A brief evaluation of the Swann Report now follows with intention of discovering whether in comparison with the higher valuations of the Plowden Report those of the Swann Report differ in any significant detail with respect to Aims, Administration, Finance, Curriculum and the Training of Teachers.

#### The Swann Report compared to the higher valuations of Plowden

##### Aims

The Swann Committee expressed the view that the concept of pluralism should be a basic aim of education for a multi-racial society as shown in the following quotation:

"We consider that a multi-racial society such as ours would in fact function most effectively and harmoniously on the basis of pluralism which enables, expects and encourages members of all ethnic groups, both minority and majority, to participate fully in shaping the society as a whole within a framework of commonly accepted values, practices and procedures, whilst also allowing and, where necessary, assisting the ethnic minority communities in maintaining their distinct ethnic identities within this common framework." (The concept of Pluralism - Page 5).

Nothing in this quote appears to conflict with the basic aims of Primary Education given in the Plowden Report i.e.

"that the school ..... must transmit values and attitudes ..... it is a community ..... the right environment for children, to allow them to be themselves and develop in the way and at the pace appropriate to them". (Plowden Report Page 187 para. 505).

In the quotation from the Swann Report it should be noted that there is an implicit acceptance of the higher valuations of society as represented in present day education in the United Kingdom in the statement that in order to encourage them to participate more fully ethnic minorities are to be allowed and where necessary assisted in maintaining their distinct ethnic identities within this common framework.

A "good education" in the opinion of the writers of the Swann Report "must give every youngster the knowledge, understanding and skills to function effectively as an individual, as a citizen of the wider national society" (Page 319 para. 2.2) - such sentiments as has already been shown in Chapter 3 of this thesis were expressed in documents such as "The Practical Curriculum"<sup>(4)</sup> whose higher valuations were firmly based upon the Plowden Model. Since no indication is given by the writers of the Swann Report as to what the "knowledge, understanding and skills" are to be based upon in terms of higher valuations, one must deduce without evidence to the contrary that they continue to mean those which are consistent with the Plowden Ideal Typical Model.

#### Administration

Under the general title of "the Management of Change" (Page 344) proposals put forward by the Swann Committee have altered very little if at all with respect to the higher valuations expressed from those

of Plowden. Attention for example is drawn to the 1981 Paper "The School Curriculum"<sup>(5)</sup> which in Swann's words "sought to set out the aims and objectives which should underlie provision at both primary and secondary level" (Page 344 Para. 4.2). L.E.A.s are urged by Swann to "declare their commitment to the principles underlying "Education for All" especially in terms of developing a broader, multi-cultural perspective to the curriculum and seeking to counter the influence of racism. In order to explain what is meant by "The Principles of "Education for all'" reference is made by Swann to a quotation from the D.E.S. paper "The School Curriculum" (Page 317 para. 2.1).

"Since school education prepares the child for adult life, the way in which the school helps him to develop his potential must also be related to his subsequent needs and responsibilities as an active member of our society....."

Once again as with the comments regarding "Aims" above, since no evidence is given to the contrary one must assume that the needs responsibilities and our society are consistent with the Plowden model.

Although little is said in the Swann Report concerning the roles of headteachers and deputy heads in schools it is clear from the comments regarding the role of a "Language Co-ordinator" (Page 418 para. 4.5) that as with Plowden, approval is given to the high degree of power and autonomy which individual headteachers are given in the running of their schools. Swann for example at primary level advocates that the headteacher should have overall responsibility for the specific role of "language co-ordinator" although it is acknowledged that where there is a recognised language specialist on the staff "this teacher would also have a particular role to play" (Page 418 para.5.5). Within

secondary schools it is unrealistic in Swann's view to believe that the role of a "language co-ordinator" can be undertaken by a member of the English department staff or even the Head of English, viz.

"School Governors and local authority elected members can also play a leading role in formulating policies for the curriculum which reflect cultural diversity and which accord true equality of opportunity to all pupils. We would hope to see parent and pupil representatives on governing bodies, especially those from the ethnic minority communities encouraged to contribute to such activities. Above all however the support and commitment of the headteacher is essential if positive progress is to be made". (Page 352 para.4.8).

#### Finance

In order to fulfil the requirements of the "Education for All" policy i.e. that there are two distinct aspects to this philosophy - on the one hand catering for any particular educational needs which ethnic minority pupils may have, and, on the other, enhancing the education offered to all pupils, the Swann Committee recommended an overhauling but not disbandment of the chief source of funding for activities in the "multi-cultural" field. This source of funding has been Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 which empowers the Home Secretary to pay grants at the rate of 75 per cent in respect of the employment of staff to those local authorities which have to make special provision in the exercise of their functions in consequence of the presence within their areas of substantial numbers of "Commonwealth immigrants" whose language or customs differ from those of the rest of the community. Although there is a recognition by the Swann Committee that the origins of Section 11 lie in the assimilationist phase of educational thinking in that the underlying aim appears to be to overcome the perceived

"differences" of the ethnic minority groups with a view to their eventual absorption into the majority community - and this is a somewhat imperfect vehicle for progress; the empirical argument for an improvement in the financial provisions for ethnic minority pupils made by Swann is weak - viz.

"..... ethnic minority pupils may have certain educational needs which may necessitate particular responses from schools in the form of additional staffing or other support. We believe it is entirely proper that the schools and L.E.A.s which are required to provide such support are able in turn to claim reimbursement from central Government through Section 11" (Page 361 para.4.14).

The recognition of the fact that the distribution of financial resources by central Government to the areas of greatest need is inadequate was recognised by the Plowden Committee nearly twenty years earlier than Swann viz:

".....districts need more spending on them, and government and local authorities between them must provide the funds. Permission is required before the money can be spent on what is most needed - additional teachers and better buildings. The authority's quota must be raised before extra teachers can be engaged, and additions to the building programme must be sanctioned by the Department of Education. Even if this happens the battle is not over. Some authorities whose need for teachers is great find it impossible to recruit for deprived schools the teachers to whom they are entitled. The vicious circle continues." (Plowden Page 56 para. 148).

A comparison of Swann's recommendations with regard to finance with those of Plowden shows that little seems to have changed with regard to the higher valuations underlying the ideas expressed in the written statements - general and rather vague expressions of need

together with general hopes that the Department of Education will do something about it - viz:

"We hope that in the light of our report the Secretaries of State will consider increasing the proposed expenditure to be supported in this area for 1986/7 and subsequent years. Such a move would not only manifest clearly central Government's commitment to "Education for All" as a priority area for curriculum development but would also provide a further incentive for LEAs to review their spending priorities in the light of our report." (Swann page 361 para.4.14).

Despite Swann's optimism shown above figures published by the I.L.E.A. from data collected on 91,177 primary and secondary pupils in 1985 (not quoted in Swann) showed the gap between the poor and better off areas increasing. In 1984 in Greenwich (the least deprived borough in both primary and secondary schools) was calculated to be 18 per cent - 3 per cent up on 1982, whereas in Tower Hamlets (the most deprived borough as far as parental unemployment was concerned) unemployment had gone up by 13 per cent in the same period to 41 per cent. Overall, the report concluded that throughout the I.L.E.A. levels of poverty as measured by free meals and parental unemployment had increased substantially since 1983, and the increase had been disproportionately greater for black and ethnic minority pupils.<sup>(6)</sup>

### Curriculum

Because the Plowden Report<sup>(7)</sup> advocated a process model as far as the school curriculum was concerned it is difficult to identify what should be the specific content matter advocated at different stages of the Primary School child's career. When this is compared with proposals for a multi-cultural curriculum in the Swann Report little further help is obtained. The writers of the Swann Report state that



because the aims and objectives which they had set out in their "Education for All" policy had not yet been realised in any of the schools or LEAs from whom they had received evidence they were consequently not able to put forward any ready made examples of "good practice", as curriculum models for others to emulate. As far as giving evidence of what is considered to be good practice in terms of multi-cultural education even based upon a process model the writers of Swann state that:

"even where initiatives have been taken in respect of particular areas of the curriculum which go some way towards reflecting the pluralist character of British society today, these have almost always been limited to multi-racial schools and the focus has therefore been primarily on the needs of ethnic minority pupils." (Swann Page 327 para. 3.1).

The writers of the Swann Report<sup>(8)</sup> state that they are not concerned so much with changing the content of the curriculum as with bringing about a reorientation of attitudes which inform and condition the selection of teaching materials and the way in which various topics are approached and presented. In seeking to revise the curriculum which they offer their pupils the writers of Swann believe that teachers will need to review their work in the light of a range of broad considerations. From evidence received from the Schools Council Swann recommends the following criteria for evaluating the curriculum:

- "i. The variety of social, cultural and ethnic groups and a perspective of the world should be evident in visuals, stories, conversation and information.
- ii. People from social, cultural and ethnic groups should be presented as individuals with every human attribute.
- iii. Cultures should be empathetically described in their own terms and not judged against some notion of 'ethnocentric'

or 'Euro-centric' culture.

- iv. The curriculum should include accurate information on racial and cultural differences and similarities.
- v. All children should be encouraged to see the cultural diversity of our society in a positive light.
- vi. The issue of racism, at both institutional and individual level, should be considered openly and efforts made to counter it." (Page 329 para. 3.3).

As far as proposals with regard to specific areas of the school curriculum are concerned, Swann includes the following:-

#### Humanities

"A pluralist approach to both the national and international dimensions of history can ... enhance a youngster's perception and comprehension of the tide of human experience through history, and ensure that his or her horizons are not limited by an exclusively Anglo-or Euro-centric view, rooted solely in the legacy of Empire, of the world as it is today ..... a global perspective to the teaching of history can thus help to counter and overcome the negative stereotypes of ethnic minority groups which lie at the heart of racism." (Page 330 para.3.4)

#### Mathematics

In relation to mathematics, Swann quotes from the Cockcroft Report<sup>(9)</sup> to illustrate the various ways in which provision in this field could reflect the diversity of cultural backgrounds and lifestyles now represented in the pupil population: viz:

"It is possible to make positive use of mathematical ideas drawn 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 homes on important occasions have a geometrical basis in which symmetry plays a major part ..... As children grow older, it is possible to discuss the ways in which the 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 have come from different countries and different cultures." (Page 333 para.3.6).

### Language Education

With regard to this area of the school curriculum Swann recommends that the language needs of an ethnic minority child should no longer be compartmentalised and seen as outside the mainstream of education since language learning and the development of effective communication skills is a feature of every pupil's education. In the opinion of the writers of the Swann Report ethnic minority children's language needs serve to highlight the need for positive action to be taken to enhance the quality of language education provided for all pupils, viz:

"We feel that a broader approach to language education would be justified even if we did not have in this country substantial communities for whom English is not a first language. Since however we have the additional resource within our society of bilingual, and in many cases, multilingual communities, it is surely right and proper that the education system should seek to build on the opportunities which this situation offers. Linguistic diversity provides the opportunity for all schools, whether monolingual or multilingual, to broaden the linguistic horizons of all pupils by ensuring that they acquire a real understanding of the role, range and richness of language in all its forms". (Page 386 para. 1.2)

## Religious Education

In relation to this area of the school curriculum Swann states that:

"Any consideration of religious education must recognise that there has long been an emotive and often passionate debate about the role of schools in relation to religion in a society which can be seen as increasingly secular in terms of the level of active religious observance amongst the majority of its members: a debate to which the multi-faith character of schools with substantial ethnic minority populations has now added a further dimension" (Page 466 para. 1.4)

The writers of the Swann Report believe that the phenomenological approach to religious education reflects most closely the aims underlying "Education for All", in laying the foundations for a genuinely pluralist society since this approach most accurately reflects the multiplicity of beliefs and non-beliefs - including Christianity - now present in society. The writers of the Swann Report state also that "within a truly pluralist society, in which the maintenance of their religious traditions and beliefs is regarded by some groups within it as of great importance in retaining their group identity and cohesiveness, we would see community-based provisions for religious instruction - whether in the form of a Christian Sunday school, an Islamic Mosque school or organised by the Black Churches - as complementing rather than in any sense conflicting with the more broadly based religious education which we believe schools should be offering to all children" (Page 497 para.5.2)

In the opinion of the writer of this thesis the writers of the Swann Report by their statement above show that they fail to realise that the approach which they advocate for the teaching of Religious

Education and the approach advocated by Christian Sunday Schools, Islamic Mosque Schools and those organised by the Black Churches are almost certainly based upon different curriculum models, the former being process based and the latter very much content based models. Rather than complementing the religious education which is taking place in the state schools the result is far more likely to be confusion on the part of the ethnic minority children and parents who embark upon such ventures.

In summary therefore with regard to comparing the approaches towards the school curriculum of Plowden and Swann, it is not really possible to say what either regard as essential curriculum material for either indigenous or ethnic minority children since both advocate a process based curriculum with Swann in particular recommending a broader fields perspective but still based upon a process model.

### The Training of Teachers

Since the preparation and publication of the Plowden Report the expansion of initial training during the 1960s has been followed by a rapid contraction of provision in response both to falling school rolls and public expenditure constraints - whereas, according to the 1983 White Paper on "Teaching Quality"<sup>(10)</sup>, there were in the early 1970s a total of 180 initial teacher training institutions in the public sector in England and Wales, provision by the time of the publication of Swann in 1985 was down to a total of 62 public sector institutions. Alongside this major structural reorganisation, which has involved the amalgamation, diversification or closure of many institutions, there has also been the demise of the former sub-degree Certificate in Education qualification and the expansion of B.Ed.

degree and P.G.C.E. courses, often with consequent changes in validation arrangements, as a result of the Government's decision to move towards an all-graduate teaching force. Against the background of these major upheavals, and in view of the confusion which exists as to the precise meaning and objectives of "multicultural" education in schools, it is not entirely surprising says Swann, that the attempts of the teacher training system over recent years to respond to the multi-racial nature of society can perhaps best be seen as characterised by a confusion of aims and a lack of overall coherence.

The general higher valuation displayed by the Plowden Report as far as the Training of Primary School Teachers was concerned was that despite admitted deficiencies the overall standard was satisfactory and would become better if certain remedial measures such as efforts to attract more graduates into Primary Education and improving the help given to probationary teachers were introduced: e.g.

"It is sensible for all probationary teachers to be visited by an adviser in their first term, so that an unsuitable posting can be altered before too much damage is done. We have been impressed by what we have seen and heard of advisory teacher services. We wish to stress the need for advisory teachers who can work beside young teachers in the classroom." (Page 356 para. 1011).

Although Swann acknowledges that the teacher training system as far as multi-cultural education is concerned is characterised by a confusion of aims and a lack of overall coherence the belief is firmly held that once the central message of "Education for All" is fully then improvements are bound to follow, e.g.

"We regard 'Education for All' as essentially synonymous with a 'good' education, since an education which is not based on sound educational

principles and which fails to take account of the variety of cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds which now make up British society and, more broadly, which fails to incorporate a global perspective, would be anachronistic and would prepare pupils, both those from the various minority and the majority communities, for an unreal world" (Page 551 para. 2.9).

The contention of Swann that sensitising students in training to multi-cultural issues will somehow result in good school practice is illustrated by such statements as:

"We hope that efforts will be made by all teacher training institutions to ensure that all their students, whether on B.Ed. or P.G.C.E. courses, have an opportunity of gaining some practical experience in a multi-racial school." (Page 565 para. 2.22).

However, as Chapter Six in this thesis dealing with the Survey of Primary Schools in I.L.E.A. and Suffolk has shown, the presence of ethnic minority children within a school is no guarantee that a school with a large population of ethnic minority children is more multi-culturally aware in terms of its individual policies and practices than a school with none.

Dealing with the actual course content of students in training Swann advocates that:

"The changing perceptions of 'ethnic minority education' from the early days of assimilationist thinking should also be considered by students and the straightforward educational grounds for broadening the curriculum should be discussed alongside questions of justice, equality and the aims of a genuinely pluralist society." (Page 560 para. 2.17).

However the statement "assimilationist thinking should also be considered by students' needs some elaboration. Chapter Two of this thesis has shown that many British teachers considered 'Assimilationist thinking' and decided to adopt it - thus promoting frustration and disillusionment in the minds of their ethnic minority pupils and parents. Chapter Five of this thesis has shown that "Assimilationist thinking" appears to have been considered by the majority of L.E.A.s in the United Kingdom and as a result very few have produced any written documents concerning Multi-Cultural education at all. Chapter Six of this thesis has shown that "Assimilationist thinking" has been considered by many Primary Schools and seemingly approved of if the lack of multi-cultural documents produced is anything to go by. Those documents which were produced in 1984 appear to have been re-active to the initiatives of the I.L.E.A. since so little schools' own volition has been produced up until the end of 1987; if the five schools in the I.L.E.A. studied in the survey are anything to go by: (the writer of this thesis has since made enquiries in a number of other I.L.E.A. Primary Schools and has found the pattern very similar i.e. a number of documents produced in response to I.L.E.A. initiatives published in the "Race, Sex and Class" publications<sup>(11)</sup> but very little if anything since - only a "we must do something when we have time to get round to it kind of reaction.)

As far as "Training the Trainers" is concerned Swann makes the statement that:

"It is clear that the task which we have envisaged for teacher education at both initial and in-service level makes great demands on the teacher training institutions and on individual teacher trainers. It may well be necessary therefore for some teacher trainers to become involved in a process of reappraisal, reorientation and even retraining themselves." (Swann Page 597 para.3.25).



This thesis has sought to show that a process of "Reappraisal, reorientation and retraining" not only may be but is necessary as far as Multi-cultural education, is concerned. However the direction that this reappraisal, reorientation and retraining could take may be rather different from those who adhere to the higher valuations of Plowden and Swann, envisage.

#### Antic-Racist perspectives with regard to Multi-Cultural Education

Although the Swann report addressed itself principally to the Education of children from Ethnic Minority Groups as compared to the Education of Primary School children in general, which was the perspective of the Plowden Report, the writer of this thesis has argued that the higher valuations of the Ideal Typical Model when comparing the two reports together have not changed in their basic essentials. Frustration is therefore likely to continue on the part of ethnic minority parents and their children since the Ideal Typical Model has not really been questioned; instead attention has been given to the establishment of anti-racism.

The question needs to be asked - are the Plowden-Swann and anti-racist models theoretically compatible? In this thesis the Plowden model has been examined in some detail in Chapter 3 and the Anti-Racist model as illustrated by the I.L.E.A. document "Race, Sex and Class" was examined in Chapter 4 in the discussion concerning the "Equality" perspective. However in order to try to see more fully whether the Plowden and Anti-Racist models are theoretically compatible the set of six aims put forward by the Schools' Council will be briefly examined from an Anti-Racist viewpoint in order to try and determine whether Anti-Racists have yet formulated a coherent strategy for Primary Education in general which is essentially different from

that of the Plowden Model.

Alma Craft and Gillian Klein<sup>(12)</sup> have described those who are 'anti-racists', as giving greater emphasis to attitudes and practices which disadvantage and discriminate against some minority groups, and which result in an unequal distribution of life chances. Quoting from Brent L.E.A.'s "Education for a Multi-cultural Democracy"<sup>(13)</sup> Gerry Davis states<sup>(14)</sup> that the immediate concern of the teacher committed to the development of education for a multi-cultural democracy should be the elimination of the ideology of racism from the structures and procedures of education itself. In this regard the individual teacher has a responsibility both inside and outside the classroom. The goal is not only achievable; it suggests the only educationally justifiable approach to schooling within a society created out of a history of colonialism and imperialism. This approach has been referred to as 'an anti-racist' approach to a multi-cultural education'. If we fail to initiate a distinct 'anti-racist' approach to a multi-racist Britain, states Tuku Mukherjee we shall be abdicating our responsibilities to all those we teach:

"We need to wrench ourselves free from the 'golliwoggish' definition of multi-cultural education dominated by white orthodox view of education, teaching and schooling, and enter the arena of discourse with a black perspective to formulate a 'revolutionary definition', not just as a theory, but as an active approach rooted in our experience of oppression, to challenge every fact of white society, 'White speech, White schooling, White law', and above all the white teaching profession."<sup>(15)</sup>

However it is clear from the literature on the subject that Anti-racist writers in general still have a process based model in mind as Lynch's argument for anti-racist perspective with a multi-cultural

component shows:

"An ad hoc 'one-off' cognitive blitz is thus unlikely to succeed and may, in fact, lead to regression. Rather what is needed is a sophisticated multi-cultural curriculum, co-existential with the school-life of the child at least, in which processes will be as important as skills, systematically educating to correct for racism (and prejudice in general), including pedagogical strategies of continual reinforcement and emphasising ..... the achievement of higher level mental functioning, such as concept attainment, value analysis, decision-making and social action."<sup>(16)</sup>

#### Anti-racist responses to the Aims of Education of the Ideal Typical Model

The first of a Primary School's aims suggested was:

"To acquire knowledge, skills and practical abilities, and the will to use them."<sup>(17)</sup>

There is considerable disagreement between anti-racists as to how children from ethnic minority groups should acquire knowledge in British Primary Schools Len Garrison<sup>(18)</sup> for example states that children must be helped to develop a more positive self-image and feeling of self-worth, which will increase confidence and the resolve to succeed if the child-centred approach is to be successful. Ranjit Arora also appears to commend the "Process Model" of teaching when she states that:

"the curriculum is not only about examinable subjects but that, as a source of knowledge attitudes and values, it necessarily means all the educational experience that learners and teachers have under the guidance of our educational institutions"<sup>(19)</sup>

Gerry Davis on the other hand views "the guidance of our educational institutions at present as perpetuating racism, viz:

"in order to change, it would be necessary to challenge the established norms, values and attitudes which have developed in custom and practice and which perpetuate racial prejudice and racism primarily within the education service"<sup>(20)</sup>

Maureen Stone is firmly against the "Process Model" of education and advocates instead the use of more formal methods of teaching West Indian children as has been pointed out in Chapter 4 of this thesis. In the opinion of Stone

"Policy decisions should encourage teachers in urban schools to have as their primary objective the teaching of skills and knowledge and the development of associated abilities in children. Teacher training should emphasize that teachers' professional interest lies in 'the inducting of children into knowledge, skills and abilities' rather than in the provision of work or therapy to children."<sup>(21)</sup>

Jessica Wellum in her study<sup>(22)</sup> and the Redbridge Community Relations Council document<sup>(23)</sup> also support Maureen Stone in her contention that proficiency in the development and use of standard English and in Numeracy should be the goals which West Indian children in particular should seek to attain as far as the acquisition of knowledge, skills and practical abilities is concerned.

From this brief survey of the anti-racist literature concerning the first of the Aims of Education of the Ideal Typical Model there does not appear to be a consensus of opinion amongst Anti-Racist writers.

The second of a Primary School's aims suggested was:-

"Schools should have the capacity and the will to help their pupils to develop qualities of mind, body, spirit, feeling and imagination."<sup>(24)</sup>

The Schools' Council publication "Primary practice - a sequel to 'The Practical Curriculum'"<sup>(25)</sup> makes it clear that what is being referred to here are the curriculum areas of Art and Craft, Drama and Music, Dance and Physical Education. In other words the "Affective" areas of the School Curriculum.

Once again much of the literature concerning these areas of the curriculum written in a multi-cultural context suggest that anti-racist writers in general accept the Plowden process model. For example Craft and Klein express support for a child-centred and investigative approach in the Primary curriculum when they state that:

"Child-centred and investigative approaches encourage children to form their own opinions about themselves and others and can be directed to furthering understanding about people from other cultures and with other life styles."<sup>(26)</sup>

On the subject of Creative Arts Lashley<sup>(27)</sup> has expressed the view that an Art curriculum positively designed for a multi-cultural society should familiarise pupils with art forms created and valued by different cultures, facilitating comparative study by teaching concepts and skills for responding to and evaluating those art forms. Teachers should be careful to use only highly-rated examples of the Arts outside of Europe - second-rate or amateurish work should not be set against the enduring 'classics' of non-Western societies. However whether Lashley conceives of this broader fields view of the Creative Arts curriculum as being based on anything other than the Process Model

is not made clear.

Dealing with the Curriculum area of Music, Craft and Kelin state that:

"Most pupils take a more comprehensive approach to music than is customarily recognised in the curriculum of their schools. What they think of as school music and what they choose to be involved in outside school may have no relation to one another. This dichotomy is fairly acute for pupils of ethnic minority backgrounds whose home musical experience is often deeply rooted in ritual and community involvement ..... a multi-cultural approach to music education is just as important in schools without pupils from minority cultural groups - all pupils are entitled to a rich and varied musical experience."<sup>(28)</sup>

Once again however whether these writers conceive as Music education for a multi-cultural society although reflecting a broader fields perspective should be based on other than a Process Model is not made clear.

In the area of PE and Sport Oliver Leaman has stressed that:  
"..... it is important that PE teachers are aware of their potential contribution to the multi-cultural curriculum: introducing games and sports popular in other countries and cultures can extend and enrich the P.E. curriculum"<sup>(29)</sup>

In dealing with children from ethnic minority groups concerning the teaching of P.E. and Games Education Carrington has recommended that:  
"Schools should be sensitive and ready to adopt the timing of events. clothing worn and even the sports pursued to the cultural mores of the

pupils"<sup>(30)</sup>

Again however on the subject of P.E. Education it is not clear from the literature which has been quoted above whether the writers are advocating any change from the process based model.

In the above discussion concerning the Affective area of the School Curriculum it is clear that the Anti-Racist writers who have been quoted to not significantly divert from the Ideal Typical Model other than suggesting extending the curriculum with a Multi-Cultural dimension in order to further enrich the learning experiences of all children of whatever cultural group they may belong.

The third of a Primary School's Aims suggested was:-

"To appreciate human achievements in Art, Music, Technology and Literature"<sup>(31)</sup> it may not be wrong to suggest that what is being referred to here are the more cognitive aspects of the school curriculum.

Comment has already been made above with regard to Anti-Racist responses to Art and Music. On the subject of science teaching in general which may apply to the Primary as much as to the Secondary School Rosen has suggested that:

"For pupils of ethnic minority origin, motivation and enjoyment may be enhanced by clear acknowledgement of the contributions from their own backgrounds, and cultures: pupils can also be encouraged to undertake culturally-specific project work in science, which allows them to draw on their personal knowledge and experience".<sup>(32)</sup>

However whether the "culturally-specific project work in science" is to be carried out other than by means of the process model is not made clear.

With regard to the area of technology both C. Toye<sup>(33)</sup> and A. Leary<sup>(34)</sup> have suggested that the key to such work lies in ensuring the continuing participation of pupils of all ethnic backgrounds in the full range of activities, with each taking equally significant roles in the design and manufacturing process and each using relevant cultural orientations to ensure a distinctive and worthwhile contribution. Most of this work is taking place in secondary schools, where CDT is most fully established, but there are now significant moves to adopt similar approaches in primary schools in many parts of Britain. However what the theoretical model is to be which will secure the achievement of such aims is not made clear by these writers.

In the area of literature Craft and Klein state:

"It is easy and appropriate for English teachers to use the works of black and ethnic minority authors to illustrate literature of a high standard. This enriches the curriculum for all pupils and alerts them to intellectual and cultural achievements of people of diverse cultural backgrounds."<sup>(35)</sup>

On the subject of appreciating human achievements Bernard Coard has expressed the view that:

"Black history and culture, i.e. the history of Black people throughout the Caribbean, the Americas, Africa and Asia, should be made part of the curriculum of all schools, for the benefit of the black and the white children."<sup>(36)</sup>

Anti-racists have expressed the view that far more attention should be given in the general school curriculum to the achievements



of black people in history and in current day society; however a Rampton/Swann Committee research proposed study of the characteristics of successful black students<sup>(37)</sup> was severely criticised by Delsol for placing the emphasis upon the individual black child rather than on the school. The title should instead have been says Delsol "the characteristics of successful schools in areas of large black populations."<sup>(38)</sup>

With regard to this third area of a Primary School's aims, anti-racists definitely have opinions to express about the appreciation of human achievements - particularly black achievements. However the theoretical basis upon which they make their points i.e. a child-centred and investigative approach does not significantly diverge from that of the Ideal Typical Model.

The fourth of a Primary School's aims suggested was:-

"To acquire understanding of the social, economic and political order, and a reasoned set of attitudes, values and beliefs"<sup>(39)</sup>

As has already been discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis the I.L.E.A. document discussing the "Equality" perspective<sup>(40)</sup> has a great deal to say about the above aim underlining the view that racism pervades attitudes, values and beliefs in contemporary British Society.

Len Garrison has expressed the view that amongst Afro-Caribbean parents and children:

"there is uncertainty as to the value of education because the evidence surrounding us (i.e. few images of black success) seems to lead nowhere. Education does not lessen the expectation of unemployment; nor the continued devaluation of self-image and esteem."<sup>(41)</sup>

In order to counteract the inequalities referred to above Carlton Duncan and his staff have devised a Multi-cultural Curriculum policy including a clear rationale, statement of aims and objectives<sup>(42)</sup> However how these objectives are to be attained through a theoretical approach other than that of the Ideal Typical Model is not made clear.

With respect to anti-racist teaching in the Primary School Martin Francis has expressed the view that:

"..... the role of the anti-racist teacher ..... is to make an intervention in the child's process of understanding racism. This is not done by taking away the active role of the child but by feeding into the process information and experiences that contribute to an understanding that will go beyond the scapegoating explanations that racists will give of current economic and social ills; and will also go beyond what can easily seem a morally correct but (to working class pupils) essentially middle class do-gooding anti-racism that is totally unaware of political realities that face the children and their families."<sup>(43)</sup>

With respect to this fourth Primary School Aim it is clear that by and large the Anti-racist writers who have been quoted would support the Ideal Typical process Model of the Curriculum although advocating a broader fields approach.

The fifth of a Primary School's aims suggested was:-

That schools should have the capacity to help pupils to "prepare for their adult lives at home, at work, at leisure, and at large, as consumers and citizens".<sup>(44)</sup>

Writing about "West Indian Parents and Schools" Bebb Burchell has stated that:

"a fundamental premise of British educational thought is that certain conditions outside school, relating to social class, parental attitudes to authority, family relations and child-rearing practices, economic circumstances and individual psychology and so on, are necessary conditions for successful educational attainment, and that their absence is responsible for pupil failure ..... The black family becomes visible to the educationalist and teacher through the grid of their pupil's school performance and the search for causes of that performance; in short, the family is subordinated to norms imposed by the school as necessary condition for its children's educability. The family that educationalists talk about is a family seen through the perspective of norms that they themselves seek to impose as a condition for their successful education of its children (sic) ..... if schools are to win the consent of the communities and families they serve, if they are to succeed in terms acceptable to their users, they will have to transform the whole basis on which they perceive and treat pupils and their families ..... what I am suggesting is ..... a fundamental transformation of the relationship of the school and its teachers to the people it serves: a relationship based on respect, humility and accountability, rather than one based on racism, a dubious expertise and the alibi of professionalism."<sup>(45)</sup>

Similar views to that of Burchell have been expressed by Wellum<sup>(46)</sup> and in the A.C.E.R. Project Follow-up Groups Report<sup>(47)</sup>; however once again it has not yet been made clear whether the theoretical approach whereby such objectives are to be achieved is to be other than via the Plowden Model.

The Sixth of the Primary School's Aims was that schools should have the capacity and the will to help their pupils "to develop a sense of self-respect, the capacity to live as independent, self-motivated adults and the ability to function as contributing members of co-operative groups"<sup>(48)</sup>

On the subject of developing self-respect amongst pupils comments made above by Burchell<sup>(49)</sup> and in the I.L.E.A.'s "Equality Perspective"<sup>(50)</sup> are applicable anti-racist responses. There is however as has already been stated, disagreement between anti-racist writers such as David Milner<sup>(51)</sup> and the authors of the North Lewisham Project on "Self Image and Black Awareness"<sup>(52)</sup> on the one hand who have emphasised the necessity of introducing measures in order to improve black pupils' self-esteem and those such as Maureen Stone<sup>(53)</sup> on the other hand who in her thesis has suggested that such proposals for Multi-Cultural education have been part of the reason for the failure of black children to succeed in British schools.

Once again therefore if a coherent response by anti-racists is to be given to this aim of the Ideal Typical Model much more needs to be done.

## Conclusion

This final chapter commenced with a question - "Is Education for All" an attainable or realistic goal in relation to the diversities of present day multi-cultural education in British Primary Schools? To a large extent this thesis has been concerned to show that given the factors which exist at the moment it is not. The basis of the problem in the view of the writer of this thesis lies in the fact that the aspirations of ethnic minority parents, particularly those of Afro-Caribbean origin have been frustrated due to the failure of English Primary Schools to recognise the nature of this frustration and to adapt the behaviour of teachers to it. This frustration has arisen because the Plowden Ideal Typical Model has not been questioned - instead attention has been given to the establishment of an anti-racist response to established educational procedures. Since anti-racist writers do not appear to have yet devised a clearly definable strategy for the education of Primary School children other than that which already exists it is not possible to say whether the Plowden and Anti-racist models are theoretically compatible. A small scale survey carried out by the writer of this thesis and reported on in Chapter Six has shown that teachers run their schools in a variety of ways. In Suffolk almost without exception teachers meet the higher valuations of Plowden and ignore the higher valuations of anti-racism. However in the I.L.E.A. there is far more confusion. No evidence was found that teachers had asked themselves whether the Plowden and Anti-Racist models are compatible. In practice they sometimes follow a Plowden model at other times an Anti-racist model and at other times a mixture of both. This preliminary investigation has shown that far more needs to be done in order to satisfy the frustrated aspirations of ethnic minority parents and their children in order that "Education for All" becomes an attainable or realistic goal. Bearing this in mind

the writer of this thesis would wish to make the following recommendations.

#### Recommendations

1. That teachers, governors and others responsible for the administration and running of British Primary Schools be made aware of the continuing frustration of ambitions on the part of ethnic minority parents and their children and the reasons for it.
2. That an investigation be made to see whether the Plowden model is still applicable as a theoretical model for schools particularly where there is a significant representation of ethnic minorities.
3. That teachers in British Primary Schools examine whether the multi-cultural strategies which they adopt are theoretically consistent.
4. That those who point to the deficiencies and equalities of the current theoretical model used in the great majority of present day British Primary Schools use their energies to devising an Anti-Racist model, which is recognisable, theoretically sound and practicable.
5. That recognition be given to the central issue of this thesis, i.e. is the curriculum of a school wishing to be truly multi-cultural and anti-racist in it's policy and practice to be based upon a Plowden process model or a model which is essentially subject centred and content based?

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Appendix 1

SUFFOLK COUNTY COUNCIL EDUCATION COMMITTEE

POLICY STATEMENT ON MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATION

POLICY STATEMENT

1. Suffolk County Council, as the Local Education Authority, will respond positively to Section 71 of the Race Relations Act to
  - a) eliminate unlawful racial discrimination;
  - b) promote equality of opportunity and good relationships between persons of different racial groups.Where intentional racism is found within the Education Service, this will be fully investigated and, if appropriate, action taken under the Disciplinary Procedures adopted by the County Council.
  
2. The County Council will seek to identify and eliminate such practices and procedures which discriminate against ethnic minority people and pupils and students. Within the Education service this would encompass the recruitment, promotion and training of staff, (covered fully by the County Council's policy for Equal Opportunities in Employment), the placement of pupils and students and the allocation of resources.
  
3. People from a minority culture should not be regarded as culturally disadvantaged or deprived by virtue of being members of that group. A wish to maintain cultural mores, language and religion will be acknowledged by the County Council.
  
4. Educational programmes should enable all people to develop self respect and respect for others, to achieve success and inculcate the skills and attitudes that life will require of them.
  
5. Curriculum policy and other educational programmes will recognise the multi-cultural nature of society and the positive advantages of the presence of cultural diversity. Multi-cultural education

does not constitute a separate or additional subject but should be an integral part of all curricular and educational areas.

The multi-cultural perspective within the total curriculum will be reflected on a number of levels - staff attitudes, pastoral arrangements, choice of materials used, etc.

6. A programme of in-service training of teachers and other staff will be established to provide the necessary information and awareness required to implement the proposed development of multi-cultural education.
7. The development of a partnership between school and parents in the education of their children will be actively encouraged. The involvement of parents from ethnic minority groups will be encouraged in school functions and decision-making bodies, e.g. Parent/Teacher Associations, Governing Bodies, working parties, etc. A similar approach will be encouraged in other educational establishments.
8. The establishment of appropriate liaison with ethnic groups, agencies and organisations associated with the ethnic minorities, to assist the co-ordination and implementation of the County Council's multi-cultural policy, will be actively encouraged.
9. The County Council will continue to make appropriate use of available resources and funding to promote the development of multi-cultural education and provide the specialist support needed for schools, colleges and other forms of education to implement such a policy.

Appendix 2

APPLICATION FORMS FOR NURSERY EDUCATION

IN ENGLISH AND IN BANGLADESHI FOR IPSWICH PRIMARY SCHOOL No.1

INFANTS SCHOOL

APPLICATION FOR NURSERY EDUCATION

1. Full Name of Child: .....

Address: .....

.....

Telephone Number: .....

Date of Birth: .....

2. Full Name of Parents: .....

Please delete any of the following questions which are not applicable:

3. Name and Address of Legal Guardian (if different from above):

.....

.....

4. Address where you may be contacted during the times of the nursery sessions in case of the child's illness, accident, etc.

.....

.....

5. Please note below any medical history of the child that you think the school should know, e.g. poor sight, allergies:

.....

.....

6. Does your child have any special likes or dislikes?

.....

.....

7. Have you any specific reason for requesting a nursery place for your child?

.....

.....

Signed: ..... Date: .....

APPLICATION FORM FOR NURSERY EDUCATION IN BANGLADESHI FOR IPSWICH  
PRIMARY SCHOOL No. 1

০. ছাত্রের নাম, পিতার নাম, বাড়ির ঠিকানা, পিতার পেশা (১)

১. পূর্বের কোন কোন স্কুলে পড়াশুনা করেছেন, তার তারিখ, মাস, বছর, পিতার নাম, ঠিকানা, পেশা, মোবাইল নম্বর, বাড়ির ঠিকানা (২)

২. ছাত্রের বয়স, তার জন্ম তারিখ, তার পিতার নাম, ঠিকানা, পেশা (৩)

৩. ছাত্রের স্বাস্থ্য পরিস্থিতি, তার কোন রোগ আছে, তার পিতার নাম, ঠিকানা, পেশা (৪)

৪. ছাত্রের আগ্রহ, তার পছন্দ, তার পিতার নাম, ঠিকানা, পেশা (৫)

৫. ছাত্রের অন্যান্য তথ্য (৬)

৬. ছাত্রের স্বাক্ষর (৭)

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৮. ছাত্রের নাম (৯)

৯. পিতার নাম (১০)



Appendix 3

ARE WEST INDIAN GIRLS PRECOCIOUS?

An argument to support the view that West Indian girls are precocious in terms of educational attainment as compared with English girls of the same age was provided by Geoffrey Driver<sup>(1)</sup> in his investigation of the recorded examination results for 2,300 school leavers in five multi-racial secondary schools. Two schools were in the north of England, two in the midlands, and one in the Home Counties. In interpreting the rank order for overall achievement in 16-plus exams for these children Driver concluded that where the critical subjects of English Language, maths and science are concerned West Indian girls gained higher average results than West Indian boys, English girls and English boys. Driver did however concede that it may be that the indigenous population of these areas has a worse level of school performance than the country as a whole. Nevertheless the good performance of West Indian girls of secondary school age in terms of educational attainment did not surprise Driver from his knowledge of child rearing patterns. To support his argument Driver quotes Edith Clarke who is the very title of her study "My Mother who Fathered Me"<sup>(2)</sup> suggests the key role of women, and the power they wield among certain rural Jamaican families. From her study in rural Jamaica Nancy Foner<sup>(3)</sup> came to the conclusion that economic and social conditions made it almost impossible for young men to assume responsibility for a wife and family. Christian or legal marriages remains the ideal, but many couples cannot attain this in early adulthood.

In many cases, a young woman relies on the help of her mother and other blood relatives within the maternal home. In return, she must commit herself to ensuring the stability and status of the domestic kin group. This arrangement puts little economic reliance on the bond between conjugal partners. It concentrates power, property and decision-making in the hands of women of mature years, whose daughters and

sisters may depend on them for shelter and support, when their children are being born and raised.

In her study of Jamaican life and settlement in London Nancy Foner<sup>(4)</sup> showed that some of the traits of mother-centred life are tending to reassert themselves in many West Indian households in Britain. The trend she believes has been strengthened by the high rate of unemployment which afflicts unskilled workers, particularly West Indian men and reinforces the previous patterns of family organisation in which adult males can be pushed to the margin of domestic life.

On their arrival in Britain, many West Indians made great efforts to adopt the majority's social forms, with the husband as provider. But it is now an unspoken assumption among many West Indian women, writes Foner<sup>(5)</sup> that they, rather than their husbands or brothers, are the guardians of their family's good name and the providers of its staple income. Is it then surprising asks Driver, "that the achievements of their daughters in school reflect that opinion?"<sup>(6)</sup>

By contrast in Driver's view<sup>(7)</sup> "it is an equally unspoken assumption in many English working class homes that their daughters do not merit encouragement at school. They must be married off before they become a social or economic liability to their parents. So, is it surprising that their results - which contrast so dramatically with those reported for West Indian girls in the same schools - also reflect the prevalent attitudes at home?"

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