COMMON SENSE, RACISM AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF RACE RELATIONS

By

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis concerns itself with what could be referred to loosely as the
'sociology of race relations'. The arguments presented here are not arguments
that have been arrived at as a result of an individualised pursuit of knowledge
or academic excellence but have rather emerged out of the collective process
of group discussion of Race and Racism.[1] Neither are the arguments, in terms
of their political and theoretical trajectory, particularly new. For example,
way back in 1971 Robin Jenkins was criticising Rose and Deakin's Colour and
Citizenship for being 'not scientific but ideological'. The knowledge contained
in it, he had argued:

> made the power elite more powerful and
> the powerless more impotent. He warned
> blacks not to submit themselves to the
> scrutiny of white researchers who, in
> effect, acted as spies for the government.
> They should be said, be told to 'fuck off'.[2]

Jenny Bourne who describes the circumstances in which Jenkins' paper was
produced, points out that his critique 'opened up a major debate as to the whole
direction of race relations research and provided a catalyst in the struggle
to transform the Institute (of Race Relations) itself.' A struggle which was
but a reflection of the struggles of black people outside, against racism. She
informs us further, that by 1972 when the dispute in the IRR finally came to a
head, the debate had shifted far beyond Jenkins' initial critique.

> where the fundamental problem lay was
> now the issue. It was not black people
> who should be examined, but white society;
> it was not a question of educating blacks
> and whites for integration, but of fighting
> institutional racism; it was not race relations
> that was the field for study, but racism.[3]

Bourne's article goes beyond the local struggle within the IRR to look into
the historical development of race relations research. Her criticism was not
so much that researchers were focusing upon the cultures and organisations
of black people rather than white racism, but that such research sought to
influence the policies of governments (both Labour and Conservative) who were
already inclined to view racism as a consequence of the number of black people
in England. The 1968 and 1971 immigration Acts, the one enshrining the racist
patrial/non patrial distinction in Law; the other bringing all primary immigration
to an end and converting black Commonwealth citizens to 'rightless gastarbeiter';
marked not just the end of capital's need for black settler labour,[4] but also
the point at which the policy-makers - caught up in a situation where popular
racist solutions to Britain's economic and social ills were being advocated -
became 'a part of the problem'. This last point requires further elaboration.

Race and the Crisis

The notion that the question of race is essentially an 'external' problem, 'foisted on English society from outside', was as Stuart Hall argued an ideological response to the 'End of Empire'. It entailed an erasure of England's imperial past and, consequently, a refusal to make the connections between that past and the black immigration of the 50s and 60s. It is here that he locates the 'moment' of a new form of indigenous racism.

> paradoxically, the native, home-grown variety
> of racism begins with this attempt to wipe
> out and efface every trace of the colonial
> and imperial past from official and popular recall.[5]

The space provided by this 'collective amnesia' for the growth of a new racism, became apparent during the 1964 General Election when Peter Griffiths conducted his campaign in Smethwick around the slogan: 'if you want a nigger for your neighbour, vote Labour.' This was also the period during which the boom — 'you've never had it so good' - years, gave way to the slump. The uneasy political truce that had existed between classes and which had been cemented by the ideology of affluence, cracked apart; revealing the real inequalities between classes; the still existing poverty in Britain's urban centres and the gathering economic crisis.[6] When Enoch Powell made his now infamous speeches (68 + 69) about the radical and alien 'enemy within' threatening the very fabric of society, he touched the raw nerve of popular and official feeling about the deepening crisis. However, the crisis he perceived was not a crisis of race relations, nor yet a crisis in the economy, but a crisis of social authority.

It is not possible here to go into the particular reasons for the structural crisis of British Capitalism or to enter into a discussion about why successive governments have been unable to overcome it, but it is worth noting that the present Crisis takes shape during the 'energy crisis' of 73/74 and the confrontation between Heath's government and the miners in the same period. These events (and the subsequent 'Balance of payments crisis' 75/76) threw into sharp relief what had really been clear since Wilson had propounded his plans for a 'New Britain' to be born out of and 'forged in the white heat of the technological revolution'.....

> .....that the resolution of the economic
> problems in Britain hinged on a more fundamental
> restructuring of capitalist production at both
> a national and international level.[7]

The failure to resolve the structural problems necessitated that the state also manage the effects of the crisis at the level of social relations. As Lord Hailsham put it.....

> Gentlemen, we live in grave times. The symptoms of our
> malaise may be economic, may show themselves in price rises,
> shortages and industrial disputes. But underlying the symptoms
> is a disease which has destroyed democracies in the past, and
> the causes of that disease are not economic. They are moral

and political and constitutional, and in order
to cure it we must recognise them as such.[8]

The means of 'crisis management' have been in part institutional and partly
ideological. At the institutional level the important trend has been towards
a strengthening and centralisation of the mechanisms of control and the means
of state violence and the undermining of the representative institutions of
political democracy. The Trilateral Commission's report on The Crisis of Democracy
anxiously notes this trend.

> Everywhere one discovers a complete dissociation
> between the decision-making system, dominated
> by traditional and often quite rhetorical political
> debate, and the implementation system, which is the
> presence of administrative systems quite often
> centralised and strong. This dissociation is the
> main cause of political alienation amongst citizens.
> It continually nourishes utopian dreams and radical
> postures and reinforces opposition to the state.[9]

The shift towards more and more unmediated forms of control is underpinned
in one of its crucial dimensions by a growth in state racism - particularly at
the legislative and juridical levels, but also within the 'caring' institutions.[10]
At the ideological level the convergence of key themes from the 60s (violence, moral
terpitude, youth) with the theme of Race - particularly noticeable in the construction
of 'The Mugger' - cements these developments. It is not that Race, per-se, is the
'problem' but rather that race comes to signify the crisis. Hall states the articu-
lation of race and crisis succinctly.

> In one of its principal dimensions,
> this crisis is thematised through race.
> Race is the prism, through which the British
> people are called upon to 'live through' to
> understand, and then deal with crisis conditions.[11]

Hall's argument here is not simply that race expresses the crisis but that racism,
within the present context, constitutes 'a vital set of economic, political and
ideological practices' which structure the ways in which the crisis is experienced.
In this connection the development of racist ideologies which intersect and
re-organise the common sense racism of the white working class, around the themes
of 'The Nation', 'The People', and 'British Culture', has been of fundamental
importance. For this popular racism has succeeded not only in displacing 'the
existing ideologies of class - of economic demands and of class struggle...'[12]
thereby strengthening the mechanism whereby the working class is reproduced as a
racially structured and divided working class; it also combines with the institutiona-
lised racist practices of the state in such a way as to place 'induced repatriation'[13]
on the political agenda. As Paul Gilroy remarks ....

> Repatriation is the British solution to the
> 'race-relations' problem, an alien problem which

being essentially external to Britain, will vanish
with the blacks. It is also the means by which
consent for political power may be preserved or won
anew in the face of crisis.[14]

The developments briefly outlined above form the background context in my
assessment of 'race-relations' sociology. The argument proceeds in three stages.
Firstly the contention of this thesis is that the very terrain upon which racist
ideologies work, that is the terrain of 'common-sense', forms the corner stone of
much of this 'race-relations' sociology. Indeed in many ways it is precisely these
common-sense images which are being theorised so as to produce a pathological
picture of black family life and black culture. For this reason I have felt it
necessary to make a theoretical detour in order to explain how my understanding of
common-sense differs from popular usage. Following on from this I give a brief
description of some of the common-sense images through which blacks are seen and
then try to show how these have been taken up and articulated within racist ideologies.
In the last section I deal with race-relations research proper and attempt to
demonstrate the similarities between common-sense racism, racist ideologies and
race-relations research.

Part I COMMON-SENSE

The term 'common-sense' is generally used to denote a down-to-earth 'good-sense'.
It is thought to represent the distilled truths of centuries of practical experience;
so much so that to say of an idea or practice that it is only common-sense, is to
appeal over the logic and argumentation of intellectuals, to what all reasonable
people know in their 'heart of hearts' to be right and proper. Such an appeal can
act at one and the same time to foreclose any discussion about certain ideas and
practices and to legitimate them.

Common-sense has not always occupied such a pre-eminent position, neither has it
always been so easily equated with good-sense. In his Prison Notebooks, Gramsci
traced its development as a concept from a term particularly favoured by 'the
17th and 18th century empiricist philosophers battling against theology, to its
subsequent usage as a confirmation of accepted opinion rather than its subversion'.[15]
He characterised common-sense thinking as 'eclectic and unsystematic' in the way
in which it accumulated contradictory knowledges within itself. Common-sense he
argued:

> ....is strangely composite; it contains
> elements from the Stone Age and principles of
> a more advanced science, prejudices from all
> past phases of history at the local level and
> intuitions of a future philosophy which will be
> that of the human race united the world over.[16]

The contradictory nature of common-sense means that it should not be thought
of as constituting a unified body of knowledge. It does not have a theory
underlying or 'hidden beneath' it,[17] but is perhaps best seen as a 'storehouse
of knowledges' which has been gathered together, historically, through struggle.[18]

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As a way of thinking and in its immediacy, common-sense is appropriate to
'the practical struggle of everyday life of the popular masses'. It is one
of the contradictory outcomes of the divisions between mental and manual labour
under Capitalism. Yet, while common-sense embodies the practical experience
and solutions to the everyday problems encountered by the 'popular masses'
throughout their history, 'it is also shot through with elements and beliefs
derived from earlier or other more developed ideologies which have sedimented
into it.'[19] The practical struggle of everyday life refers not simply to that
'perennial struggle against nature' but to class struggle. The struggle for the po
to decide - in the present conjuncture for example - where the social costs of
economic recession are to be borne. The new restrictions on organised labour;
the deliberate creation of unemployment and the other attempts by the present
government to re-organise the production process, are not policies that can be
pursued willy-nilly. Consent for them has to be continually won. It is within thi
process of winning consent and in the decomposition and re-composition of alliances
between the ruling bloc and 'sub-altern classes'[20] by the granting of economic
concessions to those classes, (which do not however touch the essential interests
of the ruling bloc,) that the subordination of the 'popular masses' is ideologically
and practically secured. The securing of 'Hegemony' by the ruling block though,
is not a once and for all victory. The situation is rather, a 'negotiated truce'
between the hegemonic cultures of the ruling bloc and the 'corporate' cultures of
the subordinated classes.[21] While the general ideas of the society are defined
within the hegemonic cultures and form the horizon of thought about the world,
this does not mean that the thought of the subordinate classes is wholly given over
to ideas derived from elsewhere. Common-sense also contains 'more contextualised
or situated judgements' which are the product of their daily lives. The sometimes
oppositional and always contradictory nature of this thought is captured quite
neatly by Stuart Hall et. al. when they point out that.....

> ...it seems perfectly 'logical' for some workers to
> agree that 'the nation is paying itself too much'
> (general) but be only too willing to go on strike
> for higher wages (situated)...[22]

This subordination as has been mentioned already is not merely a mental subordination
the ideas of the hegemonic culture are also embodied within the dominant institutional
order since this is controlled by the ruling block. The subordinated classes will,
then, be 'disciplined' in practice. Their actual experience will reflect their
subordination, and it is the massive presence of these ideas as they are enscribed
within the social relations of everyday life, that gives common-sense its 'taken
for granted' nature.

The fact that common-sense is the product of historical struggles is, to a large extent, obscured by the pre-eminent position within it of an essentialist and static view of 'human nature'. The notion that human beings possess unchanging 'instincts' which profoundly shape human motivations and actions, works on our daily experience of life in such a way as to erase or gloss over the historical class and other struggles which have led to the present configuration of social forces. It also operated to 'effectively discount the possibility of change and to "naturalise" the social order'.[23] Through the mechanism of this 'naturalisation process' the social construction of, for example, gender roles is collapsed into the biological differences between the sexes. In common-sense thinking, historically and culturally specific images of femininity and masculinity are rendered as the 'natural' attributes of females and males.

Familial Common-sense

We will come later to the way in which this particular notion of human nature is mobilised as a sanction for racism but for the moment I intend to look at the common-sense image of the family, since it is seen as the crucial site for the reproduction of those correct social mores, attitudes and behaviours that are thought to be essential to maintaining a 'civilised' society. As such the 'family' is one of those images through which blacks are viewed and by which blacks are compared and contrasted with that society. It is in the domain of the family that children first learn 'right from wrong'; the basic do's and don'ts that will inform their future behaviour. It is here also where girls first learn the duties and functions associated with womanhood and motherhood and where boys learn the responsibilities and privileges accruing to the 'man of the house'. The family then is seen as the site in which self-discipline and self-control are learned and in which relations of authority and power are first internalised. It is important to recognize that the common-sense image of the kind of family which is to fulfill these tasks is that of the nuclear family, where Father 'works' while Mother attends to her household 'chores' and looks after the children. This view of the family's natural structure and role, has particular consequences for the assessment of the conduct of both individuals and groups of people. Where the 'normal' family will generate the correct 'moral social compulsions' and 'inner controls', immoral/sinful behaviour will be seen as the outcome of an abnormal family life or an inadequate upbringing. Criminality or permissiveness, for example, would be traceable in this scheme of things back to the family. Of course it is just this kind of common-sense thinking that informs the present government's suggestions of 'making punishment fit the parent'. The idea being that to make parents liable to pay any fines their children might incur will 'encourage them to exert their responsibility and to provide the guidance and care needed to help keep their children out of trouble.'[24]

Within this notion of the family we can detect the contradictory, inconsistent and ahistorical characteristics that we noted earlier to be the principle features of common-sense thinking. The family here is seen as the 'natural' outcome of the biological differences between the sexes, men and women were quite literally 'made for each other'. Monogamous marriage, as encapsulated in the favourite movie image of primeval man and his mate, is similarly seen as arising out of these natural differences as indeed are the familial roles of mothering and fathering. However, as Michelle Barrett has recently pointed out, this particular arrangement is the specific _historical_ achievement of the bourgeoisie. The fact that this view of family life is popularly accepted as the 'natural form of household organization', simply attests to the bourgeoisie's success of securing at an ideological level,

> ... a hegemonic definition of family life: as 'naturally' based on close kinship, as properly organized through a male breadwinner with financially dependent wife and children, and as a haven of privacy beyond the public realm of commerce and industry.[25]

While the sedimentation of this piece of ideology into common-sense has as Barrett argues had obvious benefits for capital through providing a "motivation for male wage labour and the male 'family wage' demand", it is also evident that few working class households are organized in this way.[26] As we have already argued though it makes sense within common-sense thinking for working class women to subscribe to this image of the family and yet still acknowledge that they also work outside of the home and that their 'family' extends outside of the nuclear family's orbit.

would be wrong to conclude that racism was, therefore, absent from English society before these imperial adventures. Winthrop D. Jordan in "White over Black", argues that the literary evidence from a period before any contact with Africa, shows a clearly delineated 'colour symbolism'.

> Black was an emotionally partisan color, the
> handmaid and symbol of baseness and evil, a
> sign of danger and repulsion.[28]

The opposition between Black (evil) and White (good) was not merely a poetic device but, suggests Jordan, was actually an integral part of their view of themselves, though it is not clear in his account how far this was a common theme outside of those involved in the production and reproduction of the literate culture.[29] Again from the journals that have been left by those literate people involved in the first excursions to the west coast of Africa, it was the fact of blackness that was the salient feature of Africans and even though further contact revealed differences in complexion between Africans, it was the idea of black Africa that filtered back to and became established in England. Jordan argues, though, that it was not simply that the white English had met their 'negation' in the black African that led to a particular racist conception of Africans. The linkages that were made between evil blackness, 'disobedience' (to god) as a reason for the 'curse' of blackness; and 'carnall copulation' as evidence of a fall from grace, represented a projection onto the African of their own anxieties about their role as entrepreneurs in the burgeoning capitalist developments that threatened to disrupt their social order.

> It was the case with English confrontation with Negroes
> then, that a society in...

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that the new bourgeoisies begin to gather. The importance of this for our
purposes is that the argument depends on a view of capitalism as not so much
breaking the fetters of feudalism, as being an extension of certain feudal social
relations; that is to say they are preserved and transformed under capitalism.[32]
Such an analysis may go some way towards explaining the persistence of patriarchy
under capitalism and also gives a clue about the reasons for the particularistic
and 'national' character of the sixteenth century bourgeoisies. The fact that the
various bourgeoisies were bounded by and worked within the political economies
of specific states, had a profound influence on the way in which they conceptualised
the world and their position in it. As Robinson argues, 'the bourgeoisie perceived
what later analysis argues in retrospect is the beginnings of a world system as
something quite different: an international system. The bourgeoisies of early modern
capitalism were attempting to destroy or dominate each other.'[33] (my emphasis).

It is important to realise here, that the political economies by which the bourgeoisies
were bounded, were not the economies of nations as such. The bourgeoisies were not
drawn from the same ethnic and cultural groups as the peasantry; the emerging prole-
tariat were drawn as much from other lands as from the rural parts of the particular
state; the standing armies (mercenaries) were also recruited from abroad or else
from 'backward areas'; while the slave labour force was brought from 'entirely
different worlds'.[34] Indeed, Robinson reminds us that

> In the Middle Ages and later the nobility, as a rule,
> considered themselves of better blood than the common
> people, whom they utterly desposed. The peasants were
> supposed to be descended from Ham, who, for lack of

cultures. Gathered around it are a cluster of other images and ideas, some held more strongly than others by different people at different times which, even though they are cross-cut by other ideas such as the essential equality of all people, nevertheless tend to pull public opinion about blacks towards racist interpretations and rationalisations of particular events and circumstances. One important image here, is the image of black cultures as essentially primitive when compared to the sophistication, complexity and civilised nature of England. This does not mean that the different cultures are viewed as being the same. Asian culture is at least permitted a degree of development and cohesiveness as opposed to Africans who are thought not really to have had a culture as such, that is until the English came along and 'civilised' them.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate the common-sense view is to say that within this body of knowledges, Africans were still in a state of 'childhood' while Asians might at best be credited with emerging into a state of 'adolescence'. This relative primitiveness of black cultures is not viewed as the outcome of a certain stage of development of the respective societies, a development which has been suspended and retarded by imperialism and colonialism, but rather is seen to be the natural expression of an inferior intellect. The naturalisation of the differences between these cultures and English culture helps to 'explain' why Asians adhere to 'backward' religions and 'barbaric' customs and the 'superstitious' and atavistic beliefs of Africans: in common-sense terms they are simply not capable of any thing else. These congenital disabilities, however, are also felt to be evident in the different characteristics of black peoples. While Asians may possess a certain native cunning, their basic deceitfuness and dishonesty makes them

of slave-trading and colonialism, though it remains as a popular image
up to the present day. Even the supposedly impartial cameras of the
B.B.C. unerringly find their way to the quaint and exotic ceremonials
where they can get their close-up of the naked bosoms of African women.
Of course this view of Africans has reached its fullest and most vicious
expression in the U.S.A., where the sexual potency of African males - potent
because bestial - coupled with their supposed prediliction for the most brutal
forms of repression. At the same time the rape by slave-owners of their
female slaves has prompted the elaboration of the myth of the African woman
as always ready and willing to satisfy the carnal longings of men, especially
if they're white men. This view has not necessarily reached the same heights
of elaboration in England, though the idea of the wanton West-Indian woman and
the promiscuous West-Indian male is nevertheless a common one; serving not
only to fuel a preoccupation with the size of the male's penis and the rythmical
quality of the woman's love-making, but also acting as a means of 'explaining'
the incidence of single mothers amongst the West-Indian population. Alternative
explanations such as the high level of unemployment and the difficulty of finding
suitable accomodation are in this scheme of things almost automatically ruled
out of court.

The common-sense view of Asian sexuality does not question their humanity as it
does with Africans and would appear at first sight to contain more obvious
contradictions. The association that is made, for example, with the 'exotic'
sexual practices contained in such works as the "Kama Sutra" would seem to
cut across the deeply held view of the passive Asian woman walking three

As we have said Asian humanity is not questioned in the same way as is the humanity of Africans and by association West Indians. Yet of the black communities settled in England it is Asians who are seen as the most alien. Of course there is a sense in which West Indians are viewed as having been 'given' the culture of the English even though their congenital deficiencies are thought to have undermined and debased that culture. Indeed it is perhaps this partial and hazy memory of British Imperialism that allows common-sense thinking to recognize certain similarities. (It is well known, for example, that even the well-educated sociologists, politicians etc. of an earlier period entertained the idea that West Indians were 'essentially' British). This together with the image of West Indians as "happy-go-lucky" has promoted the idea of West Indians as "willing to mix" as opposed to Asians who are seen as being hidden behind cultural barriers. The full weight of Asian alien-ness comes out in ideas about food, not just the way in which food is prepared and cooked but also what is (thought to be) eaten. The stories from white neighbours about the 'constant smell of curry' emanating from next door are well known, as is the peculiarly British distaste for the smell of garlic. But it is the association in the popular mind between the Indian(and Chinese) restaurant and the disappearance of the neighbourhood cats that prompts particular feelings of horror.

Language, however, is the key element in lending coherence to the various other images. While it has taken the English a long time to recognize that West Indians do speak a language of their own and not merely a form of 'Bad English', no such tardiness was possible with regard to the Asian communities. The important point here though, is not that Asians speak languages that are dissimilar and were

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of British Imperialism and colonial domination; their knowledge of this aspect
of their history has been distorted where it has not been erased.[37] The notion
of the 'white man's burden' effectively dilutes Britain's imperial past and allows
resistance to be portrayed as 'terrorism' and black people generally as being
ungrateful for the good services of the British in bringing them out of darkness
and into the white light of civilisation. There is, further, no knowledge of
Britain's continuing economic domination of the former colonies, which lends
credibility to the myth that blacks chose to come here. Listen to the Sun:

> Many of the black people who have <u>chosen</u> to build their
> future in Britain <u>accept</u> bad housing, poor education,
> unemployment and insults. They regard it as the price they pay
> for coming here. Some of them are even grateful. But young
> blacks are not. They did not choose to be born in Britain.[38]

Once here however, the black family is measured against the white family and found
wanting. To begin with there is the fact that black families tend to be larger
than the <u>average</u> white family. This of course is only natural given the Afro-
Caribbean's bestial and spontaneous sexuality and the power that Asian men wield
over Asian women. Further neither group bothers to use contraception, either
because they don't understand or because religious strictures and taboos forbid
such practices. The fact that Asian women have been making their own contraceptives
for centuries is conveniently ignored here. Thus the real problem of poor and
inadequate housing - a product of racist practices - is seen as self-induced and
is summed up in that popular slogan 'they breed like rabbits'. For the Asian
community, this is thought to be further compounded by their extended family/
kinship system. Here overcrowding is seen as a direct product of their prediliction

permissive regime of British schools, they 'run wild'. Their rebellion against
the racist practices and pedagogy of their educators is portrayed as the result
of something else. However, the fact of a small percentage of unmarried mothers
in the West Indian community which might be thought to contradict the image of
traditionally strict parents is dealt with by reference to the West Indian woman's
sexuality. Their parents are not worried because

> .... traditionally a West Indian girl proved her womanhood
> in this way.[41]

The common-sense image of the Asian mother views her as having and posing particular
problems. She is portrayed as isolated from the beneficial effects of English
culture, because her movements are circumscribed by custom and she therefore
invariably fails to learn English. She is viewed as particularly prone to super-
stitious beliefs and, being more traditional than the other members of her family,
is also more 'neurotic' in her new urban seeting. This is shown clearly in a
description of 'an imaginary family of Bradford Pakistanis' carried a few years
ago by Bradford's 'Telegraph and Argus'. The author characterises her as

> ... never (having) walked more than 20 yeard in Bradford
> after dark... and fears that all sorts of terrible things c
> happen at night.[42]

As was pointed out by Pratibha Parmar at the time she was of course 'quite
right not to walk alone after dark because 'terrible things' do happen at night';[43]
the spate of beatings up and murders perpetrated by racist thugs on the black
community are brutal testimony to that. The journalist responsible for this series
a certain John Salmon, can only see the fascist organisations as the lunatic
fringe of British politics. In this he is locatable firmly within common-sense

Indian community in the public mind.[45] Asian crime is seen as being much more internal to the community, either in the form of violence in the family - a product of the male's tyrannical power - or else in the harbouring of 'illegal immigrants' within the extended family/kinship network. All Asians are therefore 'suspect', a view which sanctions 'fishing raids' into their communities and places of work.

Common-sense racism then, articulated through the ventriloquism of the popular media, provides fertile ground both for the legitimation of repressive measures directed toward the black communities and for the growth of racist ideologies. It is to the connections between the latter and common-sense racism that we now turn.

Part 2   The New Racism

> They (the wets) don't seem to realise that
> the barbarians are at the gates...and that
> if the Tory Party don't do the job and legiti-
> mise the instincts of the people, within ten
> years it'll be a choice between the National
> Front and the extreme Left.[46] (my emphasis)

This section will not deal with the racist ideologies of the organised Fascist movements. This is not because I regard them as a 'lunatic fringe' with little support in the country and no connections with the 'powerful'. On the contrary, their ideas on 'race' do have popular appeal and their connections with sections of the command structure of the armed forces and with the Tory Party, for example

> ....the labouring classes of the sattelites and
> the labouring classes of the metropolis
> ... have long been indelibly intertwined. The
> very definition of 'what it is to be British'-
> the centrepiece of that culture now to be preserved
> from racial dilution - has been articulated around
> this absent/present centre, if their blood has not
> mingled extensively with yours, their labour-power
> has long since entered your economic blood stream.
> It is in the sugar you stir : it is in the sinews of the
> infamous British 'sweet tooth': it is the tea-leaves at
> the bottom of the 'British cuppa'.[49]

At another level the impetus for the elaboration of a new racism can be found
at the point where the Butler/Gaitskell consensus cracks to reveal not 'One
Nation' working together so as to expand the 'economic resource-pie', with
everyone getting a larger share; but an increasing chasm between rich and poor.[50]
Martin Barker explains:

> The Tory Party has had to sell its ideology of
> limitless human wants and the need for economic
> growth. But when the crucial prop of that one
> Nation stance was kicked away by recession, the
> liberal Tory ideology went into crisis.[51]

The form of Conservatism that emerged out of this crisis contains a particular
view of 'race' as one leading component. Why 'race' should occupy such a leading
role, apart from its obvious ability to mobilise the 'people' involves a long
and complex argument which I cannot go into here.[52]. Instead, I will content
myself with a look at the content of the new racism; since even though this will
not explain why 'race' becomes important in the 70's, it may go some way towards
explaining why this racist ideology is popular.

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A little later he tells us that 'immigration was bound to <u>import</u> problems'[54]
(my emphasis). Sherman is one of the more hard-nosed of the ideologues and
his evident disdain for black people is likely to show through from time
to time, but the important point here is the suggestion that the blacks
brought the 'problems' with them. His argument is not that they came into the most
run-down areas and worst paid jobs, but that because of their cultures they are
not able to surmount these initial 'difficulties'. Indeed their cultural
practices actually generate more problems.

We can understand this shift in emphasis better if we go back to one of Powell's
early speeches. As far as he was concerned, the problem was not the alleged
'harassment' of whites by their black neighbours - of which he gave vivid examples;
neither was it their high birth-rate. These things were merely symptomatic. The
real problem was the growth within English society of <u>alien</u> communities with
<u>alien cultures</u>.

> ...to suppose that the habits of the mass
> of immigrants, living in their own communities,
> speaking their own languages and maintaining
> their native customs, will change appreciably
> in the next two or three decades is a supposition
> so grotesque that only those could make it who are
> determined not to admit what they know to be or not
> to see what they fear.[55]

According to Powell, the 'rivers of blood' will flow not because the immigrants
are black; not because British society is racist; but because however 'tolerant'
the British might be, they can only 'digest' so much alienness. This rather

13.

common-sense racism can be relied upon to provided the missing inflexions.
At the more 'abstract'level, however, the ideology is not at all secure at this
point. It needs other ingredients. Ivor Stanbrook M.P. gives us a clue:

> Let there be no beating about the bush.
> The average coloured immigrant has a
> different culture, a different religion and
> a different language. This is what creates
> the problem. It is not just because of race. 57
>
> (my emphasis)

Most of this is familiar by now, but while it may not be 'just because of race'
it seems clear that 'race' does have something to do with it. A little later
Stanbrook lets the cat out of the bag.

> I believe that a preference for one's own
> race is as natural as a preference for one's
> own family. 58 (my emphasis)

'It's only natural'

In the section on 'common-sense' I argued that the idea of 'human nature' held
an important place in common-sense thinking generally and, in particular,
I pointed to the bourgeoisie's success in securing, ideologically, the notion of
the nuclear family as the only 'natural' unit of household organisation. I also
suggested that these ideas and ideas about 'race' were linked only tendentially
within common-sense, since this mode of thinking is inherently eclectic, unsystematic
and contradictory. (One can see for example, in the aphorism that 'variety is
the spice of life'; a point at which the idea that different household organisations
are 'natural', could begin to be elaborated.

19.

He goes on to point out how these ideas have been harnessed to underpin the
present governments monetarist solutions.

> Thatcher herself blamed the decline in just
> about all standards one could name on ~~our~~
> having stripped the family, the <u>fundamental
> unit of society</u>, of so many of its rights and duties."[61]

It is possible here to see connections between this view and the current
redefinitions of sexuality in particular (e.g. in the anti-abortion movement[62])
and morality in general (e.g. Mary Whitehouse's 'moral crusade'). It is also
possible, needless to say, to see the connections between these developments
and the elaboration of the new racism.

The family is seen to transmit traditions and generate loyalties (amongst other
things) at least within the immediate family and it is the family's role in
reproducing a certain sort of culture, a certain 'way of life' that makes it 'the
fundamental unit of society'. Not only is the 'family' structure of the black
communities seen to be different; it also, as Powell and others tell us, reproduces
different cultures. Blacks are different and recognised as such not just (or
even) because they have different features and/or complexions, but primarily
because they have different cultures; different 'ways of life'. R. Page tells
us what this means:

> It is from a recognition of racial differences
> that a desire develops in most groups to be
> among their own kind; and this leads to distrust
> and hostility when newcomers come in.[63]

Groups then, develop a racial consciousness based upon their racial similarity
(defined as shared 'way of life' which is akin to a 'herd instinct'. What is
more, like the family or rather through the family, this racial consciousness
generates loyalty to the herd and distrust of and hostility towards other 'herds'.
The important point to note here is that this 'herd instinct' is presented, as
we saw in Ivor Stanbrook's speech earlier, as a 'natural' evolutionary development.
Thus far we have been furnished with reasons for initial antagonisms between
groups, but we may even at this late stage want to argue that surely its only a
matter of time before familiarity leads to 'understanding' of each others cultures
and the peaceful-co-existence of the different cultures in a 'multi-cultural'
society. Looking through the various writings and speeches of the ideologues,
though, it does seem that they have seen this argument coming. What gives this
ideology its particularly nasty twist is the yoking of the cart of biological
culturalism to the rogue horse of the 'nation' and 'Nationhood'.

The 'Alien Wedge'

The links that have been made between 'human nature'; The family; Culture and the
Nation have not been forged without much 'ideological work'. As Barker puts it

'that requires some re-writing of history', it also requires that class and gender division are obscured. Thus Norman St. John-Stevas argues for a thousand year continuous and uninterrupted development of the 'dominant culture'; [64] a notion which erases the history of myriad peoples who have invaded or migrated to Britain at the same time as it ignores class exploitation and the subordination of women. Powell appears to be equally ignorant.

> The Commonwealth immigrant (he argues)
> came to Britain as a full citizen, to a
> country which knew no discrimination between
> one citizen and another' [65] (my emphasis)

The importance of the ideological construction of an 'homogenous' nation and national culture, is made clear by Sherman who, given current events, not even Powell can match for sheer audacity.

> The United Kingdom is the national home of
> the English, Scots, Welsh, Ulstermen (and those
> of the Southern Irish who retained British Identity
> after their fellow-Irish eventually rejected it). [66]

Here, England's domination and suppression of neighbouring peoples is transformed into something that approximates to a family quarrel. Whatever one may think of the methods of struggle adopted variously by the Scottish Nationalist, Plaid Cymru the IRA (or earlier, the 'Southern Irish') it does not appear convincing to describe these struggles for a measure of independence as excercises in retaining or rejecting 'British identity'. Nevertheless it does give us a clue to the particular form of Nationalism being propounded by these ideologues. Sherman says it best. He argues that 'nationhood ...remains together with family and religion man's main focus of identity, his roots.' At this point the 'herd instinct' of the

and it is this umbilical cord that makes Britain not just a 'geographical expression' that can be wished away, but 'the national home and birthright of its indigenous peoples'.[70] The territory of Britain is as much a part of the British as their culture; indeed their culture appears as a kind of dialectical relationship between the 'herd' and its territory; their defence of this space is in this scheme of things only 'natural'. It is in this context that we can begin to understand the metaphors of warfare that riddle much of the writings of the ideologues. Powell for example; argues that the black communities are not merely 'numbers' of people but,

> detachments of communities in the west
> Indies, or India and Pakistan encamped in
> certain areas of England.[71]

These military metaphors, as with the metaphors of consumption we looked at earlier, suggest their own solution - repatriation; but the ideologues do not stop here. They go on to give reasons as to why this is the only tenable solution. On the one hand, if the British have this peculiar relationship to their territory then it follows that the blacks must have a similar relationship with their 'natural environment'.[72] It would then be in their interests to send them back. On the other hand their presence is experienced as an attack upon the very person of the British, an attack upon their 'national identity'. That is why they have 'genuine fears'[73] about their culture; their 'British character (which) has done so much for democracy, for law, and done so much throughout the world;'[74] being 'swamped' by people with alien cultures. Should these 'genuine fears' not be assuaged, then the 'Dunkirk spirit' of the 'herd' will reassert itself with disastrous consequences.

> National consciousness like any other major
> human drive - all of which are bound up with
> the instinct for self-perpetuation - is a major
> constructive force provided legitimate channels;
> thwarted and frustrated, it becomes explosive.[75]

This gives the 'peculiarities of the English' a distinctly new and gruesome twist. More to the point repatriation is the 'natural' solution to a 'natural' problem.

The 'self-destructive urge'

I have tried throughout this section to indicate specific points at which the new racism intersects with common-sense. I have also stressed its connections with other aspects of a new conservative philosophy. I would like to conclude this section by pointing to one final 'site' where the new racism intersects with common-sense and where its implications are broader than its immediate threat to the black communities.

The specific 'site' I am referring to here is the relationship of dominance and subordination mentioned earlier. The 'anti-intellectualism' within working class common-sense which, Hall et al argue, is a recognition of that relationship, is

represented in the new racism as

> ... the conflict between the instincts of the
> people and the intellectual fashions of the
> establishment where British Nationhood is
> concerned.[76]

The ideologues do not seek to shatter the relationship of dominance and sub-
ordination for all their appeal to the 'people' and their common-sense. Rather
they aim to harness that common-sense and win popular support for their particular
political project. Sherman, for example, wants to single out those intellectuals
who have 'studied the pseudosciences of sociology and economics, mainly stemming
from America' rather than 'classical and European history and languages'.[77] This
needs to be set next to Powell's earlier prognostications. He was concerned
more with the location of the 'problem' intellectuals, than with their intellectual
origins. They were he said:

> ... a tiny minority, with almost a monopoly hold
> upon the channels of communication, who seem determined
> not to know the facts and not to face the realities
> and who will resort to any device or extremity to blind
> both themselves and others.[78]

The ground has shifted considerably since Powell's remarks. It is now necessary
to be a litte less woolly about who this tiny minority are and why they appear
to be so 'wilfully blind'. Again it is Sherman who provides the crucial motivation
behind the actions of the 'immigrationists' as he calls them.

> I can see no other answer than the self-destructive urge
> identified so scathingly by Orwell, three decades back,
> when he lumped together Russophilia, "transposed colour
> feeling" inverted snobbery, a craving for the primitive,
> and anti-patriotism on the part of the intell...

'alien element' to be introduced into Britain. By 1976, Sherman is talking
of 'Britain's urge to self-destruction',[81] the implications of which are far more
sinister.

> The imposition of mass immigration from backward
> alien cultures is just one symptom of this self-
> destructive urge reflected in the assault on patri-
> otism, the family - both as conjugal and economic unit -
> the Christian religion in public life and schools,
> traditional morality, in matters of sex, honesty,
> public thrift, hard work and other values denigrated as
> "middle class", in short, all that is English and
> wholesome.[32]

By 1979 he is talking of 'jet-age migrants' for whom Britain is 'simply a haven
of convenience where they acquire rights without national obligations', and where
they are 'encouraged to see immigration restrictions as something to be circumvented.'[83]
In Sherman's hands immigration becomes a deliberate invasion. The 'barbarians'
are no longer 'at the gates', they are within the city itself! The 'tiny
minority' of pseudoscientists are to blame for this. It is no longer enough to
blame a few 'blind' politicians. The 'genuine fears' of the people have been
raised but the 'tiny minority' refuses to listen. Indeed they will not listen
because they have an 'evil intent'; they are subversive. Barker indicates the
consequences of this line of argument.

> ....the logical outcome of this failure of the
> nation to protect itself is that the minority
> who press for these self-destructive actions must
> be purged. If they do not see the error of their
> ways, they put the pack at risk. How exactly they

Part 3 'Race-Relations Sociology

One aspect of the earlier discussion was the way in which the question of black cultures was dealt with in common-sense thinking and how this shaped a certain view of black people. An attempt was also made to demonstrate how these notions have been taken up and given more systematic treatment within the new racism. In the light of what has been said already and bearing in mind the policy orientation of much 'race-relations' research, it will be instructive to see how far the sociologists have been able to get behind common-sense racism.

The sociologists I concern myself with here have all made recent contributions to the field of 'race-relations' and can roughly speaking be divided into three categories. Firstly, there is the 'Ethnicity Studies' school, who adopt a 'cultural pluralist' framework for their researches. The people whose work I look at closely are Verity Khan, Catherine Ballard and Peter Weinreich, all contributors to the volume Minority Families in Britain: Support and Stress, although I also cite the work of others within this school of thought. Secondly there is the work of John Rex and Sally Tomlinson which approaches 'race-relations' from a 'left-weberean' perspective.[86] Lastly there are the more eclectic and idiosyncratic works of Ken Pryce (a strictly 'sociological' ethnography); Ernest Cashmore (a phenomenological approach) and Len Garrison, whose theoretical framework it is difficult to pin down.

Black Cultures

A useful place to begin this discussion is with a look at how black 'culture' is viewed, if for no other reason than because there is such an extraordinary degree of consensus amongst the authors on this point; despite the fact that they are working within different problematics. The starting point for them, the place where they would all agree, can be encapsulated in the twin concepts of a 'strong' Asian culture and a 'weak' West Indian culture and in this they do not differ from the common-sense images we have been discussing. They are, as we would expect, more sophisticated and advance a theoretical justification for this view, which pivots around a certain, truncated historical knowledge of the two peoples. The key term here is 'acculturation' which refers to the 'culture stripping' or 'cultural castration' of Africans during slavery and the fact that they were subsequently forced into accepting British Culture along with their servitude'.[87] (Rex, Pryce). Asians, however, did not undergo this traumatic process of acculturation, at least not to any significant degree. Their languages, religious institutions and family-kinship systems remained intact. Indeed there is a sense in which their cultures and traditions, steeped as they are in the history of the Asian sub-continent, are thought actually to have ameliorated the worst effects of colonial subordination and neo-colonial dependence; though this has

to be inferred from the work of the ethnicity studies school since they make only fleeting reference to Britain's imperial past.

> Village life in the Indian sub-continent is neither
> isolated nor static. The gradual adaptation in past
> decades indicates the strength of traditional
> institutions rather than the absence of outside
> influence.[88]

These twin conceptualisations have important consequences for their view of the organisation of black households, particularly with respect to the role they see the family-kinship system playing in the socialisation of children. The traditional Asian household, circumscribed by religion and custom provides the structured and cohesive atmosphere wherein all members of the household are made aware of their roles, rights and obligations not only to other members of the household but also towards members of the wider kinship group. This arrangement promotes a 'certain stability and psychological health' in all individuals.[89] The view of the Afro-Caribbean household presents a stark contrast to that of the Asian family/kinship system. Pryce argues that the family in Jamaica with its' proliferation of common-law unions and high rates of illegitimacy among the 'lower class folk', is an inherently unstable institution; and locates the 'peculiarities of family life in the West Indies' as stemming 'directly from the institution of slavery, which was responsible for the total destruction of <u>conventional</u> family life among slaves.'[90] We will come back to what he means by conventional in a moment but for the time being it is worth noting that according to Pryce, these 'peculiarities' are only part of a 'complex of causes responsible for his (sic) inability to establish a firm, rooted sense of identity'. These 'other causes' include an 'excessive individualism' which though a part of the Afro-Caribbean's European heritage, is exacerbated by their economic position. Thus the kinship system has to remain fluid in order to 'permit individuals to <u>abandon</u> family obligations and migrate at short notice to take advantage of economic opportunities overseas.'[91] If this were not enough, the Afro-Caribbean is also seen as being dogged by a 'negative self-image' which is induced by them having internalised a European culture which is fundamentally at odds with their blackness, which downgrades black people. The weakness of the family and culture generally, can do nothing to overcome this 'self-doubt', but more particularly the family fails to instil a sense of fatherly responsibility in the Afro-Caribbean male and fails also to control its members. It is from this perspective that Ernest Cashmore is able to argue that the involvement of Afro-Caribbean youth with the British police and the 'emergence (among them) of subterranean values as dominant motivating vectors of social action', has to do with 'the lack of social control exerted by the West Indian family, due historically to the fragmentation of family structure in slavery'.[92]

Thus far the Asian household appears to have fared quite well in comparison to that of the Afro-caribbean community, but this is not actually the case. The very strength of Asian culture is seen to be a source of both actual and potential weaknesses. It is not clear how much this has to do with the failure of students of ethnicity to erase their own ethnocentrism and how much it has to do with their pluralist perspective which tends to obscure relationships of power and to treat the topic as a question of a meeting of cultures an equal terms. In any case Khan argues that the hierarchical structure of Asian households promotes 'stress-ridden relationships' particularly between sisters-in-law. Furthermore, while the family/kinship system promotes a healthy psyche, it does not 'prepare the members for change beyond that of the natural development cycle of the family'. The strength of 'traditional relationships' is thought to determine 'the skills and handicaps the migrant brings to his (sic) new situation in Britain', one of these no doubt being the way in which the 'severe reprimand or control' of deviant members of the community is exercised in the maintenance of group izzat.[93]

Given our scholars' propensity to discover and tackle any 'problem' it would seem, except the burning problem of racism, it should not come as any surprise to find that the 'migration process is a major source of stress in itself',[94] though what the stress is and who suffers it is subject to a degree of variation. For Pryce, who is seeking to establish a basis for the 'teenybopper' problem which he wants to deal with later, it is the children left behind in the Caribbean who experience the 'stress'. Since family obligations are 'devoid of any formal or binding significance', the child is open to neglect or else finds it 'easy to evade the discipline of guardians'. Furthermore,

> The absence of a viable supportive culture that is
> independent and capable of tightening family relations
> to help the West Indian poor carry the burden of their
> deprivation and impoverishment...[95]

is a cause of the psychic and cultural confusion that the youngsters experience once united with their parents. At the same time, the 'mutilating colonial heritage' and 'inferior educational upbringing and colonial origin' mean that the Afro-Caribbean child is unable to cope with the 'demands made on him (sic) by the British school system'.[96] Khan on the other hand sees the greatest source of 'stress' as being on the male Mirpuri 'migrant'. Here the familiar notion that Afro-Caribbeans came to England because England was the 'Mother country' is transformed into the Mirpuri Villager's supposed perception of England as 'a land of promise and a way to solve all one's problems.' The stresses here turn on the movement from a 'backward' rural to an advanced industrial urban setting and his separation from and obligation to his family back in the village.[97]

Of these two accounts, it is difficult to assess which is the most damaging.
Pryce absolves the racist structures of the English education system by defining
the Afro-Caribbean child's struggle against it as 'maladjusted behaviour'. He
then locates this maladjustment in the Caribbean family structure which he sees
as pathologically reproducing 'failure'. Khan on the other hand, and after
the sociological preliminaries, highlights the 'many migrants' who 'obtain false
documentation'; characterises Asian women as wives who, circumscribed by
traditional customs, remain tied to the house unable to make 'contact' with her
white neighbours because she doesn't speak English. Then she argues that the
arranged marriage causes greater stress where it is the 'newly married men
joining their wives'; since the wives' greater familiarity with England will
conflict 'with the established pattern of public male authority and knowledge of
the outside world...'[98]

These comments would appear to concede ground to the new racism, but they are
not the only hostages Khan gives to fortune. In her committment to 'alternative
perspectives' on stress, she suggests that any 'problems' Mirpuris might experience
in Britain miraculously disappear once they visit urban Pakistan on one of their
(frequent she would have us believe) return trips home. Here they will realise
that the urban middle class in Pakistan are facing many of the same stresses.
Whereas

> In Britain they tend to interpret the problems and
> stresses experienced as a direct result of life in
> Britain, and not as an inevitable feature of an
> urban society under rapid social change.[99]

Once again her failure to recognize the systematic workings of racism and the
way in which it locates black people in a subordinate position at all levels
of the social formation, has led her up a cultural cul-de-sac.

Where Khan has led, others have not been slow to follow. As Jenny Bourne has
noted, Khan's propensity to treat relationships of power as 'cultural relations'
enables her to suggest that the 'cultural preferences and patterns of behaviour'
of the various ethnic minorities, may actually interact with 'external determinants'[100].
Brooks and Singh use this idea to argue that while racism placed blacks in
specific occupations to begin with, 'their own distinctive traditions and their
ethnic identities....in turn influenced their occupational and industrial
distribution'. Wallman goes one step further...

> The effects of their ethnicity is...dependent upon the
> state of the economic system and on their bargaining
> strength within it. Conversely they will not see, will
> not accept, will not succeed in the opportunity offered
> if it is not appropriate to their choice of work and
> their cultural experience.[101]

to which Bourne adds wryly, 'now we know why black teachers became bus drivers and skilled black workers prefer to do unskilled jobs'.[102] What are we to make though of John Rex's contribution to this area? Although he would claim to be antipathetical to an approach which seeks to understand the position of black people in Britain through their ethnicity, he nevertheless seeks to relate the kinds of work they do here with their previous experience of work in their countries of origin.

> For many immigrants, manufacturing employment is a new experience and they have, on the whole, gone into jobs requiring the lower grades of skill.[103]

He follows this up with the argument that whites hold a higher class position because '44% (of his sample) had <u>fathers</u> who had been in manufacturing employment' and that this entailed a 'larger family experience' of this type of work.[104] Now while there is evidence to suggest that fathers are often able to recruit their sons into the same line of work and that such practices can serve to keep blacks out, unless he is arguing that the ability to do such work is hereditary, there is no reason to suppose that the fact that one's father did a particular job, gives the son any innate capacity to pursue that line of work. Further, given the extent of massification and de-skilling that has taken place in manufacturing industries, it is not clear that the level of skill required is that great.[105] This and his other notion that Asians are 'committed permanently to being a migrant', while nearly all West Indians want to return to the Caribbean; suggest that Rex is closer to the cultural pluralism of the ethnicity school than he would care to admit.

Alternative perspectives: Afro-Caribbean Culture

I would agree with the general proposition that the experiences of Asians and Afro-Caribbeans under colonialism were not the same, and that slavery in particular did operate so as to 'rupture and transform' the cultural practices of Africans in the diaspora. Nevertheless, some points need to be made about the way in which their histories and struggles have been appropriated by the researchers in question. Obviously slavery was a brutal and brutalising experience, but we need not accept that a recognition of this requires the construction of a theory that discovers the traumatic effects of this still existent today. Further, there is a growing body of evidence to suggest that the attempt to eradicate the African slaves' cultural heritage was not entirely successful. If we still find echoes of Africa in their religious institutions and modes of worship, in their language but above all in their music. What marks out the blues, ragtime, jazz, be-bop, soul, funk and gospel music as distinctive is precisely the fact that the theme of Africa is constantly played out within it. This is an important point, for where most commentators would agree that this music is an expression of the Afro-American's experience of and opposition to marginalisation and racism

the fact that the music is based in African themes and rythms, remembered, is all too often forgotten. Needless to say, the inspiration provided by current African and Asian music is rarely even acknowledged.[106]

• It is important to remember then that what we are talking about is <u>degrees</u> of acculturation not a total acculturation. Certainly it would be difficult to maintain that the 'Afro-Brazilians' have lost their culture, given the high degree to which they have not only preserved many of their cultural forms, but in religion, music and dance have also established a cultural supremacy.[107] As far as the Caribbean is concerned, Stuart Hall has already argued the case

> ...the culture and institutions of the slave
> population are rigidly differentiated from that of
> the 'master' class; and African 'traces' enter into
> the structure of these institutions.

The preservation of 'Africanisms' and the development of Afro-Caribbean cultural forms took place, it is true, within the context of slave society and was locked into a subordinate position vis-a-vis the European culture of the dominant 'master' class; both forming 'differentiated parts of a single socio-economic system'.[108] Having said this however, it is crucial that we realise that the African slaves and their Afro-Caribbean descendants were by no means the inactive victims of slavery and passive recipients of European culture, that is often the implicit assumption of the way in which the notion of acculturation is used. Caribbean peoples have a long and distinguished history of struggle and rebellion against European domination, both in colonial and neo-colonial times and it is evident that the successful revolutions in Haiti, Cuba and recently in Grenada will not easily be forgotten. Of interest here is the role of the peoples' cultures as the repository of an alternative and oppositional ideology.

A claim that is often made to support the argument that Afro-Caribbeans have a form of European culture is that the slaves from similar 'ethnic groups' were deliberately separated from each other. This is thought to have facilitated the acculturation process, though it is by no means clear that the different 'cultures' were so radically dissimilar. Indeed as C.L.R. James pointed out many years ago it was Voodoo - not a 'pure' African religion to be sure but a coming together of different African elements nonetheless - which served as the ideology of the Haitian revolution.[110] Moreover, Deren argues that not only can the various Voodoo Gods be traced back to still existing religions in Africa, but that the religious ideas of the remaining Caribbean 'Indians' was also incorporated under the hegemony of the African forms. Obviously then in the struggle against oppression cultural difference is not necessarily a barrier.[111] Lastly it is worth pointing out as Sivanandan has already done that Afro-Caribbeans did not simply copy their language from their European masters. Theirs was an active appropriation and

subversion of that language. They literally 'blackened' it.[112] That this is so needs no real demonstration, we merely need to remember those white teachers who found it impossible to understand the 'patois' of their 'British born' black pupils! We may want to argue about degrees of acculturation and about just how 'African' Afro-Caribbean culture is, but one thing is clear and that is that it is not a European culture.

The Afro-Caribbean Household

I have argued that Afro-Caribbean cultures cannot be described simply as derivatives of European cultures but on the contrary have been actively constructed by Caribbean peoples. Using memories, knowledge and the 'symbol' of Africa together with their historical experiences, they have managed to subvert and in a sense overthrow European cultural dominance. (As Robinson puts it 'the first attack is an attack on culture'). At this point it is possible to turn to the view of the family/ kinship system as so weak that it reproduces pathological personalities. I noted earlier that Pryce measured the Afro-Caribbean family as it is now, against 'conventional family life' and saw it as having certain 'peculiarities' which blocked its proper functioning. What he means by conventional here, is obviously the common-sense image of the English family with father, mother and 2.2. children, where father is the breadwinner and mother nurtures the children. As we have already seen, this is not the 'natural' form of household organisation but rather the specific achievement of the European bourgeoisies. Further, its universal applicability is more a 'fact' of a certain 'familial ideology' than a fact of life.

Gayle Rubin in her illuminating discussion about sex/gender systems and their corresponding empirically observable manifestations in differing kinship systems provides useful guidance here. She defines a sex/gender system as

> ... a set of arrangements by which the biological raw material of human sex and procreation is shaped by human, social intervention and satisfied in a conventional manner, no matter how bizarre some of the conventions may be.[114]

and argues that the social construction of sexuality and gender informs both the type of kinship system and the position of women, often though not necessarily, subordinate, within that system. Important here, also, is her awareness that sex/gender systems are culturally and historically specific. To use a model drawn from one sex/gender system to talk about or measure another, will produce an ideologically distorted picture but hardly aids understanding.

A second point I would make here derives in part from my first. I agree with the race-relations sociologists that Afro-Caribbean societies' sex/gender systems are different but I cannot agree that this difference is pathological. We need to remember here that their view of the family is not simply the idelogical view of the white bourgeoisie, it is also a view forged historically within a white patriarchal society. It is only from this position that race-relations sociologists have been able to launch their attacks upon what they see as either a 'black matriarchy' or the black 'matrifocal' family.[115]

Asian Cultures

If we turn now to a consideration of what Khan and others have had to say about the cultures of the Asian sub-continent, the most striking feature is their failure to comment upon the impact of European Colonialism in that part of the world. What is implied though if this is not taken into account is that, culturally at least, the Asian sub-continent enjoyed uninterrupted development. Such an ommission is to say the least misleading and can only serve to fuel the commonly held belief that the poverty, and hardships of these 'underdeveloped' nations, is the result of their 'backward' and 'rigid' cultural forms and institutions. The truth is, however, that colonialism has had as profound an effect - economically, socially, politically - on this part of the world as it has had elsewhere. Although the difference in technological development between Asia, Africa and Europe was not originally as great as is often assumed, Europe did enjoy a superiority in some spheres (particularly shipping). Indian cloth, for example, was much preferred to the English variety such that 'in the early centuries of trade, Europeans relied heavily on Indian cloth for resale in Africa, and they also purchased cloth on several parts of the West African coast for sale elsewhere.'[116] However, Europe's control of the sea trade routes together with the capacity of their cloth industry to 'copy fashionable Indian and African patterns' in large numbers, enabled them to swamp these countries with their own (European) cloth and therefore to retard

and eventually destroy the emerging Asian and African cloth industries.
As Walter Rodney acerbically puts it:

> India is the classic example where the British used every
> means at their disposal to kill the cloth industry, so that
> British cloth could be marketed everywhere, including inside
> India itself.[117]

The full impact of British colonialism was more far-reaching than this. The
'legal and institutional changes in land and revenue systems' that were introduced
by the British had the effect of transferring land from the 'rural magnates
(tuluqdars) and small landholders to urban trading and money-lending castes' thus
dispossessing the peasantry in much the same way as they had already 'displaced'
the weaver. Indeed this was the root cause of the 1857 rebellion which seriously
threatened 'the continuation of British rule in India'. Iftikhar Ahmed notes
that this rebellion evoked a change in British policies towards India ....

> "The intensive penetration of traditional society was
> replaced by cautious preservation of the pre-existing
> social order. It seemed more sensible to take Indian
> society as it was, to concentrate on administration
> and control, and to shore up the landed aristocrats,
> who came to be viewed as the 'natural leaders' best
> suited to the 'oriental mind'." [118]

Verity Khan notes that "the political instability of Azad Kashmir has
also affected its economic development and future prospects", [119] but says nothing
about the causes of that political instability. Since the development of the
Asian sub-continent's political institutions was determined by the interests of
British capital, it seems likely that this instability is another feature of
Britain's 'under-development' of Indian, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Further we
should not forget in this connection that these states are still locked into a
world economic system in a position of dependence.[120] To the extent then that
cultures develop together with the mode of production, we should expect these
Asian cultures to have been affected in some way, though the changes that have
taken place remain to be specified and linked to other changes.

We do know that in the pre-colonial mode of production weaving was largely the
preserve of women. There is also evidence to suggest that women held land in
their own right, which would of course have given them a certain degree of power
and autonomy from men. The changes noted earlier however,- the destruction of
India's cloth industry and the changes in land and revenue systems - hit women
particularly hard, displacing them as weavers and weakening generally their
bargaining position. Further, this and the introduction of work (designated as
men's work) in the urban centres, served to strengthen the position of men and
certain aspects of the traditional patriarchal structures of the Indian social
formation. Gail Omvedt notes that where in 1901 '30% of all workers were women,
... only 20% are women today'.[121]

While the very fact that women in India do go out of the home to work serves to
undermine the image of the 'passive Asian woman', the kinds of work they do
betrays the fact that like women elsewhere they occupy a subordinate position in
the economy. Nevertheless their very awareness of the sexual division of labour
through which they are exploited at work and the sexism that oppresses them in
the home, has propelled them to the forefront of their people's struggles.

> 'Women were the most militant' they said. It was not only
> these particular leaders of the local Lal Nishan (Red Flag)
> party who said it, but other organisers also ...'. Women
> are the most ready to fight, the first to break through
> police lines, the last to go home' 122

It would be wrong to make a too easy correspondence between the Indian women who
Gail Omvedt speaks to and Verity Khan's Mirpuri women, but it does seem necessary
to reitrate the point that these women are not given quantities. Khan comes to
the rather dubious conclusion, that Asian women don't identify 'freedom with self-
assertion'123. Yet, given the 'self-assertion' of Asian women in India, Pakistan
and Bangladesh in their various liberation and revolutionary struggles and the
'self-assertion' of Asian women under our very noses at Grunwicks and Chix; it
is not at all clear why Mirpuri women should not be equally capable of organisation
and 'self-assertion'.

Between Two Cultures

The dangers of the race/ethnic relations approach, is well illustrated in their
theorisation of the experiences of black youth. Thompson's The Second Generation
....Punjabi or English? and Taylor's The Half Way Generation, pointed to the fact
that Asian youths' attenuated connection with their parents' culture was proving
to be a source of family conflict. This theme was seized upon by the C.R.E. who
popularised it in their publication Between Two Cultures, which begins

> The children of Asian parents born or brought up in
> Britain are a generation caught between two cultures.
> They live in the culture of their parents at home, and
> are taught a different one in school, the neighbourhood
> and at work...parents cannot fully understand their children,
> children rarely fully understand their parents.124

The childrens' exposure to British values, norms and attitudes, was thought
to undermine their parents traditional authority and caused the youth to
question certain aspects of their parents' culture. For the girls in particular
this revolved around the issue of arranged marriage, while Asian youths' militancy
in response to the racist murder of Gurdip Singh Chaggar was seen to further
widen the generation gap.

For West Indian youth who had always been noted for their aggressive behaviour
the problem was to explain their failure at school and their increasing penchant
for taking on the 'boys in blue'. John Brown's Shades of Grey, redolent with
the common-sense rationalisations of the Handsworth police and his own colonial
memories, located the problem much as Pryce was later to do in the family life and
inadequate schooling in the Caribbean. This 'bad start' he saw as merely having
been exacerbated by the higher standards of English schools, which led to a
subsequent failure to find a job and the inevitable drift into crime.

> Deprived and disadvantaged, they see themselves as
> victims of white racist society, and attracted by
> values and life style of alienated Dreadlock groups,
> drift into lives of idleness and crime, justifying
> themselves with half-digested gobbets of Rastafarian
> philosophy. 125

Brown's formulations which purported to show a split between the law-abiding
West Indian community and the religious rastas on the one hand and the 'criminalised
dreadlock sub-culture' on the other, managed to set the parameters of future
race-relations research even though some of the academic contributors protested
that he had given all rastas a bad name. It is not clear whether it is their
sympathy for rasta which prompted these protests or their need to keep the
West Indian community 'open' as an object of study. 126   In any case their
theorisation do not derive so directly from the mouths of the police.

Len Garrison argues that because the majority of West Indian parents came from
a rural background characterised by low living standards, lack of education,
limited employment prospects and therefore low expectations of the future, they
were prepared to make sacrifices in order to establish themselves in Britain.
Their children however either born or largely reared in Britain, in an urban and
secular environment, exhibited a 'new defiant attitude' in their rejection of
both racism and their parents' religious 'humility'. The generational conflict
then revolves around the differences between parent/rural culture and youth/
secular culture. 127   Cashmore on the other hand in his attempt to approach an
understanding of Rastafari through a mobilisation of some of the concepts
borrowed from the 'sociology of religion', suggests that the conflict really has
to do with differing religious perspectives. Where the parents because of their
'limited cultural resources', had attempted to transcend the harsh realities of
life in Britain by a headlong flight into Pentecostalism thereby 'opting out
of the race for conventional rewards'; their sons and daughters having been
educated along with whites saw themselves as equals and insisted upon equal
treatment. 128   The expectation that the children, through the medium of education
would be able to enter into and participate in the mainstream of British society;
and the apprehension that these expectations 'were not going to be met', adds

further to family tensions as the parents begin to blame the children for failure.[129] If this were not enough, the shattering of certain illusions about British 'fair-mindedness' and associations of whiteness with 'wealth and prestige',[130] only adds fuel to the fire and plunges West Indian youth into an 'identity crisis'.

Garrison links this to the way in which the child's experience of school undermines a confidence which is already low, since they are members of a minority that has a 'less well defined culture' their parents' negative self-image adds to this, representing 'part of the complex problem the black child will have to overcome in order to arrive at his (sic) own _essential_ personality.[131]' (my emphasis) West Indian youth are, in his view, suffering from 'personality dislocation', while for Cashmore these conditions precipitate the need for 'discrepancy reduction' and for Pryce they represent a 'psychic disorientation'. John Rex and Sally Tomlinson present their own particular variation on this theme, for they seek to locate the reasons for the supposed differences in performance between the two communities in their respective personalities.

> If the West Indian is plagued by self-doubt
> induced by white education, and seeks a culture
> which will give him (sic) a sense of identity, the
> Asians have religions and cultures and languages of
> which they are proud and which may prove surprisingly
> adaptive and suited to the demands of a modern industrial
> society. 132

It is no doubt the Jewish future they see for Asians and the Irish route they see West Indian taking that fuels a recognition of Asian cultural and political traditions while at the same time denying those same traditions of West Indians, though they are not averse to suggesting that Asian youth are caught 'between two cultures' and that they suffer - along with West Indian youth - 'considerable uncertainty about ethnic identification'. 133

The interesting thing here is that while the ethnicity school initially took up these themes, they have both in their unfortunately titled _Between Two Cultures_ and their latest _Minority Families In Britain_, tried to challenge the ways in which their earlier work was taken up. Catherine Ballard, in her recent contribution argues that the talk about 'culture conflict' merely serves to reinforce the common-sense perceptions of practitioners and 'sets young Asians apart as a 'problem' category'.

> More seriously, it assumes that cultural values are
> fixed and static and that there is no possibility of
> adaptation, flexibility or accomodation between one
> set of values and another. 134

Having thus argued, however, she then persists in trying to explain 'the strange half-British half-Asian behaviour of the children', illustrating 'the kinds of inter-generational conflicts which may occur', and assessing the 'usefulness of the popular concept of <u>culture conflict</u>' which she has just argued is a damaging and erroneous concept'. (my emphasis) She tramples across the same dreary terrain of the <u>inevitable</u> 'gulf' between generations which 'sharpen' as the children get older; and dredges up the idea that they have never experienced their culture 'in the totality of its original context', in support of what is basically a between two cultures argument. This can, perhaps, be explained by her 'professional' interest. But, in the pursuance of that interest, she first of all falls back upon the fact of the parents 'linguistic handicaps' and then begins to explicate the 'extreme case'. This is odd since she had only just criticized the 'sensationalist media' for the same thing![135] Even here in one of the 'extreme' cases she cites she erases the possibly obstructive role of the practitioners involved, who 'could not understand what her parents' position might be', by arguing that the girl is to blame.

> Finally it became clear that their involvement was worsening the situation by making it possible for the girl to sustain and exaggerate her problems, and particularly the Asian aspects of those problems, while continually passing the responsibility for solving them to outsiders.[136]

Unable to find any conclusive evidence to suggest that conflict within the Asian family is any more likely than in any other family Ballard proposes the notion of 'reactive ethnicity', whereby Asian youth's response to racism is to close ethnic ranks and maintain 'contact with the sub-continent and familiarity with Asian social and cultural norms'. This is to be their 'ultimate security'. Somehow I do not feel that the Asian youth who have organised so as to make sure that racist attacks upon their community do not go uncontested, would agree with her designation of their activities as an exercise in 'reactive ethnicity'.

Her colleague Peter Weinreich's concern is to replace "the loose and ambiguous term 'identity conflict' with the concept of 'conflict in identification with another'." The latter term he feels can be made more concrete since it refers us to "specific 'identification conflicts' with particular others", which can be measured empirically through the modified application of 'Kelly's theory of personal constructs'[137]. The assumption of his paper is that the process of identity development is something which is common to all adolescents and in this connection an 'individuals conflicts in identification with others' are regarded as 'an important psychological impetus for personal change'.[138] This allows him to argue that such conflicts are more often than not a <u>resource</u> rather than a liability, an argument which undercuts the

view held by the other theorists we have been looking at and is supported by his results which 'demonstrate that ethnic identity conflicts do not generally imply self-hatred.'[139]

The study itself, though, is not as unproblematic as Weinreich implies. Quite apart from the considerable violence he does to his respondents' 'specific value connotations',[140] his assumption that their 'contra-value systems' can be read off simply from their 'positive-value systems' is in itself misleading. The reader will remember that in the earlier arguments about common-sense thinking, it was argued that even though the dominant ideology formed the parameters for common-sense, it did not necessarily involve 'conflict' for people to hold contra-dictory ideas (general vis-a-vis situated judgements). Weinreich's 'bipolar constructs' though do not enable him to recognise this. For him 'believes in law and order' must necessarily contrast with 'each man for himself', though it is by no means clear why the individual should not mobilise 'law and order' in furtherance of an individualistic objective. This points to a fundamental weakness in Wein-reich's concepts. They can deal only with individuals who as he says have already been 'socialised', but they cannot grasp the social context within which the individual's 'identifications' - conflicted or otherwise - have been formed; thus stripping those 'identifications' of their pertinence and effectivity. This comes out quite clearly in his uncritical acceptance of the conclusions of Parker and Kleiner, that ambivalence in identification patterns is 'realistic and adaptive for the Negro'; and that 'it is the polarisation of racial identification or reference group behaviour that is psychopathogenic'[141] (my emphasis). It is as well to remember here that when Parker and Kleiner were making their study Afro-Americans were engaged in yet another struggle against the racist structures and oppressions which have been grinding them down for centuries. In this context Weinreich's eulogising of those males who seeing themselves as 'black British' 'will be realistic about colour prejudice' and 'their female counterparts (who) are likely to proceed towards potent conceptions of themselves as black British',[142] is slightly suspect. Especially so when thos with a 'consciously defined ethnic conception' who identify with Africa or the Caribbean must by inference be associated with their 'psychopathogenic' sisters and brothers in America

This goes together with the rather dubious notion that it will be the retention, by Asian youth, of their 'ethnic distinctiveness' which will cause them to 'remain apart from native whites and, in this sense, not assismilate to them'.[143] Both formulations could be seen as betraying Weinreich's concern that blacks should not go too far in their struggles to transform the capitalist racist structures of British Society. His view of a 'multi-ethnic' society, is one in which the 'self-concepts' of blacks are 'interactive with the values of the broader community'[144] rather than one in which the structures and practices that subordinate blacks have been overturned.

The 'identity Crisis' and Criminality

What I want to do now is to draw out the connections, via the work of some of our other theorists, between the idea that 'Negroes' who show no ambivalence in identification patterns are 'psychopathogenic' and Brown's claim to have discovered a 'criminalised Dreadlock sub-culture' in Handsworth. Cashmore, for example, tells us that during the 60's young blacks at odds with an English culture that degrades their blackness, drifted into a 'rude boy' gang structure where;

> Flitting between the white squares of (their)
> parents background and the black of his gang enterprise[145]

they derived 'gratification from non-instrumental violence'. This formation of gangs was in the first place facilitated by 'familial fragmentation', the peer-group becoming the major socialising agent and it is here that the 'subterranean values' we heard tell of before lead him and her into an involvement with the police. Garrison agrees:

> Failure in the education system, poor employment
> prospects, homelessness, bring many youths into
> contact with the police.[146]

and so does Pryce:

> How divorced from the security and protection of the
> parental home, the would-be teenybopper, finds it diffi-
> cult to go straight and remain law abiding. After the
> loss of his first one or two jobs, the drift into a life
> of petty crime and homelessness becomes steadier and steadier
> as his unemployability militates against a conventional
> life style. [147]

Cashmore goes on to argue that these gang structures were 'inherited' by younger blacks (in the seventies) where they acted as 'breeding grounds of Rastafarian themes'.[148] Thus, even Rastafari, which is seen variously as providing a 'new and independent channel of expression' (Garrison) or 'new conceptual maps' (Cashmore) or giving West Indian youth 'a culture which could unify them in their daily struggle with white society'; cannot escape the taint of youthful criminality. For Garrison it is a vehicle which is being:

> ...exploited by some black youngsters who use it as a
> fashionable outlet for their frustration and aggression.[149]

And Cashmore who criticises Brown's spurious formulation of 'true Rastafarians' and the 'criminalised Dreadlock subculture' cannot help but fall into that self same dichotomy. Rastafarian beliefs, symbols etc. are he feels being used as a 'sanction for criminal behaviour, or alternatively Rastafari is a 'Pandora's Box' of symbols and (no doubt) dangerous ideas.[150]

Rex and Tomlinson, in their commitment to objectivity, actually go to check the police side of the story after hearing the horror stories of the West Indian youth who graced their sample. This, as Paul Gilroy recently observed, is

> ... a picture so chilling in its absurdity that it is only
> matched by their verification of the number of unemployed
> West Indian youths by a visit to the local Careers Office. [151]

They suggest that 'the police take Rastafarian symbols as signs of truculence and are more likely to stop and question a youth dressed in this way and argue that West Indian youths' involvement in crime is 'natural' given the level of unemployment. Gilroy remarks;

> This is not one of Rex and Tomlinson's more rigorous formulations.
> It is remarkable for two reasons. First it accepts police
> assumptions as legitimate and fails to associate them with
> 'the problem', which is instead defined in terms of black youth
> and secondly, it views these racial problems as the natural
> consequence of non-racial phenomena: youth unemployment and
> and absence of a 'feeling' of legitimacy of police authority. [152]

The above accounts tend to absolve the racist structures and practices of British society and locate the 'problem' in the black family and black consciousness. The popular association of Rastafarians - replete with wolly hats - and crime is not subjected to any scrutiny; indeed the tendency is to actually strengthen that association by locating the appeal of Rastafari in the 'identity problems' of Afro-Caribbean youth. Such theorisations reproduce 'common-sense' at a theoretical level, and succeed at the same time in erasing the history of Afro-Caribbean struggle. Horace Campbell is good on this point. He argues that the 'Ethiopianist' thrust contained in Rastafari occupies an historic place in Afro-Caribbean cultures.

> Rastafari culture remains an indelible link
> between the resistance of the maroons, the
> pan-africanist appeal of Marcus Garvey, the
> materialist and historical analysis of Walter
> Rodney and the defiance of Reggae. [153]

Young Afro-Caribbeans in Britain have been formed in circumstances that differ considerably from those in the Caribbean. They have in fact been subject to conditions similar to those that have given rise to the post war white working class youth subcultures, but they have experienced those conditions through the mechanism of racism. To them British Capitalism works in a racist way.

> The class relations which inscribe (the black fractions of
> the working class) function as race relations. The two
> are inseparable. Race is the modality in which class is
> lived. It is also the medium in which class relations are
> experienced. [154]

The emergence of a British variant of Rastafari must be seen then as a part of the process of class struggle that black people have been engaged in since the 50's. Afro-Caribbean youth did not take up Rastafarian themes in order to solve their supposed 'identity crisis'. Rastafarianism organised resistances and oppositional values, that were already in existence, in a new way. The mass of Afro-Caribbean youth have taken up its themes and reorganised them in the light of their specific concerns and circumstances.

The mass appeal of Rastafari in the Afro-Caribbean community has not been the starting point for any of the researchers we have looked at. Instead, as Gilroy argues, there has been a

> ... tendency to define the movement in a crude
> empirical manner by offering a number of dogmatic
> tenets to which 'cultists' are subsequently found to
> subscribe ... (but) the symbols of 'dread', by
> which the researchers have so far identified 'cult
> affiliates' are found at one end of a broad continuum
> of belief which traverses both age and gender difference.[155]

This brings us abruptly to the fact that Rastafari has been viewed generally as a youth sub-culture and the analyses of it have been correspondingly masculinist in focus.[156] None of our researchers, except Cashmore, has been able to perceive that there are female Rastafari; let alone discuss their relationship to the movement. Even Cashmore can only see Rasta patriarchy as a revolt against Afro-Caribbean matriarchy, a view which effectively blocks any discussion of the ideology of 'The Queen' in rasta discourse. Thus he implicitly denies the existence of a space from which rasta women are even now engaged in their distinct form of feminist struggle.[157] These all too brief remarks should go some way towards suggesting that the designation of Rastafari as a 'millenarian cult' with psycho-pathogenic adherents, addicted to crime and violence; is not the best vantage point from which to understand the movement.

41.

CONCLUSION

One criticism that may be levelled against this thesis is that I have not
dealt with the specific paradigms within which each researcher writes. Such a
criticism would be valid but it would also be to miss the point. This has not
been that kind of critique. I have attempted to demonstrate that common-sense
racist ideology, the more 'theoretical' racist ideologies and race-relations
research, share common assumptions about black culture and that in the case
of race-relations sociology this has resulted in a theorisation of black family
life as pathological. In a sense, I have been arguing that Britain now has its
own version - diverse and scattered as it may be, of the American Moynihan report[158].

But this is not all. As we have have noticed, the tendency within race relations
research has been to study black people rather than white racism. This raises
specific problems both in terms of the information the researchers can expect
to glean from their respondents and for the interpretation of that data once
gathered. While some of the researchers do actually recognise this problem, their
acknowledgement of it is all too often subsequently suppressed. Cashmore's
work is a good case in point.

At the beginning of his book, Rastaman, he tells us that his initial attempts
to engage rastas in conversation about, what he calls, their 'new perception
of reality', floundered on their refusal to be his guinea pigs. It was only
after going away and familiarising himself with the content and content of
Rastafari and then approaching the more conciliatory members of the Ethiopian
Orthodox Church, that he was able to effect an entry into the rasta community
in Handsworth[159]. His initial difficulties were no doubt compounded by what
he describes as the 'cultivation' by rastas of 'an idiosyncratic mode of thought'
and a 'brand of patois' designed to stake out a 'social gulf between themselves
and the rest of society'.[160] An already problematic situation must have been
further complicated by the rastas' insistence that their's was not simply a
version of reality as he constantly sought to imply[161]. Cashmore does indeed
warn us that his account is unavoidably 'coloured by (his) own perception'
and that many of the categories and formulations by which he describes Rastafari
would be unrecognisable to them[162]. Yet throughout the remainder of his book
the problematic nature of his encounter with rastas is given no theoretical
weight and is reduced in importance to a mere methodological note.

Again Catherine Ballard acknowledges that 'the outsider who attempts to help with
an intergenerational crisis in an Asian family is faced with serious difficulties'.
They may well find themselves 'handicapped by a lack of understanding of the
cultural factors involved' and might therefore end up doing more harm than good.[163]

Yet she fails to make explicit her own 'handicaps' in this regard, suggesting instead that her five or six years working on and researching in this community somehow makes her relationship to it less problematic.

Similar queries could be raised about the relationship of other researchers to the researched. The argument here is not so much that white bourgeois sociologists should not study black proletarian people,-though the results of such 'interaction' may incline one towards such a view. The more important question is how much, or whether, these researchers take into account the extent to which their relationship to their respondents may be structured by racism. Generally, they fail to acknowledge the extent to which the replies they get may actually be determined by their positions as white 'authority figures', in a situation where power relations are reproduced in and through racism. The implications of this for their research is far reaching and has to do with their position in a social formation that is structured through and through by relations of 'dominance and subordination'[164] This is not simply a black and white issue Feminists have also long recognised the culpability of sociology in reinforcing the subordinate position of women by the way in which it ignores or marginalises them. Dorothy Smith, for example, has argued that 'women appear only as they are relevant to a world governed by male principles and interests'. She goes on to warn that:

> To the extent that women sociologists accept that perspective, they are alienated from their own personal experience. They speak a language, use theories, and select methods in which they are excluded or ignored. 165

There are obvious parallels here with the black experience of sociology, for sociology has traditionally operated within a white patriarchal paradigm. It focuses upon white masculine concerns. What happens when black researchers accept such a paradigm is well illustrated by Pryce's work. Black women appear in his book as excessively religious wives and mothers ('saints') or as prostitutes. (It is worth noting here that the fleeting glimpse of relationships between black women and white men in his book is of the prostitute/customer variety, while white women/black men appear as prostitute and pimp. One wonders what this vision does for 'race-relations'). To reduce their lives and experiences to these common-sense notions is, as Colin Prescod argued at the time, 'to be unable really to distinguish between bad race relations and rampant racism'. Pryce's work was hailed as a 'milestone' in race relations research. Prescod felt that it was more likely to prove a 'millstone' around the necks of the black communities. it highlighted the sort of research we could expect from future black academics:

> ... primed to produce 'outstanding works of empirical
> sociology' ... a euphemism for work that is low on
> critical knowledge and wisdom but high on information.
> Information which cannot be gathered as easily by white
> researchers. Information organised in categories which
> reinforce stereotypes.[166]

This brings us full circle back to Jenkins' criticisms, since it appears
unlikely that the research we have been considering will actually benefit the
'powerless'. To be sure the designation, for example, of Asian and Afro-
Caribbean youth as suffering an 'identity crises' as a result of their being
'Between two Cultures', is the consequence of a partial recognition that blacks
are capable of resisting racism. The overwhelming tendency, however, has been
to confine this resistance to a few hot-headed male youth. In part we can trace
this back to the closure that has been effected around the history of black
struggles in Asia and the Caribbean and a seeming ignorance about the struggles
the 'first generation' of black people in Britain. This has prompted a recogni-
tion of the current struggles of black youth as being 'radically different'
from that of their parents. The radical difference is theorised in terms of
'changes' in attitudes which culminate in 'ethnic redefinitions', and is rarely
recognised as the response to 'radically different' structural forces.[167]

The nature of the present crisis and the way in which the 'management' of it
has borne down upon black people, has demanded a response by all sections of
the black communities. If the response of certain sections of black youth has
been particularly militant, then this is because they have, up til now, been
the ones who have been affected most intensely. To represent these responses
in terms of the 'cultural'/identity' problems of black people themselves is to
actively obscure the issue. As Gilroy puts it:

> It is not simply that the 'theories' of pathological black
> family life, identity crises, acculturation, generational
> conflict and crimogenic multiple deprivation fail to break
> free of the shackles of common-sense racist thinking. It
> is important to understand that these same ideas and images
> albeit in their 'untheorised' form, are to be found at the base
> of/a new popular politics tailored by crisis conditions.[168]

It is clear that under these conditions, race relations sociology has assumed
a new relevance for the state. Wherever one looks within the various state
apparatuses one can find the same images and assumptions underpinning their
practices. The police, for example, are increasingly aware that the situation
they are being asked to 'police' has its origins in 'social conditions' which
they cannot change.[169] They are aware also that,

> The paramount need is that (they) should retain public
> support during a period of what may be intensifying social
> crisis.[170]

der these conditions and facing an increasingly militant black community
ose militancy they are required to contain, the police have not been slow
utilise sociological theories which 'blame the victim'. The sub-divisional
mander of Handsworth has recently argued thus:

> The need to persuade West Indian parents to relax strict
> discipline code (sic) which leads to strife within the
> family group and the consequent break up of homes is an
> important factor in creating future stability. Stabilising
> the home surrounds and drying up the flow of youngsters
> moving towards squats and Rastafarianism is of paramount
> social importance. 171

would perhaps expect such a convergence here but the recent revalations
tained in the Brent Community Health Council's Black People and the Health
rvice shows that even the softer 'caring' agencies are imbued with cultural
planations for the ill-health of their black patients.[172] In schools these
eories have precipitated the search for ways of giving black children a
ositive image' of themselves. In practice this has meant the crumbs of a
lack studies' course and having more books with black faces in them.[173] The
th Service,[174] Social Services,[175] and the C.R.E.[176] also base their policies
practices towards black people, upon similar as umptions and find theoretical
stification in the work of race-relations sociologists.

s is not to say that these sociologists have been reduced to simple state
ctionaries, though some of their connections may cause one some concern.[177]
ther is it to deny that anyone's work can be used in ways one did not intend.
ther, I am not arguing that indi idual practitioners in the various state
ncies necessarily harbour an evil intent. What is being argued is that the
te agencies are operating racist programmes and that the 'theories' of race-
ations sociology lend themselves, by the way the is ues are posed, to
orporation into the ideologies of these agencies. In this sence, the race
ations sociologists have also become a 'part ofd the problem'.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

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10. See for example Brent Community Health Council's Black People and the Health
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11 S. Hall, op.cit. pp 5/6

12. Ibid, p.9

13. See A. Sivanandan From Immigration Control to Induced Repatriation. Race

14. P.Gilroy, Managing the 'underclass': a further note on the sociology of
    race relations in Britain: Race and Class. Vol. XXII, No. 1 (London 1980)
    pp. 47/48

15. S.Hall, B.Lumley, G. McLennan. Politics and Ideology: Gramsci (in On
    Ideology: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 10, CCCS, 1977) p.49

16. A.Gramsci Prison Notebooks 1971. p.324. Quoted in Hall, Lumley,
    McLennan op. cit. p.50

17. C.f. M.Barker Racism - The New Inheritors p.3 where he argues that,

    "If it were not for the presence of a theory behind the
    racist 'common-sense', the obvious lacunae and untested
    assumptions of it's approach would not so easily escape
    scrutiny."

I would argue that it is precisely racism is elaborated 'Common-
sense' assumptions, which are already 'taken for granted', that it gains
popular support and acceptance.

18   Hall, Lumley, McLennan, op.cit. p.49

19-   S.Hall et al Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order
        (London 1978) p.154

20   See Gramsci op.cit. on 'The war of manouvre and the war of position'

21   Hall et al. op. cit. p.155

22   Ibid, p 155

??   Hall, Lumley, McLennan, op cit. p.50

24   The Guardian, p2.6.80

25   M. Barrett Women's Oppression Today: Some Problems in Marxist/Feminist

26   Ibid. see chapter six. Also J. Donzelot's The Policing of Families:
        Hutchinson (London 1980) for a history of the changing nature of working
        class households in France

27   Hall et al. op cit. p. 146/7

28   W.D.Jordan White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro 1550-
        1812 (Mareyland U.S.A. 1969) p.7

29   Jordan refers to the fact that whiteness

        "....carried a special significance for elizabethan
        Englishmen; it was particularly when complemented by
        red, the colour of perfect human beauty, especially
        female beauty."

        and also remarks upon the practice of whitening the skin still further at
        the 'cosmetic table', p.8. However his examples are drawn from middle
        English and Elizabethan literature and since we know that the rate of
        illiteracy was high at that time it makes it difficult to know how much
        these were merely the ideas of the ruling bloc and how much they were
        the general ideas of English people. Even the argument (taken up also
        by James Walvin) that Shakespeare 'was writing about his countrymen's
        feelings concerning physical distinctions between kinds of people'...
        and that 'his audience could not have been totally indifferent to the
        sexual union of "black" men and "white" women'. (p.o. 37/8) does not
        necessarily help us unless we know more about the social composition of
        the audience.

30   Ibid. p.43

31   Cedric Robinson: "The emergence and limitations of European radicalism"
        (Race & Class, Vol. XXI No. 2, Aug. 1979) p.156. Robinson argues that the
        idea of 'evolution' suggested by the phrase 'the rise of the middle class'
        is in fact an illusory image 'unsupported by historical evidence'; which
        suggests that the focus of trade shifts from the Mediterranean and Scania
        to the Atlantic.

"The city, the point of departure for the earlier bourgeoisies ...
and their networks of long-distance travel and productive
organisation proved incapable of sustaining the economic
recovery of those bourgeoisies.... The absolutist state,
under the hegemony of Western European aristocracies,
brought forth a new bourgeoisie." p.157

32   Robinson notes that the practice of drawing army volunteers 'from the
least "national", most nondescript types, the dregs of the poorest
classes', was not something peculiar to the military. This is merely the
'best documented form of a more generalised pattern of structural formation
and social integration', which extended to domestic service, handicrafts,
industrial labour, the ship and dock workers of merchant capitalism, and
the field labourers of agrarian capitalism'. (p.160). He suggests that
the fact that the significance of migrant immigrant labour has not been
better understood is largely to do with an uncritical use of the 'nation'
as a unit of analysis - a tendency promulgated by the 'language of error'
of evolutionary theories. Further,

"The tendency of European civilisation through capitalism
was thus not to homogenise but to differentiate - to
exaggerate regional, subcultural, dialectical differences
into 'racial' ones." (p.162

The development and character of capitalism is, therefore, determined by
the social relations and ideological 'compositions' of a civilisation that
assumed its fundamental perspective during feudalism'. p.162

33 Robinson, Ibid. p.158

34.   Ibid, p.162

35   Ibid, p.158

36.   J.Walvin Black and White: a study of the Negro and English Society
       1555-1945). Allen Lane (London 1973)

37   See earlier discussion, p.3.

38.   The Sun, November 11, 1980

39   Ibid

40   This role as the girls' saviour is not uncommon in schools; though
       there are cases where the girls have made a collective decision to wear
       trousers, even where the parents themselves are ambivalent.

41   The Sun op.cit

42.   Telegraph and Argus, July 12, 1978

43   P. Parmar Tackling Salmon in Bradford Black (July 1978)

44   Telegraph and Argus, July 15, 1978

45   See Hall et al, op. cit.

46   Quoted in M. Barker The Rebirth of Conservative Ideology, p.14 (Chapter
       4 of forthcoming book). I owe much of the information for this section
       to Martin Barker's two chapters.

47 See D. Edgar Racism, fascism and the politics of the National Front, Race and Class, Vol XIX, No 2 (London 1977)

48 As argued in A. Sivanadan From Immigration control to induced Repatriation. op.cit.

49 Hall, op. cit. p.2

50 See M. Barker The Rebirth of Conservative Ideology, op. cit. for useful discussion of the ideology of 'Butskellism', p.p.4/6

51 Barker, Ibid. p.6

52 This question is given sustained attention in the Race & Politics Group's book (forthcoming); but see also Policing the Crisis; Hall et al, op.cit. Chapters 8-10

53 A. Sherman Britain's urge to self-destruction Daily Telegraph September 9, 1976

54 Ibid.

55 E. Powell Freedom and Reality (Surrey 1969) p.307

56 G. Bronk-Shepherd Where the blame for Brixton lies. Sunday Telegraph 19.4.81

57 I. Stanbrook Hansard P.1409 Quoted in M. Barker: Racism - The New Inheritors, op.cit. p.4

58 Ibid., p.4

59 In this connection it is worth remembering Marx's remarks about the nature of bourgeois ideology.

      "In this society of free competition the individual appears
      free from the bonds of nature, etc., which in former epochs
      of history made him part of a definite, limited human
      conglomeration. To the prophets of the eighteenth century
      .... this .... individual, constituting the joint product
      of the dissolution of the feudal form of society of the new
      forces of production ..... appears as an ideal whose
      existence belongs to the past; not as a result of history,
      but as its starting point. Since that individual appeared
      to be in conformity with nature and correspond to their
      conception of human nature, he was regarded not as developing
      historically, but as posited by nature." p.346

60 Barker The Rebirth of Conservative Ideology, op.cit. p.13

61 Ibid. p.13

62 Ibid. p.13/14

63 R. Page To Nature, race is not a dirty word. Daily Telegraph, 3 Feb.1977. Quoted in Barker, Racism - The New Inheritors, p.4

64 N. St John-Stevas, BBC 1. 2 March 1978. (Barker Ibid. p.5) As Barker observes:

      This idea of a 1,000-year continuous development is either
      sheer fiction, or it is so all-embracing that there is no
      reason why it shouldn't continue developing happily even
      if blacks became 75% of the population overnight.

Of course Barker is right but it's worth recalling here the work of Walvin and Jordan on the early presence of blacks in Britain.

65 Powell op.cit. p.285. Powell is indeed ignorant of British History. He argues, for example, that Guyana was a 'fragment of the large and miscellaneous spoils of the Napoleonic wars .... ' (p.246) acquired almost by accident and nothing to do with Britain's Imperialist expansion. But see Tom Nairn, The Break-up of Britain, NLB, on this point.

66 Sherman Britain is not Asia's fiancee Daily Telegraph, Nov. 9, 1979

67 Sherman Why Britain can't be washed away Daily Telegraph, Sept. 8, 1976

68 Sherman 9.11.79 op.cit.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

71c Powell, op.cit. p.311

72 See Barker, Racism – The New Inheritors p.5

73 Ibid. Barker argues that the evocation of 'genuine fears' in an important mechanism here.

74 M. Thatcher front page, Daily Mail, 31 Jan. 1978. Quoted in Barker, ibid. p.4

75 Sherman, 9.9.76 op.cit.

76 Sherman, 9.11.79 op.cit.

77 Ibid. Obviously no-one has told him of the European origins of those 'pseudo-sciences' !

78 Powell, op.cit. p.300

79 Sherman, 9.9.76, op.cit.

80 Powell, op.cit. pp. 246–252. A reproduction of his speech at Camborne, 14 Jan. 1966 on the 'myth' of the Commonwealth.

81 Sherman, 9.9.76 op.cit.

82 Ibid.

83 Sherman 9.11.79, op.cit.

84 Barker Racism – The New Inheritors p.6 He argues that there is a 'conceptual connection' between the new racism, its 'theory' (i.e. socio-biology) and the 'idea of a strong state and a nation founded on organic blood-relationships' (Fascism). His section on 'The New Philosophy of Racism' pp 8/17, dealing with socio-biology, makes these connections more explicit. See also Barbara Chasin 'Sociobiology: A sexist synthesis' (May–June '77); Freda Salzman 'Are sex roles Biologically Determined?' (July–Aug 77) and Richard Lewentin 'Biological Determinism as an Ideological Weapon' (Nov–Dec 77). All in editions of Science for the People Ann Arbor & Boston U.S.A., for how socio-biology has been taken up in U.S.A.

85 See, for example, R. Jenkins' speech Hansard 5 July 1976 pp 973-74
    (Quoted in Barker, op.cit.) and R. Hattersly's opinion quoted in <u>Colour</u>
    <u>and Citizenship</u> that 'without integration limitation is inexcusable;
    without limitation, integration is impossible'.

86 For discussion of Rex's paradigm see S. Hall Race, Articulation and
    Societies structured in dominance. <u>Sociological Theories: Race and</u>
    <u>Colonialism</u> 1980. Also R. Wilson, unpublished paper for Race and
    Politics Group, CCCS, 1979.

87 J. Rex and S. Tomlinson <u>Colonial Immigrants in a British City: A Class</u>
    <u>Analysis</u>. (London 1979) p.291. See also K. Pryce <u>Endless Pressure</u>
    (Penguin Books 1979) p.3 where he argues that the African slaves had no
    option but to learn their 'master's language and to ape his values and
    his institutions'.

88 V. Khan Migration and Social Stress: Mirpuris in Bradford, in <u>Minority</u>
    <u>Families in Britain: Support and Stress</u>. V. Khan (ed.) (Macmillan Press
    Ltd 1979) pp. 40/41.

89 Ibid. p.44

90 Pryce, op.cit. p.16

91 Ibid. pp.108/9

92 E. Cashmore <u>Rastaman</u> Allen & Unwin (London 1979) p.139

93 V. Khan op.cit. pp.42/45.

94 Ibid. p.46

95 Ibid. p.112

96 Ibid. p.120

97 V. Khan op.cit. p.46

58 Ibid. pp. 49/51

99 Ibid. p.48

100 V. Khan The Pakistanis: Mirpuri Villagers at home and in Bradford, in
    J. Watson (ed.) <u>Between Two Cultures</u> (Oxford 1977).

101 D. Brooks and K. Singh Pivots and Presents; and S. Wallman (Intro.) in
    S. Wallman (ed.) <u>Ethnicity at Work</u> (London 1979) quoted in J. Bourne,
    op.cit. p.343/4.

102 J. Bourne Ibid. 1.344

103 Rex and Tomlinson op.cit. p.80

104 Ibid. p.80

105 See H. Braverman <u>Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work</u>
    <u>in the Twentieth Century</u>. Monthly Review Press (U.S.A. 1974).

106 See F. Kofsky <u>Black Nationalism and The Revolution in Music</u> Pathfinder
    Press (New York 1970)

107 'Supremacy' is probably not the right word here. What I am trying to point to is the extent to which 'African survivals' suffuse Brazilian culture; as revealed in Jeremy Mare's documentary about Brazilian Music in The World About Us, Feb. 1981.

108 S. Hall Pluralism, race and Class in Caribbean Society p.161 (Unesco 1977)

109 Ibid. p.162

110 See C.L.R. James The Black Jacobins   (London 1980)

111 M. Deren The Voodoo Gods Paladin (Herts 1975)

112 A. Sivanandan Race, Class and The State op.cit.

113 Cashmore op.cit. p.78

114 G. Rubin The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'political economy' of sex, Towards an anthropology of women, R. Reiter (ed.) Monthly Review Press (New York 1975) pp. 165/9

115 This may also throw light on Rex and Tomlinson's View that the African slaves were 'culturally castrated'.

116 W. Rodney How Europe Underdeveloped Africa Bogle-L'Ouverture (London 1972) p.113

117 Ibid. p.113

118 I. Ahmed Pakistan: Class and State Formation Race & Class Vol XX11 No.3 (London 1981) p.243

119 V. Khan Migration and Social Stress op.cit. p.44

120 See Rodney op.cit. Also R. Brenner The Origins of Capitalist Development, New Left Review No.104 July/August 1977

121 G. Omvedt We Will Smash This Prison: Indian women in struggle, Zed Press (London 1980) p.11

122 Ibid. p.2

123 V. Khan Purdah in the British situation, Dependence and Exploitation in Work and Marriage D.L. Barker and S. Allen (eds.) Longmans (London 1976)

124 Commission for Racial Equality Between Two Cultures: A study of relationships in the Asian Community in Britain (London 1976)

125 J. Brown Shades of Grey: Police/West Indian Relations in Handsworth Cranfield Police Studies (1977) p.8

126 For example, Cashmore records the renewed suspicions about his work after the publication of Shades of Grey.

127 L. Garrison Black Youth, Rastafarianism, and the identity crisis in Britain (London 1980)

128 Cashmore op.cit. pp.39/42

129 Ibid. p.85

130 Ibid. see chapter 5

131 Garrison op.cit. p.11

132 Rex and Tomlinson op.cit. p.237

133 Ibid. p.228

134 C. Ballard Conflict, Continuity and Change: Second-generation South
     Asians, Minority Families in Britain op.cit. p.109

135 The media, she says, 'sensationalise only the casualties among them; those
     who run away from home, who have attempted suicide' etc., Ibid. p.105
     But see p.119 where, after talking about one father who had been 'verbally
     abusing his family' and resorting to 'sporadic outbreaks of great violence',
     she remarks that 'such cases are rare ... '

136 Ibid. p.121

137 P. Weinreich Ethnicity and Adolescent Identity Conflicts, Minority
     Families in Britain op.cit. pp 90/93

138 Ibid. p.89

139 Ibid. p.89

140 Ibid. pp.93/4. Weinreich tells us that,

          "Their constructs were elicited during semi-structured
          probing interviews which ranged across various areas of
          life experience ... Notes were made of all significant
          others mentioned."

     But it is by no means clear, just who thinks the 'others' are significant.
     It appears as though the constructs are made up of 'others' who Weinreich
     feels are (or should be) significant.

141 Ibid. pp.98/9

142 Ibid. p.104

143 Ibid. p.101

144 Ibid. p.105

145 Cashmore op.cit. p.88

146 Garrison op.cit. p.13

147 Pryce op.cit. p.133

148 Cashmore op.cit. p.56

149 Garrison op.cit. in section on 'image building'.

150 Cashmore op.cit. p.143

151 P. Gilroy Managing the 'Underclass', op.cit. p.53

152 Ibid. p.55

153 H. Campbell Rastafari: culture of resistance Race & Class Vol XX11
     No.1 op.cit. p.2

154 Hall et.al. op.cit. p.394

155 Gilroy from chapter of Race group book op.cit.

156 See A. McRobbie Settling accounts with sub-cultures <u>Screen Ed.</u> Spring
     1980

157 Gilroy from Race group book op.cit.

158 D.P. Moynihan <u>The Negro Family: The Case for National Action,</u> Office
     of Planning and Research U.S. Department of Labour (Washington 1965).
     Moynihan argued that,

> "In essence the Negro community has been forced into a
> matriarchal structure which, because it is so out of
> line with the rest of American society, seriously retards
> the progress of the group as a whole and imposes a
> crushing burden on the Negro male ... Obviously not every
> instance of social pathology afflicting the Negro community
> can be traced to weaknesses of family structure ... (but)
> once or twice removed, it will be found to be the principal
> source of most of the aberrant, inadequate, or anti-social
> behaviour that did not establish, but now serves to
> perpetuate the cycle of poverty and deprivation."

Quoted in M. Wallace <u>Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman,</u> John
Calder (publishers) ltd., (London 1979) p.109. Wallace argues that the
policies derived from this report had the effect of increasing the prospects
and opportunities for some black men at the expense of black women.
Those black families with a female head of household were neglected,
and indeed became poorer. The already low income of Black women,
'increased only slightly' during this period. (1965-1976). Further,

> "Jobs for black men did not translate into more
> financially secure black families with male heads ...
> The black males who were given access to employment
> and educational opportunities did not, for various
> reasons, automatically connect such opportunities
> with the imperative of family building." (see pp.109/16)

159 Cashmore op.cit. pp.11/4

160 Ibid. p.57

161 Ibid. p.5

162 Ibid. p.11

163 Ballard op.cit. pp.109/10

164 Hall Race, articulation and societies structured in dominance op.cit.

165 D. Smith Women's perspective as a radical critique of sociology,
     <u>Sociological Enquiry</u> No.44 (1974) pp. 7/13

166 C. Prescod Black Thoughts (A review of Endless Pressure) <u>New Society</u>
     3.5.1979

167 Rex does talk about the 'dependence of ... belief systems on underlying
     structures', but he can only equate 'social structures' with empirical
     'inter-subjective relations'. Straight away then the distinction

between 'belief systems' and 'structurs' collapses, with the result
that it is by no means clear how the structures can any longer be
'underlying'. See J. Rex <u>Race Relations in Sociological Theory</u> p.9
(I owe this insight to R. Wilson Race and Politics Group op.cit.)

168   V.Amos, P. Gilroy, E. Lawrence White Sociology, Black Struggle,
Paper presented to the B.S.A. conference on Inequality. 8.4.81 p.27

169   In <u>Policing the Crisis</u>, Hall et.al. refer to 'a special report (never
fully released to the public) on street crime in South London, prepared
by Scotland Yard and passed to the Home Secretary'. (p.330) The report
is said among other things to have argued that 'soaring street crime'
was not a 'policing problem'... 'it is caused by widespread alienation
of West Indian youth from white society'. (p.331; the quote is taken
from the <u>Sunday Times</u> 5.1.1975) See also Amos et.al. op.cit. p.31

170   T.A.Critchley <u>A History of Police in England and Wales</u> 2nd edition
(1978) p.329 Quoted in Amos et.al. p.31

171   Superintendant D. Webb <u>Policing a Multi-Racial Community</u> (forthcoming)
p.11. For context of report see Amos et.al. op.cit. p.34

172   Brent Community Health Council op.cit.

173   See H. Carby <u>Multicultural Fictions</u> Occasional Paper No. 58.CCCS
1980. Also in <u>Screen Education</u> No. 34 (Spring 1980)

174   See for example critical articles by M. Cross and G. John in <u>Black Kids,</u>
<u>White Kids, What Hope</u> Papers presented at two symposia organised by
the Regional Training Consultative Unit at Brunel University M. Day
and D. Marsland (Eds.) National Youth Bureau (December 1978)

175   See for example A Jansari Social Work with Ethnic Minorities: . A
review of Literature, Multi Racial Social Work. No. 1 (London 1980)

176   For recednt CRE pronouncement see: <u>Youth in a Multi-Racial Society:</u>
<u>The Urgent Need for New Policies: "TFhe Fire Next Time".</u>

177   Note, for example, the connections between the Home Office and the
SSRC Research Unit on Ethnic Relations. Home Research Unit
director explains:

> "White the Home Office is interested in policy-oriented
> research, it is of course far from being the principal
>
> executant or initiator of such research. The largest
> single body of recent published academic research on
> ethnic relations which bears on issues of social policy
> is that undertaken by the SSRC ethnic relations unit,
> the directorship of which has just passed from Professor
> Michael Banton at Bristol to Professor John Rex."

A few pages on Rex added that the Unit's work 'will also form an
essential and complementary background to the work carried on for
immediate policy and political purposes by the Home Office'. Home
Office Research Bulletin No.8 (1979), quoted in Gilroy, Managing the
'Underclass' ... op.cit. p.58. It is also worth noting that some of
the 'Ethnicity Studies' researchers, were members of the Unit when
Professor Banton held the directorship.

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