

Engineering Tolerance: Origins of Multicultural Education Policies in the Atlantic World from
1941 to 1988
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Abstract

This study aims to trace the lines of communication between the United Kingdom, United States, Canada, and France from the early 1940s through 1989 on one subject of policymaking— attempts to shape the minds of citizens through education and schooling. Resulting policies were remarkably similar, in that these were policies that reorganized schools systems and repurposed education to establish in their children a new, more tolerant, and open mind-set. This shift into an interconnected transnational framework should deepen and broaden the scale and scope of my work’s novelty and contribution to the field. In particular, seeking to establish a direct correlation between the United Kingdom and comparators in the Atlantic World, with the United Kingdom as a locus for the greater transnational development of multicultural education policies, will be an original contribution to the discipline.

The examination of this thesis was a transnational one that tracked the open dialogue between comparator nations and the resulting influence of each nation on the others. The foci are those pieces of policy that planned shifts in education policy in order to establish how these education policies interrelated. One goal of this thesis was to establish which policy networks between these nations supported emergent policies that could, and would, mirror or birth multicultural education. This paved the way for further analyses of how these policies were moulded not only by national concerns but by international organizations and participation in global planning. The UK, the US, Canada, and France, through a transnational policymaking cycle, have succeeded in building a set of interrelated education and integrative policies. These education policies focussed on rationalizing an increasingly diverse world, while promoting the essential benefits of education to engineer a tolerant mind-set in its future citizens.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This study aims to trace the lines of communication between policymakers in the United Kingdom, United States, Canada, and France from the early 1940s through 1988 on one subject of policymaking—attempts to shape the minds of citizens through education and schooling.¹ The methodologies adopted by these nations to accomplish stated goals differed, but the main planning stages all involved some degree—either major or minor—of internal communication through national ministries and departments, and promotion through international organizations of their policies. The policies resulting from these discussions were remarkably similar, despite national idiosyncrasies, in that these were policies that reorganized schools systems and repurposed education to foster in their children a new, more tolerant, and open mind-set.² This study unites outwardly disparate policies by considering foremost an analogous stated goal, a plan to use education to promote harmonious interactions between diverse groups and ensure a future competitive internationally-oriented citizenship.

An intensive archival investigation of national and international education policy planning documents traced the development of national policies in comparator nations with an eye toward assessing reciprocal transnational influences. While the initial object of the study was to examine the development of post-World War Two education policies through the end of the 1980s, as education reform efforts began prior to war's end in the UK (almost uniquely in comparison to the other comparator nations) a starting date of 1941 was necessary. The specific date was based

¹ Throughout, each nation will be referred to individually with normalized abbreviations for the US and the UK and collectively as 'comparator nations'.

² Timothy Garton Ash, Edward Mortimer, and Kerem Öktem, *Freedom in Diversity: Ten Lessons for Public Policy from Britain, Canada, France, Germany and the United States* (Oxford: Dahrendorf Programme for the Study of Freedom, 2013), 17.

on UK Educational Reconstruction documents and reflected the commitment of this study to encompass the whole of such policy planning efforts for all comparator nations.³ Similarly, 1988 was chosen as the ending date of this study as this reflected a crucial turning point in education policymaking. By the end of this period all four comparator nations had adopted legislative and legal measures to ensure equality of opportunity in education and to protect diverse groups.⁴ These four comparator nations collectively shared a historical and political connection that went beyond their participation in various international organizations. The recurrences of these four nations in various combinations prove the subject of many scholarly works on education policy, multicultural education, and other related policies.⁵ An assessment of the connections between these nations, determining their relative usefulness in establishing a transnational framework for this study follows below. National policy investigations were not identical, as the study does not intend to establish a purely comparative framework, because this is not primarily a comparative piece. A balance was naturally provided by examining the communications between national policymakers and the policy transfer that occurred throughout this period rather than through a more artificially applied methodology seeking uniformity. In this case the discourse and leadership from and by individual national policymakers, evidenced in draft policy statements and internal discussion memoranda in national education ministries and departments, guided the

³ 'History of Educational Reconstruction from the White Paper to the Presentation of the Education Bill,' July to December 1943, 11 (Richard Austen Butler Papers: Trinity College, Cambridge) RAB F108.

⁴ Garton Ash, Mortimer, and Öktem, *Freedom in Diversity*, 23.

⁵ See Also: James A. Banks and Cherry A McGee Banks, eds., *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* 7th Edition (Oxford: John Wiley and Sons, 2010); Christophe Bertossi, ed., *European Anti-Discrimination and the Politics of Citizenship: Britain and France* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Erik Bleich, *Race Politics in Britain and France: Ideas and Policymaking since the 1960s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Dianne Gereluk and Richard Race, 'Multicultural Tensions in England, France, and Canada: Contrasting Approaches and Consequences,' *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 17 (2007): 113-129; Reva Joshee and Lauri Winton, eds., *Multicultural Education Policies in Canada and the United States* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2007); and Sandra Vergari, 'Safeguarding Federalism in Education Policy in Canada and the United States,' *Publius* 40 (2010): 534-557.

organisation of the study and determined the assessment of comparator nations.⁶ The examination of this thesis was a transnational one that tracked the open dialogue between comparator nations and the resulting influence of each nation on the others. Crucially, an attempt to mitigate the challenges of providing the appropriate depth of analysis for each nation in order to demonstrate the intentions and differential adoption of policy was considerably eased by establishing through these education policy planning documents (including reading files and official policy statements) that a precise policy framing device, or stated goal, was used by these nations when developing education policies.

The foci of this work are those pieces of policy related to the adoption and pre-implementation planning of education policies in order to establish how these interrelated. For example, an examination of policy documents and committee minutes of national education ministries and departments, departments of overseas development, and national commissions to international organizations like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), helped to determine how each nation influenced and was influenced by alternative modes in other nations during the construction of education programmes meant to ensure equality of opportunity. These sources, present in the national archives of comparator nations, regional and personal archives, US presidential libraries, and the UNESCO archives, presented a crucial image of how policymakers developed and transferred policy information. A wide array of archival materials demonstrably pointed to a deep and lasting transnational connection between educational policymakers in the period considered by this study. A crucial piece of evidence for such a transnational connection was the presence of many of the same documents in

⁶ For further discussion on the relationship between transnational and comparative histories, see: Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); and Patricia Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism,' *Contemporary European History* 14 (2005): 421-439.

several archives, including letters and policy statements; the voluminous extracts and participation notes from international conferences on education; and the often intimate connections between nations demonstrated by dedicated committees in education ministries and departments to the formation of informational packets on the educational policies of the other comparator nations. While such materials provided a critical and often overwhelming amount of detail as a starting point for this work, some regulating structure was needed to provide a method to examine these materials in order to gain the requisite insight into how specific policies, like multicultural education, were formed by these policymakers and whether transnational influences were at work.

In this case, the definitions and theoretical framework of multicultural education policy itself, gained from an exhaustive analysis of multiculturalist and multicultural education scholarship, was used to determine which policies from this period followed similar ideological patterns and could be placed as progenitors to the more modern policies. From this starting point, the main instigators of education reform in the 1940s and 1950s and their stated goals for education policy provided the pathway through which to choose archival materials related to these individuals and their legislative efforts. These materials confirmed transnational connections and allowed insights into the development of these education policies and provided a set of policymakers, ministries and departments to monitor when considering interrelated policy developments through to the late 1980s. The research plan for this study followed a chronological pattern, meaning pursuing individual decades separately whenever possible due to time constraints, in order to eliminate a type of future bias and examine the materials on their own merits and

intentions.⁷ The transition to new education ministries and departments through different political regimes, the replacement of various policymakers, and the variable commitments to international organisations by comparator nations throughout the period, developed an image of the education policymaking process during this period the historiographical approaches to which will be discussed in further detail below.

One main goal of this thesis was to establish which policy networks between these nations supported emergent policies that could, and would, mirror or birth multicultural education. Therefore, an analysis of the conceptual frameworks of multiculturalist policies provided in this introductory chapter reveals the foundation used by this study to define the theoretical and historical boundaries of multicultural education policies. One of the main challenges of using such documents was the difficulty in pinning down the intentions of policymakers and the particular thrust of education policy in order to determine their relative commitment to the stated goal of a future tolerant and harmonious society. In this case, encouraged by a relatively new turn in the history of policy espoused by historian Cameron Whitehead and education scholar Inés Dussel, this study made use of language choice and draft notes to reveal intentionality and the progression of policymaking.⁸ The main aspects of the education policies assessed by this study revealed that these were *innovative* policies meant to mitigate the *multicultural*

⁷ The dangers of anachronistically applying multiculturalism and similar ideals to past education reforms was a common theme in the scholarship and by considering each decade on its own before proceeding to the following decade assisted in reducing such concerns for this study. For more information see similar studies in: James A. Banks, 'Multicultural Education: Characteristics and Goals,' in *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* 7th Edition, eds. James A. Banks and Cherry A McGee Banks (Oxford: John Wiley and Sons, 2010); and John W. Berry, 'Research on Multiculturalism in Canada,' *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 37 (2013): 663-675.

⁸ Cameron Whitehead, 'Reading Beside the Lines: Marginalia, W.E. Gladstone, and the International History of the Bulgarian Horrors,' *The International History Review* 37 (2015): 864-886; and Inés Dussel, 'Educational Policy in Historical Perspective: Interpreting the Macro and the Micro Politics of Schooling' in *International Handbook of Interpretation in Educational Research*, eds. Paul Smeyers, David Bridges, Nicholas C. Burbules, and Morwenna Griffiths (London: Springer, 2015).

complexities of individual nations by encouraging positive *racial relations* and incorporating *diverse* groups. Primarily, this investigation traced the use of these four words and phrases (innovative, multicultural, racial relations, and diversity) by these comparator nations in education policymaking, specifically legislative reforms and reports on national progress toward the achievement of UNESCO conventions. This study determined that education policies during this period travelled along a flexible transnational policy network. These findings paved the way for further analyses of how these policies were moulded not only by national concerns but by international organizations and participation in global planning. Therefore, this study is primarily concerned with the international and national levels of education policy formation and focussed on the adoption and adaptation of education policies rather than the implementation of said policies.

Defining the Boundaries of the Study

The Atlantic World

The choice of comparator nations was in part determined by literature on the lasting economic, social, cultural, and geo-political ties that first bound together the UK, US, Canada, and France during the latter half of the 15th century, and that continued to influence their interactions through to the present day due to increasing globalization. The concept of 'The Atlantic World', for this study was a useful one despite its traditional historiographical use as a defining characteristic of the early modern period.⁹ The expansion of the Atlantic World connection to include the modern period has been supported by several historians, including Anna Suranyi,

⁹ D'Maris Coffman, Adrian Leonard, and William O'Reilly, eds., *The Atlantic World* (London: Routledge, 2015), 2; and Nicholas Canny and Phillip Moran, eds., *Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Toyin Falola, and Kevin Roberts.¹⁰ In recent historiography on the Atlantic World, advocates of expanding the scope of the term focussed on an extended definition of geographical boundaries and nationalities considered players in maintaining these connections. For example Falola and Roberts argued that in order to properly analyse the development of the Atlantic World, the effect of 'Africans, Amerindians, Creoles of the New World...[as] active participants in the creation and shaping of the Atlantic World' needed consideration as equally as the elites of the Northern Atlantic World have been in preceding works.¹¹ A perception of the Atlantic World as a crucible for modernity, as a network for the 'circulation of values and ideas,' has been common amongst various scholars, including D'Maris Coffman and Adrian Leonard.¹² Suranyi presented the community of the Atlantic World as the prime mover in disseminating the ideals of the Enlightenment.¹³ However, in one seminal work on the Atlantic World John Elliott, Nicholas Canny, and Anthony Pagden considered the Atlantic World as 'a notional entity' which referred to the Portuguese, Spanish, French, and British Empires connected by the Atlantic Ocean and therefore after the breakup of such empires through the 1850s references to these relationships merged with their connections other than Atlantic.¹⁴ The consideration of members in the Atlantic World as interlocutors who disseminated policies produced through collaborative efforts, as discussed in Suranyi's work, proved a useful historical context and overall structure for this study's work on the transmission of policy across national boundaries, more so than the rather limiting framework of Canny and Pagden.

¹⁰ Anna Suranyi, *The Atlantic Connection: A History of the Atlantic World, 1500-1900* (London: Routledge, 2015); and Toyin Falola and Kevin Roberts, eds., *The Atlantic World: 1450-2000* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008).

¹¹ Falola and Roberts, eds., *The Atlantic World*, x.

¹² Coffman, Leonard, and O'Reilly, eds., *The Atlantic World*, 1-2.

¹³ Suranyi, *The Atlantic Connection*, 3.

¹⁴ Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds., *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 3.

David Armitage continued this theme in discussions using the British Atlantic World, in particular, as a unique series of demarcations based on comparative analyses of developments resulting from immigration flows, and economic and imperial ties—though a flexible one that Armitage believed could potentially be ascribed to processes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁵ Likewise, Coffman and Leonard have argued that the Atlantic World was 'distinctively early modern' rather than one applicable to the modern period in general.¹⁶ For Suranyi an expanded argument for a modern Atlantic World became untenable only after the economic and cultural connections between the four continents bounding the Atlantic were 'superseded by a broader and more globalized orientation in the realms of policies and world economies' in the early 20th century.¹⁷

In contrast, various contributors to Falola and Roberts' edited work argued for an expanded geographic and chronological boundary for the phrase the Atlantic World with a periodization that included both the 15th and 21st centuries. Joel E. Tishken, E. G. Iweriebor, and Amanda Warnock used the phrase the Atlantic World to conceptualize independence movements in 1960-1994 Africa (Tishken) and Afro-Caribbean nationalism within a Pan-African understanding of immigration (Iweriebor and Warnock).¹⁸ Maxim Matusевич argued that despite globalization, the Atlantic World remained deeply connected through transnational policy networks that

¹⁵ David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* 2nd Edition (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 13-15.

¹⁶ Coffman, Leonard, and O'Reilly, eds., *The Atlantic World*, 2.

¹⁷ Suranyi, *The Atlantic Connection*, Preface-1.

¹⁸ Joel E. Tishken 'African Independence Movements' in *The Atlantic World: 1450-2000*, eds. Toyin Falola and Kevin Roberts (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008), 249-271; and E. G. Iweriebor and Amanda Warnock, 'The Diasporic Dimensions of Caribbean Nationalism, 1900—1959' in *The Atlantic World: 1450-2000*, eds. Toyin Falola and Kevin Roberts (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008), 277-293.

provided a 'natural flow of ideas and values across invisible borders.'¹⁹ Matusevich's argument segued into a vilification of neoliberal politics that ignored the 'structural inequality' perpetuated by the differential involvement of the Northern Atlantic and the Southern Atlantic in monetary flow.²⁰ In an analysis focussed on the failure of international courts to require reparations payouts for past slave trade participation, Matusevich's argument continued a trend among Atlanticists to consider the Northern and Southern Atlantic communities as distinct, yet interconnected, groups.²¹

Therefore, modern connections between the US, UK, Canada, and France collectively and individually between partner nations produced new versions of the Northern Atlantic World networks formed through the entire period between the fifteenth and the twentieth centuries. In the 20th century, these relationships were inaugurated after World War Two in international organizations and military agreements. In particular, all four nations were founding members of the United Nations (UN) organizations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the G7 and were linked by commitments to various international laws, conventions relating to international peace and economic norms; and provisions protecting cultural diversity and human rights.²² Individually, the UK and the US shared an admittedly fraught 'special relationship,' detailed by historians such as Peter Jones and James Cooper, based on shared political and domestic policies.²³ The relationship between Canada and the US policies has been the subject of

¹⁹ Maxim Matusevich, 'Reparation and Reform Movements in the Atlantic World,' in *The Atlantic World: 1450-2000*, eds. Toyin Falola and Kevin Roberts (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008), 345.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 356-357.

²¹ Canny and Pagden, eds., *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World*, 7.

²² Bob Reinalda, *Routledge History of International Organizations: From 1815 to the Present Day* (London: Routledge, 2008).

²³ James Cooper, *Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan: A Very Political Special Relationship* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012); and Peter Jones, *America and the British Labour Party: The Special Relationship at Work* (London: IB Tauris, 1997).

several comparative pieces by education historians, for example Reva Joshee and Sandra Vergari.²⁴ Likewise, comparisons in development have been drawn between French and Canadian cultural and linguistic policies, for example Eléonore Lépinard's work on allowances for religious dress.²⁵ Building on such studies, a wider connection, therefore, between these four comparator nations as partners within an Atlantic World community can be drawn based on an analysis of public policies and reforms centred on education and culture.²⁶

Yet, for this study the relationships between these nations will be assessed only in conjunction with the developing transnational dimension to such policymaking processes. The framework provided by the Atlantic World is thereby used to provide logical boundaries for this study rather than pursued as a separate analytical theme. A historiographically directed limitation to the study ensured that examination of necessary archival documents would provide the greatest potential for an in-depth analysis of transnational influences on the creation of national education policies while not sacrificing the needed breadth of such analyses to establish the correlation between these comparators and resultant policies.

Transnational Policy Development

Rather than a comparative framework, the development of policies in these nations has warranted an analysis that took into account the associations between nations beyond those wrought by similar policies. A transnational framework offered a lens through which to view the

²⁴ Vergari, 'Safeguarding Federalism in Education Policy in Canada and the United States,' 534-557; and Joshee and Winton, eds., *Multicultural Education Policies in Canada and the United States*.

²⁵ Eléonore Lépinard, 'Migrating Concepts: Immigrant Integration and the Regulation of Religious Dress in France and Canada,' *Ethnicities* 15 (2015): 611-632.

²⁶ Gereluk and Race. 'Multicultural Tensions in England, France, and Canada,' 113-129 and Erik Bleich, *Race Politics in Britain and France: Ideas and Policymaking since the 1960s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

interactions between these comparator nations as a reciprocal relationship. This study used this transnational lens to evaluate these comparator nations' adoption of policies rather than either an international comparison study or an analysis of the influence of a central nation on a set of peripheral nations.²⁷ Comparative studies, such as those completed by Erik Bleich, emphasized key areas of difference between the education policies to demonstrate both concurrent policy developments and conceptual differences amongst Britain and France (his comparator nations).²⁸ These comparative studies invariably focus on the differences between national policies and have covered the range of historical, cultural, political, religious differences that influenced the development of unique national policies in these nations. This work does not discount such emphatic and pervasive variance in these comparator nations. Similarly, a vanguard of scholars investigating the history of multicultural education policy, such as James and Cherry Banks, focussed on the pre-eminent influence of one nation on the policies of other nations, highlighting a unilateral transmission of policy usually deriving from the US.²⁹ In both cases, the documents accessed in the archives of national ministries and departments, through to those of individuals policymakers, verified a much more complex policy exchange than either of these previous approaches have entailed. Ideas, values, and policies passed between these nations over national boundaries through international organizations, such as the UN and UNESCO, creating a new set of networks and a policymaking language between what political scientist Fabrizio de Francesco

²⁷ For an international comparison on these themes see: Ruud Koopmans, 'Multiculturalism and Immigration: a Contested Field in Cross-National Comparison,' *Annual Review of Sociology* 39 (2013): 147-169. For an analysis of how a central nation, in this case the United States, affected peripheral nations see: James A. Banks, *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education* (London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 2009).

²⁸ Erik Bleich, *Race Politics in Britain and France: Ideas and Policymaking since the 1960s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). See Also: Christophe Bertossi, ed., *European Anti-Discrimination and the Politics of Citizenship: Britain and France* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); and Joshee and Winton, eds., *Multicultural Education Policies in Canada and the United States*.

²⁹ Banks and Banks, eds., *Multicultural Education*; and Banks, *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education*.

called 'networks of policymakers, high-level civil servants, practitioners and academics.'³⁰ This language highlighted a newly configured status quo between these nations. Their stated goal in the majority of these policies was to ensure the creation of a future populated by tolerant, fair-minded citizens participating in a society dedicated to eliminating the tensions that were perceived to exist between diverse groups. For these policymakers such ideals would become almost a conceptual or cultural imperative driving education policymaking throughout the period. Consequently, this was a study that filled a needed gap in the historiography to provide an overarching historically rooted analysis of the adoption of remarkably similar policies by national policymakers and crucially complicated and improved historical accounts of the development of policies centred on that stated goal or ideal.

A historiographical analysis of policymaking revealed a unique set of studies focussed on various aspects of the policy creation process. Many scholars, such as Brady Baybeck, William D. Berry, and David A. Siegel, have argued that national policies were in part influenced by 'their neighbours' and discussed national policies based on whether policies were dispersed through international constructs.³¹ Policy transfers between nations were therefore assessed by certain political scientists as part of general trend toward international policymaking and were examined in a relatively comparative mode. For example, Kurt Weyland determined whether and to what extent policies were considered and developed across shared national boundaries.³² De Francesco expanded these frameworks to consider the innovations by the Organization for

³⁰ Fabrizio de Francesco, *Transnational Policy Innovation: The OECD and the Diffusion of Regulatory Impact Analysis* (Colchester: ECPR Press, 2013), 1.

³¹ Brady Baybeck, William D. Berry, and David Siegel, 'A Strategic Theory of Policy Diffusion via Intergovernmental Competition,' *The Journal of Politics* 73 (2011): 232-233.

³² Kurt Weyland, *Bounded Rationality and Policy Diffusion: Social Sector Reform in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the diffusion of accepted policies within the national members of the OECD.³³ These expanded frameworks provided a necessary viewpoint on the integration of the US, UK, Canada, and France within the transnational networks created by the OECD. Further, de Francesco's work defended the necessity for a deeper analysis of the policymaking networks between these four nations. In particular, de Francesco argued that it was necessary to not only compare policies that were developed individually in these nations but also 'to assess whether and how a policy has been transferred from one country to another.'³⁴

It was within de Francesco's definition of the policymaking process that this study traced its own historical analyses. In particular, the policy assessment frameworks established by his study provided a useful structure for a historical assessment of policy developments, in particular a division of a cyclical policymaking process into three general phases, 'adoption, implementation, and evaluation.'³⁵ For example, rather than focussing on policymaking as a whole, this conceptualization offered the ability to assess each section of the process individually as well as in tandem. The adoption phase detailed by de Francesco presented a unique perspective through which to assess the development of education policy. In particular, focussing on the adoption phase of the policymaking process re-established the importance of intentionality, for it is the intentions of policymakers that inspired initial policies and then convinced them to continue to pursue these policies. At early stages in this study, oral history and interviewing of individual policymakers was considered as a corollary attempt to gain insight into the intentions of and transnational influences on policy, but this research plan was discarded due to the inevitable

³³ De Francesco, *Transnational Policy Innovation*, 1-3.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 6.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 23.

temptation of such interviewees to consider the eventual implementation and evaluation of the successes and failures of policy rather than considering individually the fundamental aspects of the adoption procedures. The following analysis of education policies in these comparator nations will cover primarily the first section of this process, leading into the initial phase of the implementation cycle—the national interpretation of policies and initial plans for implementation though stopping short of delving into the practical implementation of policies. In particular, like de Francesco, this study will examine policymaking as a series of interconnected feedback loops rather than a universal linear process.³⁶

Further, the policy networks established through connections between national actors and international organizations, while reflecting their nation's commitments to these organizations, were also more fluid; based on personal as well as political relationships. According to economic historian Patricia Clavin, the collection of '*expert advice*' and suggestions of members states' commissions in international organizations often resulted in the development of a political rhetoric and a type of collective bargaining in the policy process of international organizations, such as the League of Nations and the United Nations Organization.³⁷ Indeed, participation in these international organizations often resulted in intimate relationships that developed into personal bonds between national ministers, solidified through letters and personal visits.³⁸ During the period considered in this study, the relationship and access of individuals to UNESCO committees, for example conventions related to the UN Declaration of Human Rights, would be championed by various national actors in UNESCO, both internationally and in their

³⁶ De Francesco, *Transnational Policy Innovation*, 14-22.

³⁷ Patricia Clavin, *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations: 1920-1946* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 347-353.

³⁸ Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism,' 421-422.

home nations. In assessing the influences of international organisations on national policies, it is important to carefully trace the connections and participation in international organizations by national comparators. If such connections were solid and could be proved through documentary evidence, then the influence of the international organisations on national policy could be either inferred or directly proven. For example, the main author of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, René Cassin, would promote related policy adoption in various French media outlets by referring to his work to ensure the pursuit of conventions in the US during meetings with former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt.³⁹ Pursuing transnational connections by following the pathways and contacts by individual actors plays an important role in creating policy 'honeycombs' between national ministries/departments, international committees, foreign offices, and through the political hierarchy reaching the prime ministers and presidents of these nations.⁴⁰ For Clavin, the conception of honeycombs rather than networks or webs provided a valuable structure for analysis of policy shifts, including those relating to multiculturalism considered within national cultural diversity. This phrasing allowed breakages between individual links within networks without losing the overall connection between nations ensured by subsequent replacements from supranational and international groupings.⁴¹ In this study, Clavin's arguments and the honeycomb model proved especially crucial as national governments led by different political parties had differential education reform priorities. By the mid-1980s the US and the UK would have pulled out of UNESCO and were content to replace their direct influence on international education policy through UNESCO with the implicit influence of an observer status. Focussing on a transnational historical context that demonstrates connections can be, and often were, replaced

³⁹ René Cassin, Radio Interview with Olivaud Tamin, 'A Vos Ordres' French Section, 21.5.1946, 1-13 [Archives Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 382AP 161 René Cassin Travaux 1944-1948, Travaux Article, Conférences, and Discours 1946.

⁴⁰ Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism,' 421 and 427.

⁴¹ Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism,' 427-429 and 438-439.

by new contacts within or without older networks, this study will highlight the transmission of education policies that intended to promote the stated goal of the future tolerant and harmonious society as discussed above.

Of particular relevance to this study was Clavin's argument that transnational networks were required to be 'open, porous, revisable and interactive.'⁴² A cyclical policymaking process, populated by a shifting and constantly reorganized set of national and international actors, was a model for how these nations would cultivate integrative education and multicultural policies from 1941 to 1988. While initial arguments for the imposition of policies meant to ensure equality of opportunity in the 1940s would prove a quite personal story between Richard Austen Butler in the UK (President of the UK Board of Education) and René Cassin in France (Professor of Law, Founder of the Union Fédérale, and President of the European Court for Human Rights) in influencing other UNESCO members, increasingly through to the 1980s a more nationally framed story developed with involvement of the US presidential domestic policy staff and related bodies in other comparator nations.

Literature Review: Transnational and Multicultural Education Policy

Sourcing Transnational Identity Policies and Fusion

One of the historiographical areas to which this study contributed is scholarship dedicated to the study of transnational identity policy and its relationship to education policy. An important factor

⁴² Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism,' 439.

for education policy scholars was identity formation in response to cultural plurality. Identity was often perceived to be under attack due to the influences of multicultural society and integrative policies, like multiculturalism, were defended as one way to ensure protection for individualism. Under multiculturalism, identity formation was considered fluid, allowing individuals to belong to several cultures and still retain authentic membership of their own culture.⁴³ This concept closely resembles identities formed through participation in sport and sport fandom. Identification with a particular sport, sports team/group/nation, is an additive identity and can define an individual's social interactions without regard to race, ethnicity, or nationality.⁴⁴ This was also a belief espoused by scholars of multiculturalism, such as Anne Phillips, Joe Kincheloe, and Shirley Steinberg, who argued that any cultural norm can be, and has been, altered depending on circumstances, and that no cultural concept (including race) was based on a biologically fixed imperative.⁴⁵ With or without a foundation in fact, or *a priori* constructs, race became a major factor determining identity for theorist, scholar, politician, and citizen alike. It was the factor determining a multicultural society for some commentators. For scholars of race and culture Floya Anthias, Nira Yuval-Davis, and Harriet Cain, there was a need to resituate race as a needed concept in the history of policy even though it was a socially constructed idea. They argued that race informed who communities considered insiders and outsiders. In part, the people themselves had made this a uniquely important part of personal

Leena Lestinin, Jelena Petrucijová, and Julia Spinthourakis, *Identity in Multicultural and Multilingual Contexts* (London: CiCe, Central Coordination Unit, September 2004), 1.

⁴⁴ Alice Bloch and John Solomos, eds., *Race and Ethnicity in the 21st Century* (Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 11.

⁴⁵ Anne Phillips, *Multiculturalism without Culture* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), 52; and Joe L. Kincheloe and Shirley R. Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997), 169.

identity even though definitions of race were unfixed.⁴⁶ What Anthias et al do not fully consider was the source of these assumed racial identities in an imperial justification framework establishing not only the majority cultures (British, American, French, Anglo-Canadian) as the superior race, but the 'other' (usually a single racial, ethnic, or linguistic minority) as a distinct and lower race.

To identify the problems associated with these post-colonial assumptions forming a part of personal and communal identity, social theorist Barnor Hesse coined the phrase *multicultural transruptions*, meaning recurrent disruptions that 'slice through, cut across and disarticulate the logic of discourses that seek to repress...them (the disruptions).'⁴⁷ The phrase was not multicultural *disruptions* because they did not occur singularly and were not disconnected from one another. Instead these *transruptions* occurred periodically due to the same incipient factors. Hesse used this phrase to describe the troubled relations between ethnic groups characterised by identity crises informed by latent imperialist thinking. Leftover imperial assumptions persisted after decolonization and created differences in political recognition (limited) and social status (lowered) of ethnic groups. These assumptions created factions that led to Hesse's *transruptions*, which ran the gamut from fractured political organizations to open violence. Hesse argued that multiculturalist discourses could defuse the explosive situation caused by 'incomplete decolonization' by intervening in public discourse and incorporating disparate groups in all their diversity.⁴⁸ In this sense, incomplete decolonization resulted from the identities and prejudices

⁴⁶ Floya Anthias and Cathie Lloyd, *Rethinking Anti-Racisms: from Theory to Practice* (London: Routledge, 2002) and Floya Anthias, Harriet Cain, and Nira Yuval-Davis, *Racialized Boundaries Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle* (London: Routledge, 1992).

⁴⁷ Barnor Hesse, *Un/Settled Multiculturalism: Diasporas, Entanglements, 'Transruptions'* (London: Zed Books, 2000), 17.

⁴⁸ Hesse, *Un/Settled Multiculturalism*, 14-19.

formed under colonization enduring long after the imperial framework was gone. Such assumptions formed a crucial aspect of education policymaking during this period as competing assumptions of tolerance and discrimination would provide the foundation for many policy discussions on how to best incorporate diverse groups and protect equality of opportunity.

For education policymakers, combatting such embedded assumptions as emphasised in Anthias et al and Hesse's works, including the intention of policies to encourage a more flexible cultural and racial identity, would form the basis for the first set of education policy reforms deriving in the immediate post-war context. During the early 1940s the ideal policy for those representing the comparator nations indicated a need for innovative education curricula that could develop reforms meant to encourage further integration and encouragement of diverse groups. Judging from the minutes of UNESCO Sub-committee on Cultural Conventions, this was a frontline policy intended to combat identities formed by negative ideologies, a subject that will be considered in greater detail in Chapter Two.⁴⁹ Similarly, educational programming designed in the comparator nations during the 1970s and 1980s represented similar desires to maintain and guide identity formation and cultural acquisition. Educational and entertainment programmes alike would often emulate the socio-cultural attitudes that related education curricula sought to inculcate. These representations, discussed in depth in Chapter Four, would often either dismiss entrenched cultural assumptions, choosing instead to demonstrate what society could be in order to inspire understanding of diverse communities, or mock these assumptions, presumably to demonstrate the fallacy of holding onto them in what was believed to be an era of tolerance. In

⁴⁹ Richard Austen Butler, Speaking to the Foreign Press Association, 27.5.1943 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 42/22 Sub-Committee on Cultural Conventions, 1943-1948.

either case, for policymakers, identity was considerably elastic and responsive to external influences.

Sourcing Multicultural Education Policy Adoption Frameworks

This study likewise contributed to the historiography concerning multicultural education as many scholars have similarly highlighted the importance of understanding communities, especially in not universalizing standards without regard to individual needs.⁵⁰ Commentators in the period defined by this study were also often divided between interactive policymaking, where teachers' and schools' voices are heard and responded to through individualistic reforms; and policymaking that sought to universalize through comprehensive education. In both instances, these policies were planned to standardize and guarantee a specific degree of education for all students.⁵¹ Education scholars, such as Denis Lawton and D. Paul Schafer, emphasized the importance of these education policies, and the reflective position of positive cultural policies therein, as a primary instigator in creating an eventual society that accepted of all its members regardless of origin, culture, or religion.⁵² In an almost neo-Marxist perspective, University of Zagreb philosopher and educational anthropologist Vedrana Spajić-Vrkaš argued that improvement through education planned to assist individuals in the achievement of higher status, and therefore higher earning power.⁵³ Therefore, these works reinforced the necessity to analyse the intentions of policymakers in the evolution of education policies.

⁵⁰ Penny Travers and Gillian Klein, eds., *Equal Measures: Ethnic Minority and Bilingual Pupils in Secondary Schools* (Sterling, VA: Trentham Books, 2004).

⁵¹ Denis Lawton, *Education and Labour Party Ideologies: 1900-2001 and Beyond* (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2005).

⁵² D. Paul Shafer, *Studies and Documents on Cultural Policies: Aspects of Canadian Cultural Policy* (Paris: UNESCO, 1976).

⁵³ Vedrana Spajić-Vrkaš, 'The Emergence of Multiculturalism in Education: From Ignorance to Separation through Recognition,' in *Perspectives of Multiculturalism: Western and Transitional Countries*, ed. Milan Mesić (Zagreb: Croatia Commission for UNESCO, 2004), 93.

Bhikhu Parekh, author of *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain* report for the Runnymede Trust (an independent race equality think-tank established in 1968) and other volumes covering both the development and future of race relations in Britain, has defended differential treatment as part of how equality was intended to be produced. Particularly illustrative was his example regarding a Sikh child's adherence to school dress code. In this case, differential treatment, such as exempting the student from the uniform obligations that would have prevented him from wearing his turban, 'frees [the child] from that burden and equalizes him with the rest.'⁵⁴ In other words, if uniform policy had prevented the Sikh child from wearing his turban, unlike most of the other children, the child would be violating his religious ethics and causing distress. Removing this restriction made dressing for school the same low stress experience as other children and allowed the Sikh child to participate in both the school's culture and his individual culture. For Parekh, equality of treatment was not the same thing as uniformity.⁵⁵ Providing equality of opportunity rather than universality was a paramount concern in determining the way education should interact with diversity.

A similar assessment, including methodological focus on religious dress as a factor in providing equal opportunity, was pursued by historian David Feldman in his work on the development of race relations policies meant to create inclusive multicultural environments. For Feldman, as with many historians of policy, a summation that identified multiculturalism with a more general ideal or in this case 'cause' was necessary, yet in this work Feldman demonstrated an intention to

⁵⁴ Bhikhu Parekh, 'Barry and the Dangers of Liberalism,' in *Multiculturalism Reconsidered: Culture, Equality and its Critics*, ed. Paul Kelly (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2002), 148.

⁵⁵ Mark Olssen, 'From the Crick Report to the Parekh Report: Multiculturalism, Cultural Difference, and Democracy--The Re-Visioning of Citizenship Education,' *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 25(2004): 179-192.

unite both liberal and conservative pluralism under an uneasy political umbrella. Feldman identified a 'recurrence of conservative pluralism' that ran concurrently to the recognised liberal pluralism more fully developed in the histories of such policies.⁵⁶ Importantly, this emphasis provided support for one of this study's main propositions that there was a cyclical policymaking process involving both sides of the political divide who played on similar concerns and pursued a clear stated goal that involved a 'national imaginary' of a tolerant nation either in progress or available in the future.⁵⁷

It was difficult to identify one phrase to encompass all multicultural education policies. Often the terms relating to multicultural education differed by country. For Britain, multicultural education was used to describe the incorporation of diverse materials and cultures into the curriculum and the accommodations provided for the language and cultural needs of minority ethnic groups. For North America, it was ethnic studies that dominated in the United States and in Canada there was multicultural education which focussed on bilingual communities and 'First Canadians'.⁵⁸ In Europe, 'intercultural education' was a term arguably more indicative of the needs of European education, which included exposition on the European Economic Community.⁵⁹ These expressions all represented the attempts by their various governments and educational authorities to incorporate diverse groups into a curriculum dominated by a majority ethnic or linguistic category. In Europe, intercultural would imply the relative equality of the

⁵⁶ David Feldman, 'Why the English like Turbans: Multicultural Politics in British History,' in *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History*, eds. David Feldman and Jon Lawrence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 299-300.

⁵⁷ Feldman, 'Why the English like Turbans,' in *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History*, 300. See also: Frank Mort, 'Intellectual Pluralism and the Future of British History,' *History Workshop Journal* 72 (2011): 212-221.

⁵⁸ Joshee and Winton, eds., *Multicultural Education Policies in Canada and the United States*.

⁵⁹ Lestinin, Petrucijová, and Spinthourakis, *Identity in Multicultural and Multilingual Contexts*, 7.

European ethnicities studied.⁶⁰ Whereas in North America, ethnic studies was used predominantly to describe African American studies, and its predecessor Black studies, until the late 1990s.⁶¹ This development of multicultural education as a separate course took diversity and placed it outside of the main curriculum as an addition rather than as an innovative change.⁶² For some education historians, such as Thomas LaBelle and Christopher Ward, ethnic studies were a 'natural partner' for multicultural education and for others multicultural education was an uncompromising threat to the benefits provided by ethnic studies courses, as multicultural education would supplant those courses.⁶³

Some scholars' arguments, notably James A. Banks, used this information to place the source and development of multicultural education first in the United States, especially during the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s.⁶⁴ Yet these so-called multicultural education policies in the US invariably focussed on university education and not secondary education (as multicultural education would focus in Britain, France, and Canada) and would focus on incorporating one specific ethnic group (African Americans) instead of incorporating the entire multi-ethnic society for the bulk of the 1960s. The plethora of materials relating to US multicultural education, textbooks, historiography, and introductory chapters, lent considerable weight to the argument that the US was the foundry for multicultural education policy and other countries were

⁶⁰ Marco Catarci and Massimiliano Fiorucci, eds., *Intercultural Education in the European Context: Theories, Experiences, Challenges* (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁶¹ Thomas J. LaBelle and Christopher R. Ward, *Ethnic Studies and Multiculturalism* (New York: SUNY Press, 1996).

⁶² Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism*, 232.

⁶³ LaBelle and Ward, *Ethnic Studies and Multiculturalism*, 2.

⁶⁴ Banks and Banks, eds. *Multicultural Education*; and Tariq Modood, *Still not Easy Being British: Struggles for a Multicultural Citizenship* (Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books, 2010), 9.

influenced then by the United States.⁶⁵ Yet the education policy networks between Britain, Canada, and the US would appear to be transnational, not just stemming from the US and proceeding outward, therefore further study on these networks and their involvement in the creation of multicultural education as a force within multiculturalism policies was needed. This study expanded upon the idea that the creation of policy in these comparator nations did not rely on the US as a locus for greater transnational development, indeed this thesis will complicate such a representation by establishing both the UK and Canada in different periods taking the lead in developing innovative education policies to further the stated goal.

In education policy, scholars argued that appropriate adaptation of materials and curriculum was critically important in producing the goal of a tolerant and harmonious society. Producing suitable materials was crucial to multicultural education as some scholars argued that improper application of multicultural education policy had been 'implicated in the processes that sustain and in some cases extend race inequity.'⁶⁶ In some cases, these extensions of racial discrimination occurred due to a lasting perception that difficulties, resulting from improper or incomplete integration of diverse ethnicities into the school environment, were not the fault of the school failing to provide support systems, but from minority ethnic students lacking the ability to incorporate. According to education historian Richard Race, a 1967 Department of Education Report on the Children of Immigrants placed the blame on 'immigrant parents and their children' for causing the problems in schools.⁶⁷ Before the immigrant children arrived there were not the same difficulties and therefore it was argued that these newcomers must adapt to fit

⁶⁵ Mesić, *Perspectives of Multiculturalism*, 93. For textbooks on US multicultural education see: Banks, *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education* ; and Christine Bennett, *Comprehensive Multicultural Education: Theory and Practice* 7th Edition. (London: Pearson, 2011).

⁶⁶ Bloch and Solomos, eds., *Race and Ethnicity in the 21st Century*, 13.

⁶⁷ Race, *Multiculturalism and Education*, 21.

into the existing respectful and tolerant institutions. Assuming that the existing institutions were respectful and tolerant, the arrival of a diverse set of newcomers could not fail to influence institutions and their denizens. It was not only minority ethnic groups who were faced with new challenges but the majority group also were introduced to unique differences. For example, a persuasive argument by education philosopher Micheline Rey-Von Allman revealed that the experience and interaction between these diverse groups did not only affect the 'cultures of minorities or underprivileged groups' who were adjusting to fit with 'more powerful ones.'⁶⁸ Intercultural exchange clearly does not operate in only one direction.

Later scholarship has argued that policymakers planned a new curriculum inclusive of experiential learning activities as demonstrative of a more generalized focus on the benefits of the intangible on student success. More recent arguments focussed on these intangibles—expectations and support systems—as the sources of achievement compared to older sources which focussed instead of the measurable/tangible—method of delivery and language acquisition.⁶⁹ Intangibles, like teacher expectation, acceptance, belonging, and community interaction, all played a part in newly formed curriculum goals responding to perceived indifference and apathy on the part of children from minority ethnic groups. These perceptions relied on statistical data that seemed to prove a lower achievement rate for minority ethnic children on the whole, for example according to the UK Rampton Report in 1981.⁷⁰ Some contemporary commentators and scholars blamed these low achievement rates on endemic

⁶⁸ Micheline Rey-Von Allman, 'Toward an Intercultural Education' in Milan Mesić, ed, *Perspectives of Multiculturalism: Western and Transitional Countries* (Zagreb: Croatian Commission for UNESCO, 2004), 107.

⁶⁹ Donna Walker Tileston, *Closing the Poverty and Culture Gap: Strategies to Reach Every Student* (London: Corwin SAGE, 2009).

⁷⁰ *Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups: The Rampton Report: West Indian Children in Our Schools*, Cmnd. 8273 (London: HMSO, 1981).

institutionalized racism and embedded racial stereotyping causing discrimination despite the negative reinforcement guaranteed by civil rights and race relations legislation in the 1970s.⁷¹ Evidence of 'unintended,' or even 'covert,' racist attitudes that 'slip through the cracks' of legislation required an effort made by individuals to self-identify racist attitudes and prevent them from taking a firm hold.⁷² Discriminatory preference is not limited to issues of race or culture, for example gender discrimination in restaurant seating—men and couples generally receive better seating than women sitting alone or in pairs. Privileged treatment of this sort falls beneath notice and small daily slights can add up to a personal wealth of discrimination.⁷³

Personal vigilance and individual responsibility, both virtues in the society education policymakers would seek to create, were one aspect of this perspective. Other analysts, including future UK committee leader Lord Swann, argued that the reasons for underachievement lay in some intrinsic deficiency of minority ethnic children—assumptions included a differential estimate of IQ and mental capacity, related to pseudoscientific studies prevalent in 19th century imperialism and revitalized in the 1950s.⁷⁴ Conversely, more recent literature has supported teacher expectations as the culprit for the statistics demonstrating underachievement in schools. Put simply, when teachers expected students to fail, then students would live up to those expectations.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Melanie Nind, Jonathan Rix, Kieron Sheehy, and Katy Simmons, *Curriculum and Pedagogy in Inclusive Education: Values into Practice* (Abingdon: RoutledgeFalmer, 2005), 57.

⁷² Jeffery Scott Mio and Gene I. Awakuni, *Resistance to Multiculturalism: Issues and Interventions* (London: Brunner/Mazel Taylor and Francis, 2000), 11.

⁷³ Diane Goodman, *Promoting Diversity and Social Justice: Educating People from Privileged Groups* (London: Sage, 2001), 21.

⁷⁴ Mesić, *Perspectives of Multiculturalism*, 93.

⁷⁵ Tileston, *Closing the Poverty and Culture Gap*, 32; Sally Tomlinson, *Home and School in Multicultural Britain* (London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1984), 7; and Peter Foster, *Policy and Practice in Multicultural and Anti-Racist Education* (London: Routledge, 1990), 18-20.

Education historians David Gillborn and Nicola Rollock have provided further warnings against over generalizing about the causes of underachievement in schools and those students who underachieve. Gillborn and Rollock stressed the importance of the specific needs of individual students over identifying the several needs of any group of students. Measures that paid 'too much attention to group-level measures' ignored the needs of individual students, presenting an 'over-simplification' of cultural and racial problems 'and even stereotyping' children as representatives of a racial or ethnic group instead of acknowledging their own personhood.⁷⁶ Similar to questions raised by Anne Phillips, these stereotypes reified culture or race above all other concerns. In the process, other factors affecting student achievement were obscured, such as gender and class. For example, the achievement levels of girls and children from non-manual labouring households were generally higher than those of boys and children from manual labouring households.⁷⁷

To alleviate such concerns, proposed curriculum changes included in multicultural education policies, followed two schools of thought: adding lessons and materials from other cultures into the curriculum; and renovating the curriculum completely to more accurately portray the current society. Initially, multicultural education policies in the 1970s implemented the former, but increasingly contemporary scholars of education supported the latter as a more effective choice. Both groups used the same justification for their desired curriculum change, which was to provide affirmation to minority ethnic groups and teach respect for the differences of minority ethnic culture to the majority group.⁷⁸ There was some crossover between these strategies in

⁷⁶ David Gillborn and Nicola Rollock 'Education' in *Race and Ethnicity in the 21st Century*, eds. Bloch and Solomos, 139.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 141-142.

⁷⁸ Anthias, Cain, and Yuval-Davis. *Racialized Boundaries*, 160.

terms of antiracist policies. In pursuing antiracism, materials not only needed to be added to the curriculum to support needed changes, but also some materials needed to be removed. James Banks provided several examples of such curriculum adaptations, including: a contributions approach that highlighted only special occasions and holidays; a cultural additive approach that included a book or unit covering a specific cultural idea or person; a transformative approach that reconceptualised the whole curriculum to represent the multicultural mosaic (itself a policy derived from Canadian policies from 1972); a decision-making and social action approach focussed on experiential learning; and finally a mixing or blending of all these approaches depending on individual need.⁷⁹

Education policies were not consistently associated with multiculturalism and certainly not always considered successful. Many disappointments were recorded as policies unsuccessfully responded to racism of both the institution and individual and the discontent of multicultural ethnic groups. These failures caused policy to be rewritten, re-evaluated, and retried under new circumstances. Both incremental and innovative changes to policies illustrated a progression in multicultural education similar to like evolution of multiculturalism itself.⁸⁰ Some scholars would argue that these transformations were necessary because 'half-hearted...attempts in the 1970s and 1980s' to implement multicultural education did not succeed 'in creating environments in which black students as a whole feel the sense of belonging which comes with acceptance of themselves.'⁸¹ By focussing on belonging and acceptance, multicultural education intended to

⁷⁹ Alec Fyfe and Peter Figeroa, eds., *Education for Cultural Diversity* (London: Routledge, 1993), 58-62.

⁸⁰ Richard Race, *Multiculturalism and Education* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

⁸¹ Nind, Rix, Sheehy, and Simmons, *Curriculum and Pedagogy in Inclusive*, 65 and 60.

produce a microcosm of an accepting society.⁸² In these philosophical terms, in order to respect others you had first to be respected, and 'to be accepted is the *sine qua non* condition to be accepting.'⁸³ Overall, the 'spirit' or overall direction of multicultural education policy did not change. The goals of multicultural education, using education policy to produce tolerant citizens, and the desired end result, an institution that respected the diversity of its members and encouraged those members to feel they belonged, were the same.

Sourcing Multicultural Education Policy: Historical Approaches to Policy Adoption

Due to such modifications in policy, many education historians have divided education policy history into four distinct categories: 'assimilation; integration; multi-culturalism; and antiracism.'⁸⁴ Race has organized these shifts in a somewhat chronologically vague and generalized manner.⁸⁵ Race attached assimilation to 1950-1965, which was a valid description as assimilation as a theory was linked to more conservative leaderships and demands. Integration was attached to 1965-1974, a similar respectable connection as the first set of years included a primarily left-leaning political leadership among most comparator nations and the last dealt with the results of implementing civil rights and race relations legislation. A seemingly faulty or misleading categorization was that of multiculturalism to 1974-1985. From 1974-1979 multiculturalism was arguably the focus of the UK Labour government and Canadian governments in both education policy and race relations (as evidenced by the UK 1976 Race Relations Act and the Canadian Multiculturalism Directorate's policies in the 1970s, among other pieces of legislation). Yet the account becomes distorted as this perspective implied that in the

⁸² David Conway, *Disunited Kingdoms: How the Government's Community Cohesion Agenda Undermines British Identity and Nationhood* (London: Civitas: Institute for the Study of Civil Society, 2009), 24.

⁸³ Allman, 'Toward an Intercultural Education' in *Perspectives of Multiculturalism*, 108.

⁸⁴ Anthias, Cain, and Yuval-Davis. *Racialized Boundaries*, 159.

⁸⁵ For the following dates, see Table 2.1 in Race, *Multiculturalism and Education*, 11.

UK multiculturalism operated in a relatively low-profile way throughout the period of Margaret Thatcher's government. Thatcher was a leading opponent of multiculturalism and spent much of her premiership dismantling the institutional ties connecting multicultural education to government interventionism. The successes of Thatcher's education policies, such as further controls and interventions designed to take power away from teachers and educationalists, were supported by scholarship that connected interventionism in education to further destabilization in student success and lowered individual student achievement.⁸⁶ Such privatization and the dismantling of the multicultural education policy structure was not only a product of Thatcher's government, but also indicative of the beliefs of the liberal movements discussed above. According to these liberals, like Kenneth Minogue in his introduction to Patrick West's *Poverty of Multiculturalism*, these policies of multiculturalism, like multicultural education, had 'generated an expensive and intrusive bureaucracy to dominate our lives.'⁸⁷ The monies wasted on ineffective multiculturalism, they argued, could be better spent on alternative sources (like economic relief) to produce more effective results (greater respect and tolerance). Only tenuously, through a very broad understanding of the terms that some would believe to be a caricature, can these actions be considered as supportive of multiculturalism through multicultural education. A bond between these ideals must occur first through the empirical establishment of a similar focus in both multiculturalism and Thatcherite policy on the resulting society—a bond that has yet to be determined by recently released materials and potentially does not exist.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Christopher Green, *The Privatization of State Education: Public Partners, Private Dealings* (London: Routledge, 2005); and Norman Evans, ed., *Curriculum Change in Secondary Schools, 1957-2004: An Educational Roundabout?* (London: Routledge, 2005).

⁸⁷ Patrick West and Kenneth Minogue, *The Poverty of Multiculturalism* (London: Civitas: London Institute for the Study of Civil Society, 2005), xvi.

⁸⁸ Feldman, 'Why the English like Turbans' in *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History*.

Anti-racism, an idea according to Race which spread throughout the 1970s-1990s was a better characterization of policies that both Labour governments in the UK and more conservative governments elsewhere enacted, but was not a perfect correlation.⁸⁹ Anti-racist ideology revealed that multiculturalists had reverted to previous integration efforts instead of building 'on existing multicultural practice in schools.'⁹⁰ As evidenced by Race's arguments, anti-racism and multiculturalism policies were incompatible, since they were focussed on opposite goals and used dissimilar tools. Anti-racism in this case would focus on prosecuting instances of discriminatory action, while multiculturalism would work within to produce a new society by transforming identity formation. For institutions, anti-racism and multicultural education were burdened by a similar incongruous relationship. Nonetheless, contemporary commentators' accounts reveal a different relationship. In the UK in 1987, the Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association, in reply to the newly published Swann Report, argued that 'Anti-Racism seeks to cure and multicultural education to prevent the exercise of racial prejudice.'⁹¹ In this framework, despite anti-racist and multicultural education representing discordant policies, these are not incompatible. Rather, these policies can act as co-conspirators from opposite sides of the system. Anti-racism could act on legislation and policy to deal with current discriminatory activities, while multicultural education worked from within to prevent further discriminatory activities.

⁸⁹ Anthias and Lloyd, *Rethinking Anti-Racisms*.

⁹⁰ Race, *Multiculturalism and Education*, 29.

⁹¹ *Multicultural and Anti-Racist Education Today: AMMA Statement* (London: Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association, 1987), 8.

Sourcing Multiculturalist Policymaking

Finally, this study contributed to the established historiography on multiculturalism. This study assessed the perpetuation of the main ideals of multiculturalism through education policies by way of the adoption of multicultural education and similar integrative education policies during this period. Therefore, an encapsulated presentation of the historical context of multiculturalism and multiculturalist policies was necessary to establish the key multiculturalist notions of that would be investigated in this study and avoid the temptation to apply an anachronistic perspective on historically unrelated policies. There are several ideas contributing to multiculturalism and attendant policies that are well established in the literature. First, that multiculturalism was a terribly difficult concept to define accurately.⁹² Second, that multiculturalists (itself is a problematic identifier for proponents of multiculturalism as the idea was believed to conflict with pluralist and liberalist ideologies) have a plan to effect change in society, politics, or morality.⁹³ Third, that multiculturalism as a policy was flawed in some manner.⁹⁴ Some smaller portion of that same literature offers a myriad of solutions for the problems inherent in variously: defining multiculturalism; occupying multiculturalists with appropriate tasks; and/or fixing multiculturalism itself.⁹⁵ The solutions range from scrapping multiculturalism altogether (an idea espoused currently by the highest levels of the British, French and German governments); sticking with multiculturalism as the best of a bad set of

⁹² For problems in definition of multiculturalism see: Bloch and Solomos, *Race and Ethnicity in the 21st Century*; John Horton, ed, *Liberalism, Multiculturalism, and Toleration* (London: Macmillan Press, 1993); Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism*; and Race, *Multiculturalism and Education*.

⁹³ Horton, *Liberalism, Multiculturalism, and Toleration*; and Goodman, *Promoting Diversity and Social Justice*.

⁹⁴ Ted Cattle, *Interculturalism: The New Era of Cohesion and Diversity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

⁹⁵ Bhikhu Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); and Kelly, *Multiculturalism Reconsidered*; and Suzanne Audrey, *Multiculturalism in Practice: Irish Jewish Italian and Pakistani Migration to Scotland*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

choices; or redefining multiculturalism incessantly until the definition sounds more effective (without actually solving anything practically).⁹⁶

Redefining multiculturalism repeatedly will never suit as a solution to the problems inherent in such a shifting policy framework because many of those sociologists and philosophers invariably miss the key point of multiculturalism, with few exceptions. Using a historical analysis of the development multiculturalist policies, including multicultural education, demonstrated the key notion that makes multiculturalism such a useful policy tool: its malleability. Multiculturalism was neither a fixed idea nor a permanent policy. Multiculturalism was not a uniform political ideology, but a constantly shifting, utopian goal for interaction between groups, individuals, and the state.⁹⁷ It was not a method that, once attempted, policymakers discarded in exchange for a new tactic for healing the fissures caused by inequality and difference. Neither was multiculturalism a relic of past UK race relations or US civil rights legislation initiatives that now seemed limited in the face of new problems. Instead, multiculturalism evolved with each new initiative, responded to changes in the political and social climate, and incorporated new communities into an ever-expanding web involving educational reform, community interaction, and political involvement. In a similar manner to how de Francesco used empirical evidence of OECD member nations adopting and incorporating innovative policies into their own national contexts, this study demonstrates that proponents of multiculturalist or integrative policies in the US, UK, Canada, and France used responses to and evaluations of their reforms to adapt to changing situations in effort to enact their vision of how their multicultural nations should act.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Michael Emerson, ed., *Interculturalism: Europe and its Muslims in Search of Sound Societal Muslims* (Brussels: Centre For Policy Studies, 2011).

⁹⁷ Garton Ash, Mortimer, and Öktem, *Freedom in Diversity*, 18 and 23.

⁹⁸ De Francesco, *Transnational Policy Innovation*, 17.

Here multiculturalism was envisaged as something more encompassing of differing viewpoints and ideologies—something broader. To fix multiculturalism to one set of preconceived identifiers within set policy would be to misunderstand the goals of multiculturalists and those collaborators who often grudgingly have used its auspices to their own gain (for example, to enact the UK Education Reform Act 1988 and the French 'Jospin Law' 1989). Indeed, such definitions flout the cyclical nature of policymaking itself. Multiculturalism instead meant, and means, different things to different people.⁹⁹ At the core of all decisions made to further peaceful cohabitation of all races, ethnicities, and religions was the linchpin—the stated goal—the eventual society multiculturalism means to produce. A specific world, itself a version of utopia, for all citizens was the connector between all the versions of multiculturalism produced by sympathetic policy makers, theorists, and commentators. It was this stated goal that through analysis of education policy planning documents was sourced and emphasised as a key component in successive education policies.

This keystone of multiculturalism often operated away from open sight and was camouflaged by so-called larger concerns within education policy development such as discrimination, racism, and underachievement. Whether this kind of intervention by the state was wanted or needed; whether the state should have the power to intervene in the personal morality development of its citizens; and whether state control should monitor a chosen set of institutions meant to inoculate new citizens against the insidious strains of moral disease was the set of questions that dominated discussions of multiculturalism's effects. However, these concerns only became visible after wading through transitory concerns like 'problem children,' underachievement, and

⁹⁹ Garton Ash, Mortimer, and Öktem, *Freedom in Diversity*, 23.

race- and class-based discrimination.¹⁰⁰ These political and social problems were bound to political alliances, Liberal and Conservative, and political battles, social democrats versus liberals.¹⁰¹ These disputes served to mutate multiculturalism into disparate policy categories but did not shift its central goal or utopian endgame. It was the transitory concerns that often made multiculturalism seem untenable, useless, or, from its harshest critics at least, a catastrophic failure. Instead of harsh denigration, one should see multiculturalism for what it has done to alleviate the difficulties it intended to, those related to lack of equality of opportunity.

Multiculturalism has evolved in the face of a series of challenges. Even the multicultural group in question has shifted in focus several times since 1947; this shift includes the burden of social problems that are supposed to be attached to the multicultural landscape.¹⁰² Within the tenets of multiculturalism, dramatic shifts in the ethnic group that needed protection and integration; the supports thought necessary for children to achieve their full potential; and class-based discrimination, have all found a comfortable home. This is precisely because multiculturalism was not a universal tool. It was instead a goal and a plan meant to create a future tolerant society. This was a notion that was fraught with foreshadowed failure, since utopias are often by definition unachievable. All the theoretical *clichés* apply in this case. Not the least among them was that one individual's utopia is another's vision of Orwellian nightmare.¹⁰³ This concept was a

¹⁰⁰ 'Problem Children' refers to the set of policies concerned with adapting immigrant and non-English speakers into the education system as a semi-unified group with similar needs. Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, 'Education for All' [The Swann Report] Cmnd. 9453(London: HMSO, 1985); and *Multicultural Education for All* Perspectives 22 (School of Education University of Exeter, November 1985); and Sally Tomlinson, *Multicultural Education in White Schools* (London: BT Batsford, Ltd, 1990).

¹⁰¹ See also: Bloch and Solomos, *Race and Ethnicity in the 21st Century*, 3.

¹⁰² For more on multicultural identity shift see: Audrey, *Multiculturalism in Practice*.

¹⁰³ Cecil Foster, *Genuine Multiculturalism: The Tragedy and Comedy of Diversity* (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2014); and Russell Jacoby, *The End of Utopia: Politics and Culture in an Age of Apathy*

key feature found in national archives across our comparators and this is another reason why defining multiculturalism has been so difficult even for the most skilled of social and intellectual historians. Multiculturalism slowly, visibly, evolved from post-war plans to create new spaces for diverse ethnic and economic groups in existing educational systems into the official Canadian policy in 1971. The institution of various integrative policies focussed on aspects of multiculturalist ideology in the UK, US, Canada, and France quickly followed suit, leading to the US, UK, and Canada defining public policy within the tenets of multiculturalism, though not until the New Labour government in 1997 for the UK. It was only after such official, and thereby more static, applications of one or more types of multiculturalist ideals in these nations that multiculturalism would become the *bête noir* of the British Tories, US Republicans, Canadian conservatives, the US Tea Party movement, and French conservatives in the 21st century.¹⁰⁴

Main Argument and Methodological Concerns

Therefore a new analysis is needed to trace the history of education policies meant to foster and indeed engineer tolerance in its citizens to find the roots of a multifaceted policy that has been used in so many different venues by its many proponents and collaborators. The idea that policies determined to implement multicultural education, and the relationship of these to the parent policy of multiculturalism, predate UK New Labour's appropriation of them in 1997 was not a new idea, but a systematic interrogation of these policies using archival sources to trace

(New York: Basic Books, 1999), 29-66; and Dahrendorf, *Out of Utopia: Toward a Reorientation of Sociological Analysis* (New York: Ardent Media, 1958).

¹⁰⁴ Race, *Multiculturalism and Education*, 2.

their evolution from the beginning had yet to be undertaken.¹⁰⁵ I proposed that there must be new linkages drawn from not only from theoretical or philosophical sources, which formed the majority of the bases for much of the scholarship discussed above, but also from pragmatic ones (such as proposals from educators, policy statements from national education ministries, and draft legislation) to find a more detailed foundation for multicultural education policies.¹⁰⁶ For the UK education historians have long assumed these links to exist because of their study of parliamentary debates and an examination of Her Majesty's Inspectorate reports, primarily those in inner London. A particular quote by former Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, in 1966 on the nature of integration, which was 'not a flattening process of assimilation,' was popular and frequently used to specify the connection between multiculturalist policies and overall governmental policy.¹⁰⁷

In this thesis, these assumed links were traced to their individual ancestors in the education ministries' archives, parliamentary archives, personal archives of policymakers and educational theorists, and the archives of UNESCO. Intricate weavings between discussions on identity politics, tolerance, fear of the 'other,' and race relations revealed the processes that would become multicultural education. It was in these sources that the birth of transformative education policies meant to encourage equality of opportunity and often support multicultural education policy as an institutional force, were identified and sourced as part of a series of reforms deriving from the larger international education policy network centred around UNESCO conventions requiring

¹⁰⁵ Phillips, *Multiculturalism without Culture*. See Also: Feldman, 'Why the English like Turbans,' in *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History*, 300.

¹⁰⁶ Supported by: Race, *Multiculturalism and Education*, 2; and Bloch and Solomos, eds., *Race and Ethnicity in the 21st Century*, 14.

¹⁰⁷ See Also: Race, *Multiculturalism and Education*, 20.

member states to provide fundamental education, prevent racial discrimination, and instil a love of learning in all of its citizens.

A carefully maintained utopia, anticipated by most education policymakers during this period, was predicated on cultivating acceptance of its strategies first in society's youngest members in educational institutions through multicultural education.¹⁰⁸ In these archival sources, this appeared as a social engineering project begun during the transformations in society and government post-World War Two. It was a way of forcibly, or encouragingly depending on which scholar you consult, institutionalizing a specific type of tolerance that must be feared for its sweeping powers, supported because of its eventual endgame, and readjusted to fit a shifting social medium.¹⁰⁹

The Importance of Case Studies in the Work

At intervals throughout the study, important discoveries that developed the main argument, provided evidence of more reciprocal policy development, or highlighted an important corollary to the established policy adoption during a particular period necessitated the use of the case study approach. In particular, each chronologically oriented chapter required either a case study to determine the main policy contribution of that period to the ongoing creation of what would become transnationally influenced multicultural education policies or to directly combat the more traditional assumptions of the historiography and literature assessed above. One main goal of the case studies in this work was to provide insight into what proved to be one of this study's

¹⁰⁸ Joshee and Winton, eds. *Multicultural Education Policies in Canada and the United States*; and A Bouhdiba, 'The Universal and the Particular in Educational Goals' *Educational Goals Studies and Surveys in Comparative Education* 1980 [UNESCO: Place de Fontenoy, Paris]

¹⁰⁹ G. Gordon Betts, *The Twilight of Britain: Cultural Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and the Politics of Tolerance* (London: Transaction Publishers, 2002), 51-52.

key contributions to the established literature, that of reinterpreting the policymaking processes between these four nations as more of a discussion between allies and equals rather than a unilateral, or even bilateral projection, of US and UK policies onto the other comparators. Throughout the study, the relative dominance of one nation developing policies then copied or adapted by the other comparators through their transnational connections was not assumed but was discovered through careful analysis of international and national archival sources, including policy statements from ministries of education, minutes of UNESCO meetings, responses to queries and reports to the UNESCO Director General, and other similar materials.

These materials, while more often granting insight into the competitive nature of the international level of education policy development, displayed an early dominance of the UK in establishing the pre-eminence of the stated goal that a future tolerant society could be produced through reforming education systems. As British decolonization continued after World War Two, with the Commonwealth supposedly replacing it as a global power bloc, relations between constituent ethnic groups shifted away from an imperial identity, predicated on English racial superiority, partly due to near-equal rights to citizenship.¹¹⁰ The British public turned instead to focus on the strains, real and imagined, produced by immigration from the empire/commonwealth and a commitment to its re-imagined global identity. For some politicians and citizens, the British Nationality Act of 1948 (BNA 1948), which codified the rights of all individuals in Commonwealth nations and all remaining British colonies, as British subjects, including the right to freely enter and live in the British Isles, had produced a

¹¹⁰ Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Post-War Era* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).

multicultural society that now needed protection from its own exigent circumstances.¹¹¹ Previously, Britain had been thought tolerant and just in its application of rule to all its citizens regardless of national origin by leading policymakers. Believers, who envisioned a fair and tolerant Britain, were shocked at the level of disorganization and violence that had erupted due to interracial and multi-ethnic tensions and struggled to find justification.¹¹² The persistence of racial and ethnic frictions despite a common perception that the British community was overall tolerant of newcomers provided a theme for debates concerning racial prejudice and discrimination in the late 1960s. For example, Lord Donald Wade (former Liberal MP before elevation to the House of Lords) argued that there was 'more tolerance in Britain than perhaps some people appreciate.'¹¹³ Though in the same debate, Charles Strachey Lord O'Hagan (Conservative) would counter that the prevalence of off-colour jokes and the support for 'keep Britain white' campaigns would perforce lend credence to the arguments of minority communities for an intolerant white majority community.¹¹⁴ In 1973, Secretary of State for the Home Office Robert Carr during a debate on illegal immigration in the UK argued that the failures of certain areas of remaining prejudice toward immigrant communities should not overshadow 'the tremendous achievement of the British people in accepting so many people with so much tolerance and so little friction.'¹¹⁵ This type of ahistorical argumentation continued well into the later 20th century, demonstrated by Rabbi Lord Jonathan Sacks (Professor of Law, Ethics and the Bible, King's College, London and Former Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth), who presented an elegant illustration of this argument

¹¹¹ British Nationality Act, 1948 c. 56 (UK)

¹¹² W.W. Daniel, *Racial Discrimination in England: Based on the P.E.P. Report* (London: Penguin Books, 1968).

¹¹³ Donald Wade, *Parliamentary Debates*, Lords, 16.12.1969, vol. 306, col. 986.

¹¹⁴ Charles Strachey, *Parliamentary Debates*, Lords, 16.12.1969, vol. 306, col. 1063.

¹¹⁵ Richard Carr, *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 26.6.1973, vol. 858, col. 1414.

centred on the proposition that 'Britain does not have a literature of hate,' juxtaposed this against the racist ideologies of other western countries.¹¹⁶ This argument proved the persistence of a belief in the overall tolerant attitude of Britons. This 'new' multicultural society with 'new' demands, also an inaccurate characterization since Britain has always been a country shaped by many cultures, dominated contemporary policy discussions and therefore dominated subsequent literature that theorized potential solutions.¹¹⁷

In particular, British terminology, and the theory reinforcing it, has led to a series of definitions for both the society created by close interaction between multicultural groups (a 'multicultural society') and the policies meant to render aid to those communities and individuals within it ('multiculturalism'). Often scholars and politicians used these two terms interchangeably. This adds a further degree of confusion, and further reinforces the need for an empirically and individually focussed analysis on the evolutionary progression of such policies such as that pursued in this study. From several competing notions, one can find a gradually dominant trope: that *a* multicultural society used *the policies* relating to multiculturalism to produce change.¹¹⁸

International Applications of Policies: The UK as a Locus for Policy Transfer

Even if individual scholars disagreed on whether they could appropriately classify multiculturalism, often choosing 'interculturalism' or 'cultural pluralism' as a more comprehensible alternative, they agreed that the opacity in definition could result in a

¹¹⁶ Jonathan Sacks, *The Home we Build Together* (London: Continuum, 2007).

¹¹⁷ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 2003).

¹¹⁸ Lestinin, Petrucijová, and Spinthourakis, *Identity in Multicultural and Multilingual Contexts*, 5; West and Minogue, *The Poverty of Multiculturalism*; Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism*; and Race, *Multiculturalism and Education*, 5.

misapplication of policy.¹¹⁹ For example, without an obvious definition or plan to follow, these policies could enforce anything from assimilation to integration. Assimilation of minority ethnic groups into a dominant culture implied that only minority ethnic groups needed to make changes in order for society to operate successfully. While integration implied cooperation throughout the whole society, including minority ethnic groups, to accept new members on their own terms. Many other scholars also used variations on this theme to defend their own versions of multicultural education policy and related policies in opposition to what had become a popularly known, yet not always misconceived, definition of multiculturalism. The main project of these scholars was to identify the erroneous versions of multiculturalism that muddied the discourse and led to baseless attacks on otherwise valid education policies. Centred on theoretical and political ideology, these incorrect or incomplete versions can be associated with various versions of liberalism, pluralism, and essentialism.

In the literature, liberal positions (centred on traditional liberalism in the belief in the supremacy of the common good combined with traditional laissez-faire economics) were split into two distinct positions—pro-multiculturalism and anti-multiculturalism. According to scholars Alain Blum and France Guérin-Pace French Ministers of Culture and Interior in the 1970s fostered a belief in 'sameness' or 'color-blind' multiculturalism that treated every individual and community member equally in order to defend the common good and produce racial and ethnic harmony through non-preferential treatment.¹²⁰ This equity was predicated on the belief that if one treated each individual in precisely the same manner then each individual would be accorded the same

¹¹⁹ Cattle, *Interculturalism*.

¹²⁰ Alain Blum and France Guérin-Pace, 'From Measuring Integration to Fighting Discrimination: The Illusion of 'Ethnic Statistics,' *French Politics, Society, and Culture* 26 (2008): 45-61. See Also: Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism*, 10 and Banks and Banks, *Multicultural Education*.

respect. Politically, 'all are equal in law' represented a similar standpoint and references the multiple laws, including the US Civil Rights Act 1964 and the UK Race Relations Acts that sought to enshrine the idea of racial equality into governmental action.¹²¹ James A. Banks, one of the key founders of multicultural education as a historical discipline, criticised this version of multicultural education policy by arguing that when those in power attempted to be colour-blind, particularly educational institutions, those authorities ignored both the needs of individuals and the variety of enriching cultural benefits provided by the multicultural society.¹²² Likewise, in attempts to be colour-blind, authority figures were falling back on the majority culture and thereby reinforcing the dominance of a central narrative unaffected and untouched by 'other' or outside forces.¹²³

A plural education policy conversely, treated every individual differently based on a complex analysis of their cultural, ethnic, and racial uniqueness. Effective pluralist education policy, associated with Canadian multiculturalism, needed to take into consideration several pedagogical and methodological concerns.¹²⁴ According to Kincheloe and Steinberg, some pluralist education policies were thought to have 'exoticized and fetishized' difference to the point of dividing communities further rather than bringing them together.¹²⁵ Social theorist Anne Phillips agreed that there was a prevailing 'tendency to represent individuals from minority or non-western groups as driven by their culture and compelled by cultural dictates to behave in certain ways.'¹²⁶

In both instances, policies embedded with such assumptions removed an individual's agency in

¹²¹ Lestinin, Petrucijová, and Spinthourakis, *Identity in Multicultural and Multilingual Contexts*, 5.

¹²² Banks and Banks, eds., *Multicultural Education*.

¹²³ John A. Williams, *Classroom in Conflict: Teaching Controversial Subjects in a Diverse Society* (Albany: SUNY, 1994), 36.

¹²⁴ See also: Michael Dewing, 'Canadian Multiculturalism (Background Paper)' Library of Parliament, Canada 2009-20-E, 6.

¹²⁵ Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism*, 15.

¹²⁶ Phillips, *Multiculturalism without Culture*, 8-9 and 52.

their own actions; and defined their morality, political agenda, and social attitudes as wholly representative of their individual cultural norms no matter where they lived in relation to their country of origin.¹²⁷ Likewise, the dominant culture would then act as an outside viewer that could not pass judgement on the minority group's decisions and would be unaffected by the presence of the minority culture in their midst.¹²⁸ This majority was thought to maintain their own cultural 'purity' despite the presence of minority cultures in society (in shops, housing, and schools), implying that immigrant or diasporic cultures may exist within society, but that they could never become influential parts of that society.

Similarly, essentialists, predominantly present in American education policy debates, presented a similar theory that individuals possessed a singular or essential essence (usually race) that cannot be subdivided or altered. Essentialists argued that the majority or 'dominant' culture was immoral and wrong.¹²⁹ These politically left-aligned essentialist policymakers were believed by detractors to have found nothing of value in the majority culture.¹³⁰ Instead, minority cultures were characterized as purely moral and upright while majority cultures were by definition self-centred and grasping. Critics of essentialism countered that these new perspectives, especially involved in new interpretations of American history textbooks, were 'creating minorities as victims' and portraying any white majority as a violent oppressor.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Phillips, *Multiculturalism without Culture*, 8-9 and 52.

¹²⁸ Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism*, 15.

¹²⁹ Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism*, 21 and 169; Arthur Schlesinger "The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society" in *Campus Wars: Multiculturalism and the Politics of Difference*, eds. John Arthur and Amy Shapiro (Oxford: Westview Press, 1995), 232.

¹³⁰ West and Minogue, *The Poverty of Multiculturalism*, 6.

¹³¹ LaBelle and Ward, *Ethnic Studies and Multiculturalism*, 65.

Some of the detractors of multicultural education policy and related multiculturalist policies latched onto essentialist critiques to create a false definition of these policies to use as straw man arguments, thereby arguing that these were high-minded notions disguising an attempt by left-essentialist politicians and educators to divest the majority group of their rightful inheritance of history and culture.¹³² These scholars were not, as some would argue, lonely outsiders clinging to the vestiges of a racist past, but included major players in political and theoretical history, including historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. Among other notions, these critics argued that the West should not be shamed by fanatic and superstitious cultures and that history should not forget that the West was 'the source—the *unique* source—of those liberating ideas of individual liberty, political democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and cultural freedom.'¹³³ Yet, Schlesinger in his argument presented a valuable point that that much of multicultural education policy in the US in the 1970s and 1980s, included the contributions of all cultures including the majority culture. These three types of evaluations of multicultural education policies, and progenitors in the earlier periods, demonstrated that that interaction was not a one-way additive phenomenon, but a constant re-evaluation of one's identity respective of the diversity found in others.

A further category of scholars conceptualized multicultural education policies as a process that shifted and changed as the years progressed. Various, multiculturalist policies like multicultural education were considered 'a continuous process' and a 'series of smallish adjustments and accommodations that added up to a quite substantial practice of

¹³² The 'straw man' references the traditional logical fallacy that sets up an inaccurate, or fictional, account of an oppositional argument purely to deconstruct it.

¹³³ Schlesinger, 'The Disuniting of America,' in *Campus Wars*, 233; and West and Minogue, *The Poverty of Multiculturalism*, 5.

multiculturalism'.¹³⁴ Together, these identifications portrayed multiculturalism as more than a guiding force for policy. Any slight alteration to the perspective then changed the whole notion of multiculturalism itself, making it possible for seemingly unrelated laws to fit under the umbrella of multiculturalism. One can retroactively assemble multicultural education as a policy series from the evidence left by its smallest pieces and deceptively inconsequential additions to other policies. As a process without clear beginning or finite end, multicultural education policy has the potential to interact continually at the most basic levels, governing individual and community interaction. The experiences of 'newcomers' that policies of multicultural education policy attempted to accommodate will 'contribute to the conditions encountered by subsequent generations' leading to a negotiation between individuals and their communities and by association the communities and their government.¹³⁵ This negotiation, this process, was this policy changing to suit new adaptations of the multicultural society. It was transformations in the multicultural society that necessitated changes to policies to suit the new adaptations. These communities were not obviously delineated groups but irregular groupings of individuals and communities forming due to ideological similarity and not cultural or racial demands.¹³⁶

For example, in transnational historian Steven Vertovec's opinion, the idea of a uniform Muslim community in any one nation was patently false and indicative of defects in the political and social systems that limited the success of Muslim demands for equal opportunity and equal voice in political and social environments.¹³⁷ Different individuals live under different circumstances and have different needs. By lumping together all Muslims into one undifferentiated group,

¹³⁴ Audrey, *Multiculturalism in Practice*, xiii; and Phillips, *Multiculturalism without Culture*, 5.

¹³⁵ Audrey, *Multiculturalism in Practice*, 7.

¹³⁶ Phillips, *Multiculturalism without Culture*, 180.

¹³⁷ Steven Vertovec, 'Muslims, the State, and the Public Sphere in Britain,' in *Muslim Communities in the New Europe*, eds. Gerd Nonneman, Tim Niblock, and Bogdan Szajkowski (Reading: Ithaca, 1996).

institutions, like schools, risked ignoring the specific needs of individuals in favour of legislating for the whole group. Demands for accommodation of Muslim beliefs and practices, particularly in education, formed the foundation of Vertovec's argument about the increasing the capacity of Muslims to act in a political environment that must shift to incorporate their needs.

Accommodation of Muslim beliefs would allow Muslim children both to attend school and to adhere to traditional Muslim codes of dress, prayer, and action, specifically in modesty of dress for girls and *halal* options in cafeterias.¹³⁸ Vertovec considered it unfortunate that although Muslims 'have doubtless gained greater prominence,' multiculturalist education policies often 'exacerbated separatist and isolationist views among Muslims and non-Muslims.'¹³⁹ Vertovec argued that the Muslim community needed both institutional organizations that promoted greater involvement on equal footing, with a sense of belonging and need for participation, as well as individual involvement. Vertovec, alongside other scholars, retained hope that these policies could work if only there was common acceptance that protected Muslims under the same codes and ethics as other ethnic groups.

Education policies between the increasingly through the 1980s, in fact, specifically intended to promote integration without assimilation, spurring on a deeper relationship between ethnic minorities and a mutable majority identity. The motive behind reforms was important in determining not only the structural aspects of reform but also the political ideology that informed the legislative initiatives.¹⁴⁰ It is in this space that my thesis will intervene. In the following two chapters (dealing with approximately the 1940s and 1950s), the dissonance between policies of assimilation and those of integration will be interpreted through transformative developments in

¹³⁸ Lépinard, 'Migrating Concepts,' 611-632.

¹³⁹ Vertovec, 'Muslims, the State, and the Public Sphere in Britain,' in *Muslim Communities*, 183.

¹⁴⁰ De Francesco, *Transnational Policy Innovation*, 14.

educational structures, restructuring of collective identities, and the establishment of new international educational organizations, specifically UNESCO. The participation of each comparator nation within UNESCO will provide an indicator of transnational discussions and transmission of policies. The eventual adoption of innovative integrative policies by each comparator nation as a means to ensure equality of opportunity dominates the discussion of the final two substantive chapters, culminating in a conclusion that by the later 1970s equality of opportunity and the necessity of teaching tolerance to students became a type of cultural imperative.

The institution of multicultural education in the 1980s, either implicitly or explicitly influenced by policymaking networks and partner nations, created a policy sphere wherein assimilative, integrative, innovative, and multiculturalist policies all had a relatively comfortable home in order to work together to produce the version of utopia sought by these nations. By investigating the background leading up to modern policies on multicultural interaction and education in this way, this thesis will bring together the connected strands that made up multicultural policies as they developed during periods of supportive and opposed governments to discover the viability of multicultural education policy not as a tool, but as a facet of overall policy planning meant to ensure equality of opportunity.

Chapter Two: Identity Crafting and Policies of Fusion

If an accepted definition of the primary work of 'multicultural education' was to incorporate individuals of different cultural backgrounds into the school environment, or as established above to adopt *innovative* policies meant to mitigate the *multicultural* complexities of individual nations, then arguably these efforts since the 1970s are descendants of similar efforts which sought to incorporate members of diverse economic and social classes in the 1940s and to prepare an adaptive international project for incorporative education through the 1950s.¹ In 1944, the education systems in the UK, US, France, and Canada could best be described as fragmented both in terms of who was allowed (either by law or economic restrictions) to attend certain schools and what subjects—scholarly versus vocational—were taught at these schools. In the UK, for instance, local authorities exercised different control over schools with some authorities often offering preferential treatment to institutions that primarily offered education to the offspring of higher earners, whereas enforcing mainly the letter of the law (in this case the school leaving age of 14) in county schools, and secondary moderns as some were more commonly known, where relatively perfunctory education—generally focusing on vocational skill—was offered.²

In the US, schools in most states were officially segregated along a racial white/black divide, increasingly subjective and threatened as a binary distinction due to demographic change as in some states (California and Texas) Native Americans and Hispanics were officially classed as

¹ Micheline Rey-Von Allman, 'Toward an Intercultural Education' in Milan Mesić, ed, *Perspectives of Multiculturalism: Western and Transitional Countries* (Zagreb: Croatian Commission for UNESCO, 2004), 107; and David Conway, *Disunited Kingdoms: How the Government's Community Cohesion Agenda Undermines British Identity and Nationhood* (London: Civitas: Institute for the Study of Civil Society, 2009), 24.

² Gary McCulloch, 'Local Education Authorities and the Organization of Secondary Education, 1943-1950,' *Oxford Review of Education* 28(2002): 235-246 and Robert M. Blackburn and Catherine Marsh, 'Education and Social Class: Revisiting the 1944 Education Act with Fixed Marginals,' *The British Journal of Sociology*, 42 (1991): 507-536.

'white' and therefore allowed to go to white schools in some areas.³ In France, though the national curriculum, established in the 19th century, provided a pathway through which ministers could provide some unity, the vicissitudes caused by reconstruction, post-occupation stresses, and post-Vichy government control caused some lasting areas of concern for central education authority.⁴ In Canada, very little in the way of a federal framework for education existed in the 1930s and 1940s and each province developed independent systems of education, with Ontario pursuing more inclusive agendas which applied new protocols for First Canadians and francophone citizens to existing frameworks due to an increasing prevalence of linguistic and national diversity.⁵

While each nation engaged in distinctive national planning meant to incrementally unify their systems, shifts in UK policy formed a framework of sorts that American, French, and Canadian ministries of education would attempt to emulate and then adapt to their own needs in their home countries. In this case, over the period between the end of World War Two and the end of the decade, it is important to demonstrate which policies were developed first as the primogenitor of future reforms to provide equality of opportunity. The chain of events that brought coherence to the national education systems in these comparator nations offers us space to consider further innovative reforms to curriculum, especially those that allowed for indoctrination into a culturally sensitive mind-set.

³ Joy Ann Williamson, Lori Rhodes, and Michael Dunson, 'A Selected History of Social Justice in Education,' *Review of Research in Education* 32 (2007), 197.

⁴ André Robert, *Système Éducatif et Réformes (de 1944 à nos jours)* (Paris: Nathan Pédagogie, 1993), 11.

⁵ Sandra Vergari, 'Safeguarding Federalism in Education Policy in Canada and the United States,' *Publius*, 40 (2010): 534-557.

International Policymaking

A primary concern of British, American, French, and Canadian reformers was the creation of equality of opportunity for previously disadvantaged ethnic, racial, or linguistic groups. Such equality would derive from instigating not only 'correct' thinking nationally but also through creating frameworks internationally that would encourage communication and cooperation between diverse national, ethnic, and economic groups. In the UK, education ministers designed reforms meant to integrate diverse groups (in this case Catholics and those of 'lower' socio-economic classes) and formalize the education of Britons with the intent to standardize and streamline both school systems and schooling in response to ministerial distress over what appeared to be increasing fragmentation beyond the desired level. Similarly, plans to reformat French national education and French participation internationally focussed on removing what René Cassin would consider 'enemy' (in the context of World War Two's Vichy collaborator government) perspectives by introducing new initiatives focussed on individual identity crafting.⁶ Both British and American ministers used similar language in UNESCO discussions and education policies as occupying powers that explicitly intended to refocus German and Japanese schoolchildren into what these ministers (and the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) deemed more correct modes of thinking.⁷

In many cases, the legislation implemented to ensure and encourage these incorporative efforts reflected years of precise planning but, according to some scholars of education and post-war

⁶ René Cassin, 'Churchill et la France: IIIeme Partie,' Conference 8.12.1961: Churchill et la France (Annexes and Coupures) [Archives Nationales Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 382AP 164 Rene Cassin Travaux 1961-1966 Travaux Articles, Conferences et Discours 1961.

⁷ Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, 'School Policy—Lower, Higher Secondary' [NARA: College Park, MD] RG331 Allied Command, School Policy 1945-1951 Special Education to Japanese Contacts Box 5663, File 1 Special Education , 24 Upper Secondary Schools, 25 Basic Education Laws, and 28 School Policy.

UK Labour Party policy (particularly Brian Simon and Denis Lawton), often did not include all that policy-makers intended as compromises between and within parties drastically curtailed dramatic reform efforts (for example, providing universal comprehensive education for all) in favour of a more measured approach desired by a majority (for example, the tripartite system as actually experienced in England and Wales).⁸ Subsequent efforts to encourage further integration on a social and cultural level would then become necessary, leaving scholars debating how much integration would be needed in order to achieve maximum benefit.⁹

If these policies are not conceived individually as initiatives, then discarded for entirely new versions when deemed inoperable, then the *process* of policymaking was a key factor shaping developing multicultural education policy.¹⁰ Education policymaking in particular should be examined in a more holistic manner, as has been proposed by Fabrizio De Francesco and Richard Race, to ensure that intertwined policy threads and ideas remain connected analytically throughout an examination of the policy process.¹¹ This process can be broken down into two key aspects: first, the individual policymakers and their policies that reflected both their intentions and successive compromises (the adoption phrase); and second, relevant institutions

⁸ Clyde Chitty and Brian Simon, eds., *Promoting Comprehensive Education in the 21st Century* (Sterling, VA: Trentham Books, 2001); and Denis Lawton, *Education and Labour Party Ideologies: 1900-2001 and Beyond* (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2005).

⁹ Melanie Nind, Jonathan Rix, Kieron Sheehy, and Katy Simmons, *Curriculum and Pedagogy in Inclusive Education: Values into Practice* (Abingdon: RoutledgeFalmer, 2005); and Richard Race, *Multiculturalism and Education* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); and Jonathan Sacks, *The Home we Build Together* (London: Continuum, 2007).

¹⁰ Stephen J. Ball, *The Education Debate: Policy and Politics in the Twenty-First Century* 2nd Edition (Bristol: Policy Press, 2013), 8-9. See Also: Laura Cram, *Policy-Making in the European Union: Conceptual Lenses and the Integration Process* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), xx; and Walter J. Oleszek, *Congressional Procedures and the Policy Process*, 9th Edition (London: Sage, CQ Press, 2013), 15.

¹¹ Fabrizio De Francesco, *Transnational Policy Innovation: The OECD and the Diffusion of Regulatory Impact Analysis* (Colchester: ECPR Press, 2013); and Richard Race, 'Analysing Ethnic Education Policy-Making in England and Wales' Discussion Paper. University of Sheffield Online Papers in Social Research, 2001.

and individuals who received and planned implementation of these policies.¹² This chapter will outline the initial stages of international education policy development in order to evaluate the key policymakers and influential pressure groups that played major roles in the first step of the process.

In the case of education policy, educators and individual schools played a key role in determining the success of those policies brought down from central education authorities. Without analysing how policies were implemented by schools and the policy changes made consequently, any subsequent image of the process itself is incompletely rendered. Likewise, focusing only on the policymakers would remove their motivation when creating and recreating policy. The application of policy beyond theoretical planning could be determined only when policies filtered down from the government, through public and private groups representing the schools system, and finally down to the schools themselves.¹³ Furthermore, materials collected from schools were used by policymakers to judge successes and failures of their policies; and also to influence preparation materials provided to ministers prior to debates creating a policy feedback loop policymakers and educators.¹⁴ These key materials, such as reports from His Majesty's Inspectors in the United Kingdom and Reports of Member States to UNESCO, provided justification for further reforms. The process of creating education policy was therefore often of a cyclical nature. The connection between these phases of the process can be found by using certain key phrases, i.e. assimilation, integration, innovation and multicultural (See

¹² De Francesco, *Transnational Policy Innovation*, 23.

¹³ Parlo Singh, Sue Thomas, and Jessica Harris, 'Recontextualising Policy Discourses: A Bernsteinian Perspective on Policy Interpretation, Translation, Enactment,' *Journal of Education Policy* 28 (2013): 465-480.

¹⁴ Conservative Research Department, 'A Note on Education for the Supply Day Debate,' 12.7.1950, 1 [Richard Austen Butler Papers: Trinity College, Cambridge] RAB F117. See also: De Francesco, *Transnational Policy Innovation*, 17-23; and Brady Baybeck, William D. Berry, and David Siegel, 'A Strategic Theory of Policy Diffusion via Intergovernmental Competition' *The Journal of Politics* 73 (2011): 232-247.

Chapter 1) that linked these policy discussions together with prior efforts. Using this method, encouraged by scholar of education Stephen J. Ball's description of 'a more interactive, fragmented, and multi-dimensional form of policy making,' connections between policies can be drawn between and through legislative efforts both in those changes visualized by ministries and those realized by educators and their schools.¹⁵ In this instance, throughout the 1940s an assimilative educational policy was fostered by the majority of these nations, though in a manner that suggested a greater attention to the diversities identified (racial, ethnic, linguistic) in their national community.

Crucially, this method has revealed: first, key phrases and an overall policymaking language that pointed to a nascent multiculturalist sensibility, in particular use of the phrase diversity to identify various groups needing further inclusion into the present system. Second, the foundations of multicultural education policy in education policies starting in 1943 that can be followed by tracing the lines of communication opened between nations by international education organisations such as the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME), which was gradually absorbed into the newly formed United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). A type of transnational policy transfer and analysis then allowed for cooperative and incorporative efforts between nations, while also allowing these nations to retain and defend their own cultural sensibilities.¹⁶ To solidify these connections, if policymakers in the national ministries of education and boards of education participated in both international education organisations and led reform efforts through their national governments,

¹⁵ Ball, *The Education Debate*, 8-9. See Also: Cram, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 46.

¹⁶ Patricia Clavin, *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations: 1920-1946* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

then their intentions in both must be analysed to determine potential policy linkages.¹⁷ In the UK, in particular, these connections seem solid indeed. J. Chuter Ede, MP and Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, appeared at the first and subsequent meetings of the Executive Bureau of CAME and Richard Austen Butler, President of the UK Board of Education (Butler, as President of the Board of Education, would take charge and manage educational reconstruction throughout this crucial period of legislative efforts, and would remain a key figure and confidante of subsequent education ministers until 1964, while serving in other ministerial capacities), submitted reports as the chairman of key committees, including those planning textbook reforms.¹⁸ Both of these ministers would then play concurrent and major roles in forming education reform efforts in the United Kingdom. Further, the 'fusion' desired by R.A. Butler between European cultural sensibilities in these international discussions on education is as a policy sketch that the later multicultural education policy attempts to provide cultural integration between groups would complete.¹⁹

Transnational Policy Networks

Far from attempting to impose any global law, policy discussions increasingly reflected a reciprocal method of transnational policy exchange. This type of transnationalism, where individual nations and their representatives are discussants rather than static recipients of policy 'blueprints,' involved passing information, policies, and indeed phraseology between and through national contexts in a nevertheless structured environment (for instance in committee meetings,

¹⁷ De Francesco, *Transnational Policy Innovation*, 7 and Clavin, *Securing the World*, 7.

¹⁸ Draft Report of the First Meeting, Conference of the Allied Ministers of Education, Executive Bureau, 27.10.1943 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 42/3, 1; and Richard Austen Butler, 'Objective History Books': Memorandum by the Chairman, AME/B/42 [UK National Archives, Kew] ED 42/3, 1.

¹⁹ Richard Austen Butler, Speaking to the Foreign Press Association, 27.5.1943 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 42/22 Sub-Committee on Cultural Conventions, 1943-1948.

letters, and UNESCO policy discussions).²⁰ A preliminary UNESCO pamphlet defining cultural conventions described a similar determination to provide a 'more constructive international outlook' instead of imposing 'a uniform cultural pattern on our national diversities'.²¹ This type of attitude indicates a method of achieving international cooperation that can be compared to similar efforts to provide non-assimilative cultural cooperation in the national policymaking environment. It was telling in terms of the continuing process of this policymaking that very few individuals who participated in the creation of this pamphlet were then pleased with the outcome. They cited variously that the publication was delayed too long and thereby certain portions were out of date; and also they bemoaned the fact that certain members were not given enough time to sufficiently prepare commentary, which they claimed could lead to possible inaccuracies.²² Taking the United Kingdom as an example, the education reform efforts produced during a similar period upheld the current system, including the creation of class-based cultural differences provided by dissimilar schooling, while simultaneously making the effort to construct a new sensibility that allowed the inclusion of 'lower' socio-economic classes into this system.²³ Such a close correlation between international and national policy warrants further investigation into other potential connections along these lines. It was these connections, made through recurring policy efforts, which assisted in laying the foundations that would pave the way for multicultural education policy.

²⁰ Ball, *The Education Debate*, 8-9.

²¹ Draft of pamphlet to be published by UN organization 1944-1945 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 42/23, 24.

²² W. R. Richardson, letter to N. Parkinson, 16.6.1945 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 42/23; and Denys Sutton, letter to N. Parkinson, 31.10.1945 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 42/23.

²³ R.A. Butler, 'Education Reform: A Memorandum by the President of the Board of Education,' 1943, 1 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 136/382.

Analytical Statement: What Education Should Be

Often it was the type of education chosen for certain schools (i.e. education focusing more on inculcation of appropriate values and cultural mores and rather than 'pure' instruction as a universal set of facts) that was important to policymakers throughout the 1940s. In each comparator (UK, US, France, and Canada), there was a distinctive attitude toward their individual reform efforts in the immediate post-war period that proves ideologically linked to other states' efforts, primarily in their linguistic choices in their policies, and in their identification and treatment of minority groups. Throughout this period, international participation in creating and running UNESCO influenced national policies and reforms in a direct manner demonstrating that these nations were participants in a transnational exchange of policies and ideas. This exchange was visible in both national legislation that included a distinct international purpose, and discussions at international conferences that would filter into national policies. For example, discussion that began in the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education examining how best to facilitate the elimination of illiteracy and the concurrent need for information exchange among allied nations seems to have had a direct influence on US materials concerning similar policies, as outlined later in 1942.²⁴ Equally, the 1949 UK Spelling Reform Bill that proposed uniformity in spelling choices so that English could become 'a world language' was similar linguistically to UNESCO drafting committee minutes where members cited the need for such world languages to be the foundation for their choice of a set of official languages.²⁵

²⁴ US Commissioner of Education, 'Information Exchange on Education in Wartime, Final Report,' 30.6.1942 [NARA: College Park, MD] Office Files on Wartime Education Programs, Box 4-5.

²⁵ Spelling Reform Bill, 7.3.49 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/780.

The influence of education in producing 'good citizens' was particularly felt in the United States during the war. The United States Office of Education, and the Commissioner of Education John Studebaker in particular, focussed on providing central education methods meant to influence nationalist and patriotic sentiment and uphold American traditional ideas. The Commissioner of Education's office produced materials meant to circulate amongst secondary and higher education that clarified definitions of and attitudes toward citizenship. These materials revealingly included a set of questions that students were meant to 'ask themselves' so that their attitudes towards 'good citizenship' could be adjusted properly. While many of these materials did focus on more practical considerations, such as wartime industries and encouraging participation in industrial output through science and technical education, the materials which offered suggestions to libraries and institutions on educational materials demonstrate a different relationship between federal and community/local entities than would previously be imagined by the pre-eminence of an independent federal educational system.

These institutions, in particular the New York Public Library, clearly accepted interference in their practices by the federal Office of Education, including acquiring recommended books from federal and state booklists. For example, suggestions by the federal government on the type of books which could ensure appropriate patriotism were readily accepted by many public libraries in the Northeast during the 1940s and in fact the American Library Association felt that these measures could go further to establish the needed booklists. Such acceptance indicates that the relationship between the federal government and individual institutions in states was in some cases more direct. Thus indicating a web of relationships between federal, state, and local entities that belies what was believed to be a purely fragmented approach, which delegated most (if not

all) educational responsibilities to the states, where the federal government could only offer 'suggestions' and these suggestions were carefully delineated along a state by state basis.

In examining the national and international context for the state actions of such varied nations, it is important to address general trends in order to establish the correct 'honeycomb' of transnational connections, particularly in terms of how education policies meant to overcome national challenges and combat diversity.²⁶ Case-studies for each comparator will be provided when necessary to further illuminate the progressive nature of education policymaking and to help to track the individual institutional, structural, and curricular reforms that would then feed into eventual multicultural education policies. This second set of analytical tools presents the opportunity to highlight the individual aspects of the policy process, including the induction of certain policies into education institutions and their resulting effects on students, which will help focus the tracking of reforms meant to incorporate diverse groups through multifarious circumstances.

Building a Template: The United Kingdom, Social and Class Based Identities

A main concern for most UK reformers was that the schools system as it stood in the early 1940s seemed to preserve and protect social distinctions. For some, for example Lord High Chancellor Viscount John Simon, these social distinctions were based on economic differences and other 'differences in income,' which for them was an appalling state of affairs since education ministers, including Butler, seemed to be ignoring what they considered the real causes of such social distinctions and thereby continued to perpetuate such differences.²⁷ For Butler, education was not

²⁶ Patricia Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism.' *Contemporary European History* 14 (2005): 438-439.

²⁷ Viscount John Simon, letter to R.A. Butler, 22.12.1942 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 136/377.

about preserving such boundaries between people by maintaining a closed system, but expanding the schools' catchment to incorporate others. This new incorporation of others would not mean that 'all the schools will be required to conform to a single pattern,' but that all schools would be open to children who would benefit from their teaching, receiving the education that best suits them not 'the same education.'²⁸ In some cases, a legislative draft went further than Butler had desired, as indicated in the notes he left in the margins. For example, in the draft White Paper in 1943, the reformed education system was meant to be 'child-centred...as far as humanly possibly [so that] every pupil should receive the type of education for which he or she is best adapted.'²⁹ 'Child-centred' in the official draft has been highlighted by Butler and labelled a 'bad word' quite possibly because it offers too much power to the individual and dismisses the institutions, which Butler considered a key portion of the network.³⁰ In further drafts, the incorporation of religious education at the institutional level, and into the curriculum as a His Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) evaluated subject, was meant to encourage a transformation in the 'spiritual and personal values in our society,' which thereby focuses on the needs of the society and institution instead of the child in dictating the development of schools.³¹

This incorporative intent was also visible when looking at Butler's proposed changes and considerations for history books in CAME. One memorandum, with Butler acting as the chair of the committee, references the intentions and objectives of History as a subject within schools. He cited these, variously, as the opportunity to 'give information,' 'to counteract the influence of enemy versions and distortions,' and to reduce 'government control' of such information through

²⁸ Draft White Paper, 1943, 3 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 136/399.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Draft White Paper, Part III Religious Education, 1943, 1 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 136/400.

a requisite increase in the influence of CAME.³² By reducing the influence of what is termed 'enemy' perceptions, Butler was planning to control and possibly expand such historical knowledge, as one central trope about the German 'enemy' at this time was that it had redacted historical knowledge and also manipulated ideas such as race to fit their own perspectives. This feature of German 'intolerance' was described in notes given by Dr. Alf Sommerfelt (Linguist and Member of the Norwegian Delegation) to CAME in 1945. Sommerfelt described the 'rubbish' that was the incorrect German teaching of language origins as begetting an 'anthropological type' such as a German race.³³ This type of selective historical knowledge and varied presentation of 'facts' would inform a new international focus on curriculum presenting not only historical information, but also a central 'truth' by which knowledge and tolerance toward 'non-European civilisation' could be expanded.³⁴

The presence of this document within the preparatory materials for what would become UNESCO indicates a debate about the terms of tolerance, as well as the inculcation of set alternative beliefs on an international level, which would necessarily filter into the participating members national experiences. Admittedly, this influence may have been felt only in a peripheral manner. Yet, Butler (as chairman) and J. Chuter Ede (as another of the UK's delegates) would have necessarily been exposed to these arguments and related discussion in the CAME preparatory commission. Likewise, ministers, including Butler, had cause to be confident that their national reforms like the 1944 Education Act would indeed influence other nations through such connections in CAME as M. Hoste (member of the Belgian delegation) argued that this

³² Richard Austen Butler, 'Objective History Books' Memorandum by the Chairman, AME/B/42, 1 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 42/3.

³³ Alf Sommerfelt, 'Education and Racial Tolerance,' 12.2.1945,1[UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] AME A 96

³⁴ Alf Sommerfelt, 'Education and Racial Tolerance,' 12.2.1945, 2.

newly reformed 'educational system was an example which the liberated countries should wish to follow after the war.³⁵ Indeed, part of the reason the UK desired such a strong education reform was to provide a template for other countries, including the Commonwealth, to emulate.³⁶

For Butler, relationships of this type (personal-political ties through membership and participation in committees) would be of key importance to his formation of a network of policymakers and influential organisations. In particular, the intended recipients of his policies (headmasters and other school officials) and key 'activators' (unions and denominational interests) would be closely monitored for their potential acceptance or denial of key portions of his reform platform.³⁷ This tendency toward monitoring potential influencers was noticeable in a memorandum from Ms. Sylvia Goodfellow (Private Secretary to Butler) from 1941. Ms. Goodfellow took special care to outline important national associations, their political affiliations, and propensities toward Butler himself and his educational policies more broadly.³⁸ Notations throughout this document indicated Butler's keen interest in this list, which otherwise could be dismissed easily as minor paperwork to be read quickly and filed away for the sole use of secretaries and undersecretaries. Among more bland commentary, emboldened by Butler's distinctive hand, was a derogatory comment concerning the Association of Governing Bodies of Public Schools. No doubt Ms Goodfellow intended her description of the Association to indicate a pro-Conservative outlook and Butler clearly appreciated her description of the Association as

³⁵ M. Hoste, 'Draft Report of the 9th Meeting of the Conference of the Ministers of Education of the Allied Governments and the French Committee of Liberation under the Chairmanship of the President of the Board of Education,' 4.2.1944, 2 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 42/2.

³⁶ Unnamed Author, Foreign Office, Note to PM C. Attlee, re: Televised Remarks after visit to the US and Canada, 11.11.1945, fol 246 [Bodleian Library, Special Collections: Oxford University] MS Attlee dep 27.

³⁷ See also: David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain, 1945-1951* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), 144.

³⁸ Sylvia Goodfellow, Minute to Butler, 24.7.1941, 1-2 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 12/518.

'likely to be cautious' in subsequent debates.³⁹ Yet, Butler's further comment of the Association being 'certainly not a revolutionary body' seems more incisive about the Association's overall character.⁴⁰ This type of attention to detail regarding support and potential influence even before their reaction to legislation had been presented was indicative of Butler's overall concern with all aspects of the policymaking process. Indeed, evidence of this attention (selected materials remaining in his personal papers and some of these retaining his original marginalia) might lend credence to the notion that not only would Butler have read all materials that addressed his main areas of concern, i.e. in history textbooks presenting 'enemy' distortions and research into the nature of those distortions, but he would also have incorporated these ideas into his vision (first during Educational Reconstruction and later during the preparation for UNESCO).

Though the main reason for the unnatural preservation of social distinctions, according to some detractors including the Trades Union Congress (TUC), was the public schools, others, Butler for example, considered these public schools essential to the production of a well-balanced British society. Public schools' and grammars' opponents mainly argued for what they saw as a more equitable association between students in so-called 'multi-lateral' (later 'comprehensive') schools. According to notes from the TUC in 1942, these multi-lateral schools would necessarily take the place of older 'separately housed' schools where 'the old prejudices will die hard and equality will not be achieved.'⁴¹ Butler's negative opinion about the 'whining' of the TUC that was 'too late' to affect whether or not the Public Schools would be saved, was clear in his handwritten comment along the margins of notes which were clearly sent from the TUC to be considered

³⁹ Sylvia Goodfellow, Minute to Butler, 24.7.1941, pages 1-2 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 12/518.

⁴⁰ R.A. Butler, Handwritten and Signed Commentary to S. Goodfellow's Minute, 26.7.1941 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 12/518.

⁴¹ Sir Walter Citrine, Memorandum on Education after the War, Trades Union Congress, September 1942, 4 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 136/379.

with other materials before the production of the new 1943 White Paper.⁴² Obviously, Butler required the materials presented for consideration to be cognizant of the shift in policy towards public schools and offer solutions that gave methods for public schools to 'do their bit' in terms of providing a more inclusive and uniform landscape for UK schools.⁴³ In this case, not only were the public schools and other independent institutions (including denominational schools) 'saved' by legislative efforts, Butler also had planned to give the Fleming Committee, who was charged with determining the fate of public and independent schools prior to the 1944 Education Act, their full time 'rather than forcing the issue prematurely.'⁴⁴

Rather than indicating a reluctance to deal effectively with the public schools and an increasingly ambivalent public reaction (if the increasing use of phrasing like 'outmoded' coupled with 'precious' as attributes of the public school system would attest), what Butler thought of as his measured and practical response allows for time to consider the tangible positive feeling many had toward the public schools.⁴⁵ Yet many in government, such as Sir. Maurice Holmes (Permanent Secretary at the Board of Education/Ministry of Education), would caution patience with certain reforms, especially the reform of public schools, arguing that 'a root and branch alteration of the status quo would create a national disunity which, undesirable at any time' would be especially 'deplorable' in a time of war.⁴⁶ Holmes' apparent agreement with Butler concerning a delay for time in coming to a decision did not indicate full agreement with keeping

⁴² R.A. Butler, Minutes following Sir Walter Citrine's Memorandum on Education After the War, Trades Union Congress, 16.9.1942 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 136/379.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ R.A. Butler, response to letter from Rev. M.E. Aubrey, 15.2.1943 [UK National Archives: Kew].

⁴⁵ Reverend M.E. Aubrey, letter to Butler from the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, 18.6.1942 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 12/517; and Memorandum from Richard Austen Butler to GG Williams, 12.1.1942, 1 [UK National Archives, Kew] ED 136/379.

⁴⁶ Maurice Holmes, Memorandum to the Committee on Public Schools, Committee Paper no.9, 7 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 12/518.

the so-called status quo. For Holmes, though in agreement with Butler's condemnation of any uniformity in instruction or type of education for all students was also critical of the uniformity encouraged by certain sects of the public schools system that resulted in an 'excessive conformity to established norms of dress, speech, and behaviour.'⁴⁷ For others, including Reverend M. E. Aubrey, General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, this same conformity, though a little 'outmoded' needed to be celebrated as part of a noble and indeed 'precious' tradition that many would now be able to participate in as equal partners.⁴⁸

A Newer Tripartite System, Forming the UK Education System

In 1943, while the war in Europe still raged, the War Cabinet (led by Prime Minister Winston Churchill) began preparing reconstruction in Britain. Calling on trusted allies, often only from his own party, Churchill carved out several key areas in need of immediate attention. One of these key areas was education reform, despite concerns of introducing so 'controversial' a bill during wartime, as this would provide a key plank in re-establishing the normality necessary in communities torn by the war at home.⁴⁹ The education system itself had long been considered in need of revision as its control by local authorities, directed nominally from the Board of Education, often proved complex and ineffective. For example, when wartime exigencies needed to be addressed, effective decision-making supposedly guaranteed by the Education Act was limited, according to Education Secretary Kenneth Lindsay, by an apparent overabundance of

⁴⁷ Maurice Holmes, Memorandum to the Committee on Public Schools, Committee Paper no.9, 4.

⁴⁸ M. E. Aubrey, Letter to R.A. Butler, 18.6.1942 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 12/517; and also Authors, Various, Letters to R.A. Butler, ca.1942 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 12/517.

⁴⁹ R.A. Butler, 'Chapter 2: Education: The View of a Conservative' in 'Special Studies,' 29 [Richard Austen Butler Papers: Trinity College, Cambridge] RAB H44; and Draft speech by W.S. Churchill, 'Materials for Ministers: Defeat of the Government on Clause 82 of the Education Bill advocating Equal Pay for New and Women Teachers, Vote of Confidence,' 30.3.1944, 9 [The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust: Churchill College, Cambridge] CHAR 9/198 A.

local authorities.⁵⁰ Likewise, as seen in 1946, when more reforms were contemplated, local authorities were perceived by some commentators, including church leaders such as Reverend Edward Koch, as quite often more focussed on political infighting than 'child welfare'.⁵¹ Further, the process of reform was fraught with the compromises needed to incorporate certain schools, Anglican schools for example, into a national secular system yet 'avoid a numbing uniformity by depriving these of all their old character and tradition.'⁵² This attention to education was applauded by other groups, including the Trades Union Congress, as they feared that 'if we do not consider [education reform] and if we do not have our plans ready....educational reform may well find itself left far behind,' meaning that other social services could steal the spotlight of post-war focus and take precedence as more immediate concerns.⁵³

The successes and failures of these plans became so integrated into wartime policies that rejections of key portions of the new bill, like changes in pay schedules for new and female teachers, would often imply an individuals' confidence in the government itself for many politicians.⁵⁴ The plans for education reform were two-fold: first, prepare the current system of education and schooling for future reforms by attempting to unify it under central leadership; and second, institute a scheme of international cooperation to ensure that education was elevated to a priority for all allied countries. Both of these projects were involved in a related scheme of certain UK policymakers, such as those involved with the British Council in 1942. These,

⁵⁰ Kenneth Lindsay, *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 22.2.1940, vol. 357, col. 1531.

⁵¹ Edward Koch, Letter to Ellen Wilkinson, 18.1.1946 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/620.

⁵² R.A. Butler, 'Education Reform: Note by the President of the Board of Education,' 1943, 1 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 136/382.

⁵³ Sir Walter Citrine, Memorandum on Education after the War, Trades Union Congress, September 1942, 2 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 136/379.

⁵⁴ Undelivered speech by W.S. Churchill, 'Materials for Ministers: Defeat of the Government on Clause 82 of the Education Bill advocating Equal Pay for New and Women Teachers, Vote of Confidence,' 23.3.1944, 1 [The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust: Churchill College, Cambridge] CHAR 9/198 A.

included Butler, who prepared materials for visiting Allied ministers of education (including the US Commissioner of Education John W. Studebaker), who wished that allies and Commonwealth nations could find in the UK's strong national education policy a schematic they then could hope to interpret in their own national frameworks.⁵⁵ Central leadership could more ably monitor and evaluate individual progress for both schools and students and international cooperation would help spread the new British model to other nations needing guidance.

To accomplish such a varied task, Churchill turned to a friend (if such ties can be proven by a friendly wager placed on the 1950 election), to Butler.⁵⁶ The relationship between Butler and Churchill was not always a happy one yet, as indicated by historian Kevin Jefferys, yet Butler was chosen to lead education reconstruction 'primarily because on his past record, at the India Office and Foreign Office, he seemed less likely to depart from Churchill's injunction that the education department should stick to the task at hand.'⁵⁷ Butler would take charge and manage educational reconstruction throughout this crucial period of legislative efforts, and would remain a key figure and confidante of subsequent education ministers until 1964, while serving in other ministerial capacities. It was his leadership and attention to even the most minute of details, for example on the draft Education Bill 1943 Butler commenting on worries over the need for secrecy of certain clauses that may upset Roman Catholics, that pushed a new Education Act

⁵⁵ Richard Austen Butler et al, notes on Draft Proposals, British Council Proposal, 1942 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 42/1.

⁵⁶ Winston S. Churchill, Letter to R.A. Butler, 11.1.1950 [Richard Austen Butler Papers: Trinity College Cambridge] RAB E4, 18.

⁵⁷ Kevin Jeffreys, *The Churchill Coalition and Wartime Politics, 1940-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 115.

through Parliament in 1944 and helped manage the subsequent firestorm of supporting and opposing responses to the new Ministry of Education.⁵⁸

The key feature present through these education reform debates, from the 1943 White Paper, to the 1944 Education Act, and then leading through subsequent policies up to 1964, was the type of education in terms of institutionally determined curriculum that was being created. This was not schooling that was meant only to insert facts and figures into schoolchildren: these were educative efforts meant to shape the Britons of a better future and, as economic historian Correlli Barnett would demonstrate, to 'help each individual to realise' their potential.⁵⁹ At the heart of education reform efforts was the desire to fashion a new identity for English and Welsh schoolchildren—one that created a whole out of disparate parts.⁶⁰ Yet, this was not about creating uniformity. Even though the goal was to plan a new, more inclusive, education system, often comparable legislation was passed and plans were made only for England and Wales, while Scotland and Northern Ireland were dealt with separately. Often such efforts were casually referenced in other materials, for example personal letters and ministry reports, as the 'Scottish solution', especially in demands to provide such a solution to Roman Catholics to exempt them from certain portions of what would be the 1944 Education Act.⁶¹ Similarly, education systems used as part of identity formation were not intended entirely to abrogate pre-existing (and to

⁵⁸ R. A. Butler, notes on the Draft Bill of Education 1943 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 136/382 Education Bill 1943.

⁵⁹ R.A. Butler, 'Chapter 2: Education: The View of a Conservative' in 'Special Studies,' 31 [Richard Austen Butler Papers: Trinity College, Cambridge] RAB H44; and Ministry of Education General Report on the 17 Junior Schools in the County Borough of Blackburn, April-May 1947 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 77/184; and Correlli Barnett, *The Audit of War: The Illusion and Reality of Britain as a Great Nation* (London: Pan, 1996), 299.

⁶⁰ 'History of Educational Reconstruction from the White Paper to the Presentation of the Education Bill,' July to December 1943, 11 (Richard Austen Butler Papers: Trinity College, Cambridge) RAB F108; and Dr. Whitman, Memorandum on Educational Reconstruction, May 1945, 2 [Richard Austen Butler Papers: Trinity College, Cambridge] RAB F83.

⁶¹ R.A. Butler, letter to Geoffrey Shakespeare, 6.9.1943, 4 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/533.

some ministers entirely justifiable) cultural differences. These cultural differences were not conceptualized as ethnic or racial differences in the mid-1940s, yet there were divides still categorised as 'diversity' in these types of schools. Instead, these cultural differences formed along regional, religious, and economic divisions.⁶² Looking back at what the Education Act of 1944 and subsequent efforts achieved, the amalgamation of all disparate groups into one set type of school or education pattern could not have been the plan based on the ideologies and evaluations of successes present in the outcome. Instead, cultural differences were fostered in multiple sets of schools that were designed to encourage the highest possible achievement for all sections of the population.⁶³

By methodically investigating not only the plans of these policy-makers but also delving deeply into their discussions (public and personal) and discovering their private views, an educational policy paradigm emerges that is rather different from that portrayed in the dominant historiography on essentialist integrative policies.⁶⁴ This new paradigm is revealed through structural choices and was centred on a primary goal—to utilize the education system (and exploit new reforms) to construct a new and superior future. A better future, fashioned in part by a good education system, was something explicitly sought by Butler, according to a speech on the then upcoming Education Bill, a future founded on nurturing 'better citizens'.⁶⁵ In this way, policymakers, like Butler, manipulated the education system. Their version of a better world was

⁶² R.A. Butler, 'Chapter 2: Education: The View of a Conservative' in 'Special Studies,' 32-33 (Richard Austen Butler Papers: Trinity College, Cambridge) RAB H44.

⁶³ W.S. Churchill, Notes for Public Speech 'The Choice for Britain', 29.9.1959, 7-8 [The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust: Churchill College, Cambridge] CHUR 5/62C.

⁶⁴ Joe L. Kincheloe and Shirley R. Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997), 21 and 169; Arthur Schlesinger 'The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society' in *Campus Wars: Multiculturalism and the Politics of Difference* eds. John Arthur and Amy Shapiro (Oxford: Westview Press, 1995), 232.

⁶⁵ R.A. Butler, *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 19.1.1944, vol. 396, col. 208.

expected to be more inclusive of minority groups (primarily Catholics, those perceived as a 'lower' socio-economic class, and other minority religious groups) and give future leaders (a template of the ideal citizen) the skills necessary to deal with an increasingly diverse world. In this case, a curriculum that emphasized tradition and history were increasingly highlighted as providing a necessary blueprint for both community involvement and good citizenship, with the focus for some on maintaining the public school (though with the inclusion of other groups and a lessening of 'conformity') as a bastion for these traditions.⁶⁶ These new policies would offer not only developmental skills but also an influence meant to inspire inculcation of appropriate ideological patterns. To accomplish these rarefied goals, Butler and other education ministers focussed on very practical considerations such as policies deriving from the new international organization devoted to education (as discussed above), and provisions for the schooling for the working classes while protecting the independence of public schools from direct national control.

Educational Reconstruction, Nascent Concepts for Multiculturalist Integration

Beginning this process, Butler took the somewhat cautious route of presenting a White Paper on education reform before Parliament in 1943 prior to submitting an education reform bill before Parliament. According to Butler, a move that sought to 'test public reactions...before issuing a Bill' was not an unheralded plan, as the War Cabinet had previously requested a plan of action from the Board of Education and likewise the Prime Minister had advised caution before moving toward full reconstruction.⁶⁷ The resulting 'White Paper on Educational Reconstruction' produced

⁶⁶ 'The Problem of Public and Other Boarding Schools, Note on Local Conferences held during the Winter 1940-1941', 24.1.1941, 3-4, 5; and Committee on Public Schools, Memorandum by Sir Maurice Holmes, Committee Paper no. 9, 4 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 12/518, See also: Gary McCulloch and Colin McCaig, 'Reinventing the Past: The Case of the English Tradition of Education,' *British Journal of Educational Studies* 50 (2002): 240-241.

⁶⁷ Richard Austen Butler, minutes of discussion with Prime Minister Winston Churchill, 9.7.1943 [UK National Archives, Kew] ED 136/405.

not only an outline by which the resulting Education Act of 1944 would be written, but also a foretaste of the outcry of many Britons against certain of its precepts. The primary instigators of the uproar would be those who, for various reasons, disagreed with changes to religious education, considered by them to be a key portion of the White Paper's proposed curriculum reforms. Primary combatants in this increasingly volatile debate were Roman Catholics, Non-Conformists, non-religious organisations, the Church of England, and teachers' unions (especially the National Union of Teachers). The major concern of these individuals, who were not all religious and not all organized, focussed primarily on three aspects of the reform's propositions: first the necessity of a 'corporate act of worship'; then the possibility of an 'agreed syllabus' for religious instruction; and, lastly the changes proposed to grants which applied to voluntary institutions.⁶⁸

Despite subtle differences in the form of letters, petitions, and pamphlets, much of the response to these policy proposals was conducted in rather polite terms, directed as it was to respective MPs in individual constituencies, some of which were then forwarded to the offices of the President of the Board of Education. Some letters both from private individuals and MPs were then forwarded to Butler himself and though these tended toward the informal address of 'My dear Butler' there was a similar effort by these writers to keep these responses useful as constructive criticism rather than personal commentary.⁶⁹ Often, these responses offered advice in the form of full reports and point by point analyses of necessary changes, for example an attachment to one letter entitled 'Religion and Education' dated 1943.⁷⁰ In response, some groups received a bare acknowledgement of their letter and the assurance that their concerns would be

⁶⁸ *Educational Reconstruction*, Cmd. 6458, 1943.

⁶⁹ William Brass, letter to R.A. Butler, 22.9.1943 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/533.

⁷⁰ Author unclear, 'Religion and Education' 4.9.1943 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/533.

placed before a minister in due course, while others received a much longer, but no less formatted and pre-planned letter, penned by Butler himself. Among other considerations, this letter highlighted the original plan of the White Paper, which was 'to elicit the views of the various parties' so that if there was a valid concern there could be ample time for the 'government's proposals to be adjusted,' within reason.⁷¹ By validating and reaffirming the plan of the White Paper through what can be considered a form letter sent to multiple individuals, Butler himself was preparing the constituencies and the MPs from where these letters had emanated for further reforms and priming them to be effective members of the policy process. This method of consulting a second layer of mid-level and often civilian policymakers reflects Butler's own philosophy of politics, examined in his 1971 memoir titled *The Art of the Possible*, where his process and plans featured what should be done while always retaining focus on what could be done.⁷²

For some, both individuals in community organisations, such as the Littleborough Parents and Electors Association; and those in Roman Catholic parishes, including the Roman Catholic Church at a national level, the major concern was one of conscience.⁷³ Those in the church could not countenance what they saw as a major threat to their free exercise of conscience and in some cases demanded that the government realize that these individuals could not 'in conscience agree to Protestant religious instruction being given to our Catholic children.'⁷⁴ In one particular case, the agitators were a Roman Catholic deputation representing parishes in Barnsley writing to their

⁷¹ R. A. Butler, letter to Geoffrey Shakespeare, 6.9.1943 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/533.

⁷² R. A. Butler, *The Art of the Possible: The Memoirs of Richard Austen Butler* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1971).

⁷³ Tom Waldron, letter to R. A. Butler, 4.9.1943 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/533.

⁷⁴ Deputation of Roman Catholic parishes in Barnsley, letter to Frank Collindridge, MP, 7.8.1943 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/533.

MP Frank Collindridge. In their missive, the deputation went on to demand rights that were granted, from their perspective, to all others in the United Kingdom. The key point that this deputation reached was that they were treated with less justice than 'aliens (from another country)' citing that if they had been 'aliens...then the State would be more careful that everything should be done for us according to our principles'.⁷⁵

In this case, it would seem that these individuals are prescient of future concerns that would result from increased levels of Commonwealth immigration, and it seems unclear as to who the 'aliens' are in this context. On the surface, the reaction would seem to include all Commonwealth and Allied persons then residing in the United Kingdom due to the ongoing war effort. Indeed, these individuals were specifically cared for by CAME and the Board of Education itself in the case of Allied soldiers and the specific religious and educational needs of foreign schools in not just the British islands but Greater Britain and newly reoccupied territories.⁷⁶ This impression is further justified by the reference of this deputation to their children as more than 'State property like the munitions of war' which implies a crisis of conscience relating to the war effort itself.⁷⁷ Some non-conformists responded in a similar manner to these Roman Catholics and highlighted a similar point of contention in the 'agreed syllabus' for religious instruction as it would likewise conflict with their consciousness of a divinely inspired and infallible Holy Scripture.⁷⁸ In this manner, both groups felt that their rights as citizens would be nullified in some key manner if the White Paper proposals became law without changes.

⁷⁵ Deputation of Roman Catholic parishes in Barnsley, letter to Frank Collindridge, MP, 7.8.1943 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/533.

⁷⁶ Inspection of Foreign Schools in Great Britain, 1942-1943 (UK National Archives: Kew) ED 42/15 .

⁷⁷ Deputation of Roman Catholic Parishes in Barnsley, letter to Frank Collindridge, MP, 7.8.1943 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/533.

⁷⁸ Langley Elim Church, petition to the Board of Education, 1.9.1943 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/533.

Further outcry came from a more expected corner, namely the sectarian interest represented by other Protestant lobbyist groups, though in an unexpected manner, with responses focusing not on the White Paper but on the backlash to its proposals. In an extreme example, the Protestant Truth Society (PTS) vehemently opposed the Roman Catholic response to the White Paper. While other groups, including private individuals and other more public figures warranted a response letter of the sort mentioned above, neither letter from the PTS retained during this period of agitation was remarked upon formally or privately. Possibly, this silence was due to the remarks contained within an otherwise standard response letter. The PTS responses were incendiary. Part of their arguments focussed on the claim that the '...Roman Catholic hierarchy... [was] the sole organized opposition' to the proposed reforms despite a series of petitions submitted by Elim Churches throughout England (which therefore came in from a Pentecostal Non-Conformist religious movement founded in 1915).⁷⁹ This form letter was filled out and signed by members of the Elim Church in Langley.⁸⁰ In a similar claim, though the specifics of Roman Catholic publicity efforts are not mentioned, their propaganda was believed to be at the heart of demands for further recognition and the insidious Roman Catholic alterations to London County Council history texts.⁸¹ Admittedly, these claims were perceived as extremist, and were certainly thinly referenced, and were therefore ignored by the Board of Education, outside of their committing them to the registry for further thought and posterity.

⁷⁹ Protestant Truth Society, letters to R.A. Butler 11.9.1943, 1 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/533.

⁸⁰ Elim Church Langley, Petition to The Rt. Hon. The President of the Board of Education, 1.9.1943 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/533.

⁸¹ Protestant Truth Society, letters to R.A. Butler 11.9.1943, 3 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/533.

Yet an overriding concern brought up by the PTS was less easily dismissed. Their main issue with Roman Catholic opposition to the White Paper was that such clamour emerged from what they considered an alternative and degraded mode of life, citing so-called proof of illiterate and criminal Roman Catholic societies in Ireland and Italy.⁸² This vocal minority opposition was a distorted version of other concerns of the majority who not only agreed with a wholly Protestant rendering of British sensibilities, but who wanted these sensibilities perpetuated intentionally in many schools, though allowing for some freedom for Roman Catholics and others in their own institutions.⁸³ Some of the groups supporting the Bill and advising shifting those vocal elements to one side of the debate included Catholics. One commentator from Doncaster, remaining anonymous by choice in a letter to local MP Sir F. Mander, even urged Butler and the other education ministers to 'get on with the Bill and pay no heed to the noisy element' as he argued that catering to these could end up creating an unacceptable version of dual control instead of the Catholics' desired incorporation into the schools system.⁸⁴

This version of the widespread belief in a vocal minority being catered to inappropriately in some way by potential policy changes would be repeated by concerned citizens and policy-makers throughout subsequent reform efforts (and would become a recurrent trope in anti-immigrant feeling in the decades to come). For example, the religious themselves (considered by agitators to be a minority) became the target for an anti-religious argument, though with certain unionist sympathies, that decried the 'disgrace' of a 'compulsory religious worship', as evidenced by a letter to then education minister Ellen Wilkinson from Frank Thompson (a constituent from

⁸² Protestant Truth Society, letters to R.A. Butler 11.9.1943, 3[UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/533.

⁸³R.A. Butler, 'Education Reform: Note by the President of the Board of Education,' 1942, 1 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 136/382.

⁸⁴ Anonymous Roman Catholic from Doncaster, letter to Sir. F. Mander, 25.9.1943 (UK National Archives: Kew) ED 136/411.

Highbury) in 1946.⁸⁵ What begins in this letter as a logically rendered argument against 'an attempt by the church to de-educate the public' using 'this vile hum-bug known as organised religion' ends up in a very personal attack against Wilkinson herself—or, as Thompson would have her called, the 'little woman'.⁸⁶ By degenerating into a personal attack, Thompson's letter engenders a perfunctory response through Wilkinson's private secretary (A.A. Part) and further discussion that incorporated R.N. Heaton (Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Education), who fires back at Thompson the 'ardent secularist' and disavows the necessity for any further reply.⁸⁷ Perhaps, such outcry can be more fully understood in the context of efforts by the policymakers to not only affect curriculum change but also individual/personal transformation through the experience of educative reform. In this way, the concerns of some Catholics and anti-religious that their children would become somehow indoctrinated into a central ideal would be valid.

France: General Outlook and Concerns

In France, the national curriculum, long established since the 19th century by the Jules Ferry Laws that centralized French education, throughout the 1940s and 1950s would also focus on removing 'enemy' perspectives infiltrating the curriculum through additions given by Vichy officials during the war.⁸⁸ Instead, new additions to the curriculum looked remarkably similar to changes wrought upon county schools in certain UK local authorities and would explicitly plan to mould 'good, secular, Republican' Frenchmen.⁸⁹ According to education scholars Walter

⁸⁵ Frank Thompson, letter to E. Wilkinson, 15.1.1946 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/620.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ R. N. Heaton, Discussion following letter from F. Thompson to E. Wilkinson, 15.1.1946 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/620

⁸⁸ Board of Education and Ministry of Education: Conference of Allied Ministers of Education 'Objective History' [UK National Archives, Kew] *Reports, Agendas, Memorandum, and Publicity 1942-1943*.

⁸⁹ Eric Hobsbawm, 'Mass Producing Traditions: Europe 1870-1914,' in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 261; and Walter Kusters and

Kusters and Marc Depaepe, such assimilationist tendencies were not always uniformly produced, with neglect of key evaluative processes allowing certain types of 'intercultural education by default' due to a lack of oversight by the Ministry of National Education.⁹⁰ Inconsistencies during this time can be attributed in many cases to the destruction of certain French schools and the general disorder caused by the end of the German occupation of France.⁹¹ Incongruities are likewise present in the case of French reports to UNESCO; often what was reported externally on their progress toward UNESCO goals and what was internally communicated were often quite different. External reports often highlighted progress towards cultural integration and internal reports stressed the need for a more overt assimilative effort in curricular change, though this dissimilarity could be due to the French national commission to UNESCO as of 1947 being comprised primarily of cultural attachés and university professors.⁹² For example, the French report to UNESCO highlighted the cooperation between the Canadian and French Reconstruction National Commissions in Normandy and how that would assist the French educational system in building a community with Franco-Canadians and inspire 'French associations interested in the problem' of rebuilding French schools.⁹³ Alternatively, brochures covering the correct French interpretation of family life and social bonding between the schools system and individual communities in a purely nationalized context to build communities were sent to the National Education ministers to be transmitted through to instructors, yet admittedly

Marc Depaepe, 'The French Third Republic: Popular Education , Conceptions of Citizenship and the Flemish Immigrants,' *Historical Studies in Education* (2011): 22-40

⁹⁰ Walter Kusters and Marc Depaepe, 'Intercultural Education by Default? French Third Republic Educational Policies, the Neglect of Otherness, and the Children of Belgian Immigrants' Paper Presented at ECER (The European Conference on Educational Research) Vienna 28 September 2009.

⁹¹ Letter from Michel Maget to the French National Commission to UNESCO care of L.G. Grimmit 26.3.1945 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] CAME Box 9 Files of the Secretariat of CAME 1943-1946 6.4-Fr France.

⁹² French National Commission to UNESCO, Report of the Member States in Session, 52 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 1948 3rd Session of the UNESCO General Conference, Reports of the Member States.

⁹³ French National Commission to UNESCO, Report of the Member States in Session, 54 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 1948 3rd Session of the UNESCO General Conference, Reports of the Member States.

as these were dated in 1943 the absolute lack of a Vichy-occupied influence on such policies cannot be accurately determined.⁹⁴

Likewise, it is clear from letters to and from Gaullist ministers (the then current ruling party of France after Liberation) that while the UK was an influence on its policies, it was never meant to be their primary focus.⁹⁵ For example, whereas the UK would recognize increasingly diverse groups as contributing members of to their cultural development as a whole, French Ministers of Education would more often choose instead to mould their citizens collectively as Frenchmen or opt out of discussions of cultural assimilation entirely.⁹⁶ That said, the changes to the curriculum proposed by policymakers were not meant to involve only uniformity or sameness. The English, and indeed Canadian, influence on policy was visible in their linguistic focus on discussing the fusion needed to recognize (if not celebrate) cultural difference in order to perfect a good French citizen.⁹⁷ The 1950 French Report of the Member State to UNESCO, while offering a more integrated commission with members of the Ministry of National Education in attendance (Yvonne Delbos) and from the department of foreign affairs (Robert Schuman), emphasized such fusion necessary for immigrants and war orphans in its educational reconstruction report, and in the more general report on education efforts to rationalize the curriculum to include teaching on how to 'study in an objective manner the problems of wide international realities' to develop

⁹⁴ 'L'école et la famille' Brochure by the Commissariat General de la Famille. 5.7.1943 [Archives Nationales Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] F17 13324 Circulaires du Ministre de l'éducation 1943.

⁹⁵ Miscellaneous Authors, Office of Cooperation and Economic Development, 1950 [Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 19770495-6 Office of Cooperation and Economic Development 1950-1972.

⁹⁶ Letters from the UNESCO Director of the Interior and Department of Social Sciences to various 1950 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 325.1-008A 064(44) '50' Meeting of Experts on Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants.

⁹⁷ Whitney Walton, *Internationalism, National Identities, and Study Abroad: France and the United States, 1890-1970* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

citizens with a 'spirit of understanding, tolerance and goodwill.'⁹⁸ This attitude toward schooling as an inquisitive step toward acquiring an appropriate cultural outlook was one that would find purchase throughout the period in other national ministries, indeed as other reports from 1950 would demonstrate national ministries of education were in attendance in greater numbers than previous years for all comparator nations.⁹⁹

A UK Case Study: Experimentation, the Necessity of Centralisation

The use of education and schooling to produce a particular cultural outlook and identity was emphasised by many education reforms in the UK during the 1940s. Yet, the standardization of the UK educational systems did not imply homogeneity in the type of individual then fashioned by education, leading to the creation of a tripartite educational system as discussed above.

Among various education programmes attempted by both governmental and non-governmental organisations in the UK, The Dolanog Experiment in 1941-1943 provided a unique, and hitherto almost absent from the historiography, example of the controversies that occasionally originated due to a traditional lack of central control over education for local authorities and the Board of Education. As Welsh schools will prove a crucial site of transnational policy developments in future years (in Chapters 3 and 4 with Canadian examinations of the teaching of Welsh), earlier periodization of innovative teaching styles and the bureaucratic organization of Welsh schools and local authorities are necessary at this point in the analysis. The plan in the Dolanog Experiment was to remove boys from Bethnal Green in London to Plas Dolanog, Wales in order

⁹⁸ French National Commission to UNESCO, Report of the Member States in Session 179-180 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 1950 5th Session General Conference Reports of Member States.

⁹⁹ Canadian National Commission to UNESCO, Report of the Member States in Session 57; US National Commission to UNESCO, Report of the Member States in Session 143-144; and UK National Commission to UNESCO, Report of the Member States in Session 267 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 1950 5th Session General Conference Reports of Member States.

to prepare those boys for the preparatory school community life which planners hoped would then have led to a full introduction in the public school system. By removing such children from their present form of life and introducing them in a measured way into what they determined was a higher standard of educational achievement, the proponents of the Dolanog Experiment hoped to 'recast' the present system to allow for 'those who, under the present system, have no prospect of enjoying the privileges of the few' to 'be given those privileges'.¹⁰⁰ Correspondingly, the disorganization of the experiment would form at least an implicit part of the justification for the sweeping reforms and stabilization offered by 1944 Education Act in its tripartite system. While obviously not dealing with a group commonly identified as 'multicultural', on the surface the Dolanog Experiment may seem an unusual choice for inclusion into analysis meant to establish the forerunners of multicultural education policy. Upon close analysis of the language chosen to express the main goals and plans of the Dolanog Experiment, especially by proprietor John E. Raven, and the structure of the curriculum in resulting institutions, a connection through attempts to incorporate those of different cultural backgrounds into a pre-existing majority system was clear.

The Dolanog Experiment gave the impression of combining the conservative inclination toward supporting public schools as a positive good, perpetuating a certain level of educational achievement and mode of life as the right of all children (even those with a perceived lack of opportunities), with the Board of Education's, and to a lesser extent the Local Education Authorities', proposals that highlighted the need for a certain level of education for all children based on individual needs. The Dolanog Experiment seemed both representative of the planned reforms outlined in the 1943 White Paper and the reason such reforms were necessary.

¹⁰⁰ John E. Raven, Document sent to G.G. Williams, 9.9.1941, 1 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED/12/517.

Frustrations by administrators with such haphazard and utterly independent moves on the part of otherwise legitimate institutes, such as Oxford House in Bethnal Green, would be part of the inspiration for the 1944 Education Act's national system of education.¹⁰¹ Likewise, the extreme circumstances of the lived experiences of urban and poor families and children were often highlighted by the exigencies of evacuation during the war, juxtaposed against the opposing image of rich urban dwellers finding country life a cultural shock, revealing otherwise hidden dangers and 'appalling conditions' for 'thousands of citizens' that aided ministers in pushing through social reforms as they were construed as responding to 'strong demand for social, including educational reform.'¹⁰²

This experiment, under John E. Raven's (Classics Scholar at Trinity College, Cambridge, and an unpaid social worker assisting with the running of Oxford House) stated goals clearly planned to use a different mode of life, and educational apparatus to force changes in an individual's character and economic class that others of the time would have believed impossible. Through manipulation of the syllabus agreed acceptable for boys from Bethnal Green, which was not what Raven would argue was acceptable for the 'ruling class', he hoped to provide a 'natural sequence' for some of his boys from the preparatory school into the public school—therefore placing the impetus for the production of separate classes not on inborn achievement levels but on the type of schooling provided.¹⁰³ Social class itself would then become not a product of economic and biological factors alone, but would prove a mutable trait that responded to

¹⁰¹ Oxford House was a settlement house sponsored by Keble College, Oxford University in 1884. Oxford House remains a vital part of the Bethnal Green community. ('About Oxford House: Introduction,' *Oxford House by Bethnal Green*, 2014, accessed 16.10.2014, <http://oxfordhouse.org.uk/about/introduction/>.)

¹⁰² Conservative Research Department, The Education Act, 1944: Demands for Reform, 25.7.1961, 1 [Richard Austen Butler Papers: Trinity College, Cambridge] RAB H44. See Also: John Welshman, *Churchill's Children: The Evacuee Experience in Wartime Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

¹⁰³ Raven, Document sent to G.G. Williams, 1-5.

educative efforts. Raven's Dolanog Experiment, for example, would conclude that 'no natural conflict whatever between children from different social classes at least up to the age of 12... existed in his charges—despite a relatively wide age range and different individuals' characteristics relating to their economic status in Bethnal Green.¹⁰⁴ Despite such a lofty goal, namely breaking into the reaches of the ruling class through removal and re-education of certain groups of boys, this experiment was accepted as in some ways this was only a small-scale alteration that fitted in with general philosophical discussion concerning education at the time. Raven's initial correspondent, G.G. Williams, advised caution and listed headmasters to consult before continuing with the plan (including the headmaster of Eton College). John Raven of Oxford House then pursued a truly exceptional and odd set of correspondence from that point forward as he almost unilaterally, and some would say madly, pursued his plan without jurisdiction or acceptance of his plans by the Board of Education.

Overruling or ignoring Williams' advice, Raven pursued his original plans by using the existing plans for evacuation of school age and younger children to the countryside due to the bombing of London and thereby he expanded his propositions beyond his original conceptions.¹⁰⁵ Instead of a purely preparatory school meant for boys to prepare them for testing and acceptance into the public schools system, Raven was forced due to circumstance to mix in an increasingly wide age group into his school and also admit girls.¹⁰⁶ The expansion of Raven's original goals also had the unintended consequence of reducing the amount of money that Raven could receive from various institutions supporting the evacuation, as he did not group children as he originally

¹⁰⁴ John E. Raven, 'An Educational Experiment,' Bethnal Green 22.7.1943, 2 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 12/518.

¹⁰⁵ Raven, 'An Educational Experiment,' Bethnal Green 22.7.1943, 1.

¹⁰⁶ Raven, 'An Educational Experiment,' Bethnal Green 22.7.1943, 2.

outlined. Likewise, despite seeming to abhor Dolanog's *ad hoc* and unofficial status, Raven and Oxford House seemed to be in no hurry to affect any change to their status as 'The Board of Education has not yet been approached' after 18 months.¹⁰⁷ Further documents coming from Oxford House reiterated their original concerns with their status, yet again did not offer effective solutions to these issues. Notes covering these documents from an unnamed and unknown author seem to question the sincerity of the Dolanog Experiment's pleas for assistance through a liberal use of question marks indicting their 'genuine' interest in becoming a part of the system or even being recognized by the Board.¹⁰⁸

Also, whereas the first document coming from the newly activated Dolanog Experiment focussed on the positive experience of toleration and general equality among the pupils, the latter document recounts the initial days of the experiment in far darker hues and ultimately a more realistic manner. Administering what was little more than a general collection point and care centre for displaced children, Raven and Oxford House had to first be careful of the opinion of parents before starting any experimentation.¹⁰⁹ By revealing such hard facts as the reality that the first children arriving under the care of Oxford House were not educated by them, but in fact went to the village school, Raven was admitting that he had now 'won the parents' confidence' and could experiment with the education that he had always hoped to provide.¹¹⁰ The true original purpose of the school, merely a hostel for evacuation, seemed to be highlighted specifically and was a further indicator of Raven's newfound confidence in the experiment, though not necessarily in the original plan as outlined to G.G. Williams. In fact, in one key area

¹⁰⁷ Raven, 'An Educational Experiment,' Bethnal Green 22.7.1943, 2.

¹⁰⁸ John E. Raven, 'An Educational Experiment II,' Oxford House, Bethnal Green, 22.7.1943, 1 [UK National Archives] ED 12/518

¹⁰⁹ John E. Raven, 'An Educational Experiment II,' Oxford House, Bethnal Green, 22.7.1943, 3.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

(that of providing an inroad for these boys of lowered economic status into the public school), Raven had made an abrupt departure, citing that he was now unclear as to 'how the average public school boy of the present day will react to the extension to the poorest class of his own exclusive privileges.'¹¹¹ Thus, a combination of blatant disregard for local and national authority, confidence in the success of the experiment, and alterations to the original plan due to a new and curious hesitancy colour Raven's directed letter and open letters to the Board of Education.

To discover the fuller story, one must consider the very different accounts given by the Board of Education officials and especially those reports from the duly appointed official for Plas Dolanog, Sir Wynn Wheldon (Permanent Secretary of the Welsh Department of the Board of Education). Instead of describing the Dolanog Experiment as a school, Wheldon opted for the more derogatory statement inherent in terming this a 'colony' and not only a colonizing force from Bethnal Green, but also an 'extremely haphazard and casual' one.¹¹² At the time, mid-1941, Wheldon believed that Raven was about to give up and return home, yet later in 1943 it becomes clear exactly when Raven gave his 'reports' to the authorities in order to effectively hide his operation in plain sight until the experiment could get off the ground and find some measured successes.¹¹³ According to the official reports from Montgomeryshire (where Dolanog was located), the local school was not informed of the new influx of students and therefore was not equipped to house the new children Oxford House had relocated.¹¹⁴ After reading through a report that described Raven's efforts as 'irresponsible,' lacking 'foresight,' and Raven himself as

¹¹¹ Raven, 'An Educational Experiment II,' 3-4.

¹¹² Sir Wynn Wheldon, Minutes, 29.4.1941 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 12/517.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ T.O, 'Oxford House, Bethnal Green Groups of Evacuated School Children at Plas Dolanog, Parc Llwydiarth and Maesmawr Hall, Montgomeryshire Report of Visits from April 28th 1941 – June 22nd 1943', 1-2 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 12/518.

'pathetically ignorant', it becomes clear that the officials not only did not believe Raven truly wanted to be recognized by the Board of Education, but also considered him a dangerous maverick at worst and a well-meaning caricature of an educational reformer at best.¹¹⁵

There was, however, one moment when critiques of Raven's initial desire to break down the barriers between 'slum children' and the public schools revealed local authorities' entrenched belief systems. In the Montgomeryshire reports, one final condemnation of the experiment focussed on the 'herding' together of students 'with too little regard for age range and without any system of selection' as 'a muddle' instead of an experiment.¹¹⁶ This was an admittedly odd phrasing to choose on the part of the Montgomeryshire author as this was possibly the very definition of an experiment in different forms of schooling, in that Raven argued that part of the experimental design included a desire to eliminate selection based on previous aptitude and in fact praise the fact that 'despite a relatively wide age range and different individuals' little class conflict had emerged among his students.¹¹⁷ In addition, this type of experimentation was very much Raven's original intention, though by 1943 it seemed Oxford House had shied away from full commitment to effecting a transformation of the tradition that the writer of this Montgomeryshire report so obviously inhabited. The further suggestions offered by the author could then be tacitly ignored by Raven as they went against his original plan as outlined to Williams in 1941. By the publication of the 1943 White Paper, Raven was confident enough to publish the 'Schools of the Future in Action Here and Now' pamphlet, which highlighted several points where the Dolanog Experiment fulfilled or anticipated the methods suggested by the

¹¹⁵ T.O, 'Oxford House, Bethnal Green Groups of Evacuated School Children at Plas Dolanog, Parc Llwydiarth and Maesmawr Hall, Montgomeryshire Report of Visits from April 28th 1941 – June 22nd 1943', 1-2 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 12/518.

¹¹⁶ T.O, "Oxford House, Bethnal Green Groups of Evacuated School Children at Plas Dolanog,' 3.

¹¹⁷ John E. Raven, Document sent to G.G. Williams, 9.9.1941, 1 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED/12/517.

White Paper. For example, the reference in the 1943 White Paper to the 'abolition of the present Special Place examination and the adoption of other arrangement for the classification of children when they pass from primary to secondary schools' was connected by Raven to the Dolanog perspective of 'close individual attention paid to each child to discover where his chief interest and abilities lie.'¹¹⁸ While a noble venture to continue a stated ambition to gain recognition by the Board of Education, this latest publication ended with a request for private donations to support the venture, which increases the likelihood that Raven preferred to keep Dolanog outside the official boundaries.

International and Practical Considerations

The United Kingdom

Education featured not only in national, but also in international administrative and diplomatic, concerns. For example, there was and is patronage and participation in at least a visual and transitory sense by the royal family (as symbolic head of state) and in the hands of at least one major national teachers' organisation (the National Union of Teachers or NUT). This connection was fostered throughout the war; in 1937-1944 through a widow and orphans fund sponsored by the NUT with an increasingly less titled high-profile royal attendee.¹¹⁹ Likewise, in CAME and UNESCO there was a palpable UK intent not just to reform education in terms of the reality in the UK, but to make sure that its influence was felt and its version of history was perpetuated to

¹¹⁸ Pamphlet 'Schools of the Future in Action Here and Now' 1943, 1-2 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 12/518.

¹¹⁹ 1937-1944 National Union of Teachers Widows and Orphans Fund [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 136/97.

other countries.¹²⁰ Often this focus on the 'correct' version of history and values to be disseminated abroad depended on the 'family' represented by the Commonwealth. It seems to have become increasingly both important for MPs and for educators that the Commonwealth to be emphasized in official documentation rather than the empire. In a letter sent to Butler via the Committee on Public Schools, containing a copy of a draft memoranda on 'Public Schools in the Future,' Walter Oakeshott as High Master of St. Pauls School Wokingham, Berkshire, argued that 'to plan all education against an eighteenth century cultural background to rule a nineteenth century empire would be quixotic.'¹²¹ The intention behind this argument was clear. It was no longer feasible to maintain blindly traditional cultural associations. Therefore, the system needed to expand, and to alter if only slightly, to incorporate a new understanding and a new interpretation of the empire—in 1945 the obvious choice was the new family increasingly created by Commonwealth nations achieving self-determination and the new friends and allies found within the CAME and then UNESCO connections.

Butler seized on these new connections as important trends in the teaching of world history and the new Ministry of Education (reflecting an organisational change after the 1944 Education Act) dutifully produced teaching materials relating to the allies, the empire, and the Commonwealth. The order of these materials in the archives sheds light on the preoccupation that the Ministry of Education had with the proper production of belief, though was not necessarily indicative of a wider conspiracy to manipulate the individual school's leadership. The materials deal with allies first, possibly indicating a need to promote positive images for the war effort. Following this, the materials deal with empire (as a type of common ground between reformers and traditionally

¹²⁰ Authors, Various, Memoranda [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 42/4.

¹²¹ Walter Oakeshott, Draft Memorandum 'Public Schools in the Future,' sent to R.A. Butler, 4.2.1945 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 12/518.

minded groups) and then Commonwealth. In the materials that recount the Commonwealth, each individual area received individualized attention and was presented in alphabetical order (though the dominions that were populated or perceived to be populated by predominantly white groups were presented first in this case).¹²²

Different aspects of these groups were highlighted by the booklists offered by the Ministry of Education. Revealingly, these lists are very clearly not meant to be objective introductions on different nations, but instead reflect clear national and international UK perspectives.¹²³ For the United States, in an initial set of books there was a focus on the ideals and the idealism of not only America itself, but also of specific Americans.¹²⁴ Further materials focussed much more specifically on politics and offered 'short courses' on social and economic considerations.¹²⁵ The booklists offered and courses given on US History were much more prescriptive and all-encompassing of at least a traditional, i.e. political history, version of American History and indicated a much more widespread inclination to fully introduce US History into the permanent secondary school curriculum. The materials on the USSR, by contrast, focussed wholly on the basic facts of the socialist system: the need for them seems to have been created by the entrance of the USSR into the war.¹²⁶ Therefore, the shorter set of materials are much more focussed on propaganda for the war effort itself and much less on any real attempt to incorporate these materials into a long-term project for UK diplomacy.

¹²² Booklist, World History [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 34/12.

¹²³ For further works on 'imaginative geographies' see Mark Bassin, 'Studying Ourselves: History and Philosophy of Geography,' *Progress in Human Geography* 24 (2000): 475-487 and Mark Bassin, 'Inventing Siberia: Visions of the Russian Far East in the Early 19th Century,' *American Historical Review* 96 (1991): 793-94.

¹²⁴ The Schools in War-time Memorandum No. 26. Board of Education 'The Teaching of the History of the United States of America,' 7.1941, 3 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 34/12.

¹²⁵ The Schools in War-time Memorandum No. 28. Board of Education 'The Teaching of the History of the United States of America,' 2. 1942, 2 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 34/12.

¹²⁶ The Schools in War-time Memorandum No. 33. Board of Education 'The Study of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,' 4.1942, 1-4 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 34/12.

In addition to the relatively short term implications of the war effort, the peace had a profound effect on education policies, especially with reference to the United Nations. For some, the advent of the United Nations offered a chance to expand the global reach of the United Kingdom and some MPs, like John Paton (Labour MP for Norwich), wanted to push students to recognize the new role that the UK could play on the world stage. In particular, Paton suggested switching the outmoded 'Empire Day' with a new 'United Nations Day.'¹²⁷ As historian Jim English has argued, Empire Day had increasingly fallen out of favour due to a declining consensus as to its usefulness as a patriotic and nationalistic enterprise; and suggestions such as Paton's for alternative days meant to fill the gap left in the curriculum. The goal for such materials was to inspire greater knowledge of and appreciation for Britain's place in the wider world and emphasise the need for an outward looking internationally oriented citizenship.¹²⁸ For the Minister of Education by this stage, Ellen Wilkinson, this idea held some merit. Yet, similarly to other policymakers at that time, Wilkinson wanted to emphasise the Commonwealth rather than a more global enterprise. The Commonwealth as a major framework for the dissemination of the British influence on international policies remained crucial and Wilkinson's response that relegated a shift in the title from Empire Day to UN Day was a product of these larger framing concerns.¹²⁹ While the recognition of the UN as a communal organisation to which the UK owed allegiance was a key portion of the Ministry of Education's outreach plans following the end of World War Two, other issues brought up by war were delegated to the local authorities. In this way, Wilkinson carefully maintained the dividing line between what central government could

¹²⁷ Mr. John Paton, Questions and Answers, House of Commons, 7.2.1946 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 36/34.

¹²⁸ Jim English, 'Empire Day in Britain, 1904-1956,' *The Historical Journal* 49 (2006): 247-276.

¹²⁹ Ellen Wilkinson, Questions and Answers, House of Commons, 7.2.1946 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 36/34.

change and what it would. For example, when MP Arthur Lewis (Labour MP for Upton) suggested the introduction of Esperanto as a 'compulsory subject' for both UN and UK schools, Wilkinson clarified that this was 'the responsibility of the teachers and school authorities.'¹³⁰ In this way, Wilkinson validated concerns of MPs to effectively reinforce UK participation in an increasingly international and globalized world, while not introducing new subjects into the curriculum that schools and teachers may not have supported nor considered academically viable subjects. For example, uniquely in 1948 Roman Catholic schools in Blackburn, investigated by the Ministry of Education, were urging a focus on the local not 'far away lands' and relying on a type of specificity in history that moved away from 'abstractions and movements'.¹³¹ By focusing more on the practical relatable history, these Blackburn schools demonstrated a trend toward incorporating not only the new international outlook, but also a more constructive and inclusive national perspective.

France

In France, similarly to how involved Butler was in several key areas of reform in the UK and internationally, René Cassin (author of the UN Declaration of Human Rights 1948) was involved in or led discussions on human rights and welfare in both the UN and UNESCO and was invited to speak at most every event, including the Council of Europe, UNESCO, and crucially the French National Curriculum agency determining policy for primary and secondary schools from the 1940s to the 1960s.¹³² His perspective follows the trend as established in the UK and the UK

¹³⁰ Questions and Answers, House of Commons, 14.3.1946 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 34/42.

¹³¹ Roman Catholic Schools in the County Borough of Blackburn, 1948 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 77/189).

¹³² René Cassin, travaux, Institut international des droits de l'homme et autres associations internationales [Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 382AP 163 Rene Cassin Travaux 1956-1960

that education needed to prepare students for participation as citizens in the work of the world.¹³³ Tracking Cassin's participation as a vital member of national ministries and international committees, and as a major contributor to influential newspapers and journals throughout this period offers a fixed point of comparison for French interaction with her allies, for example materials submitted to *Ici Paris* magazine in 1947 detailing US histories of human rights and other policies.¹³⁴ Analytically, Cassin's letters and work provide solid links between French ministries personally and professionally as, like Butler, his opinion was valued and trusted beyond his tenure as the VP for a Conseil d'Etat in the 1950s.¹³⁵ Therefore, despite a seeming linguistic and cultural barrier between the French and the other English comparators, the transnational movement of ideas on inclusive education policy can be reliably traced from international organizations to France and through French policy during this period. Though, the main parallel with UK policies from 1944 to 1964 in France lay in the intent to use French education to produce world citizens.¹³⁶

Canada

As with the other comparators, the Canadian Council for Reconstruction through UNESCO in 1948 focussed on an impending battle for the 'mind of Europe'.¹³⁷ As argued above, the French and Canadian Reconstruction commissions worked together in parts of France rebuilding

¹³³ René Cassin, *Travaux, Commission des Droits de l'Homme et Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme*. UNESCO Cour européenne de justice de la Haye [Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 382AP 163 Rene Cassin Travaux 1956-1960.

¹³⁴ René Cassin, 'The Renovation of Governmental Institutions and Administration' *Ici Paris* 1947 [Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 382AP 161 Rene Cassin Travaux 1944-1948.

¹³⁵ René Cassin remained a major conference attendee and published several articles on ongoing education issues from 1944 through to 1974, keeping meticulous records of his 'Travaux' (work) during each year.

¹³⁶ René Cassin, Speech to the Corporate Bodies Set Up by the President of the Republic, 1.1.1949 [[Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 382AP 161 Rene Cassin Travaux 1944-1948.

¹³⁷ Canadian Council for Reconstruction through UNESCO [Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario] File 15 (Clippings).

institutions and re-establishing connections between the Francophone Atlantic community. This was a particularly interesting perspective especially as the major participation in UNESCO in the 1940s by Canada was a passive one.¹³⁸ Canada held leadership roles outside of its role as an observer in a book drive and also with the exchange of persons and the deliverance of international fellowships.¹³⁹ The status of Canada internationally would grow throughout this period in part due to the focus by the UK on including the Commonwealth 'family' more explicitly in its international presence. For example, Churchill defended Canadians as part of the Commonwealth, proposing to help them with 'joining the English speaking world' as equal partners.¹⁴⁰

Despite its celebrated federalization nationally Canada sought to relieve problems experienced in their bilingual provinces, in particular Ontario and other French-speaking provinces like Quebec.¹⁴¹ Efforts to ease bilingual tension often sought inspiration from materials on UK efforts to ease similar tensions in Wales. In particular, in the 1950s the Canadian federal government would send ministers from various provinces to conferences (sponsored by UNESCO) devoted to Welsh bilingualism and there would review materials gleaned from UK sources.¹⁴² Canada, despite assessing and participating in reconstruction efforts in the other comparators that focussed on centralizing education authorities, allowed each province to retain its own ministry of Education (with some provinces not organizing a provincial ministry of

¹³⁸ Canadian National Commission for Reconstruction to UNESCO, Report of the Member States in Session 28 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 1948 3rd Session Reports of the Member States.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Winston Churchill [The Sir Winston Scott Churchill Archive Trust: Churchill College Cambridge] CHUR 5/45 A, 7 and 27.

¹⁴¹ Canadian National Commission for Reconstruction to UNESCO, Report of the Member States in Session 57 and 62 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 1948 3rd Session Reports of the Member States

¹⁴² Canadian Commission for UNESCO [Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario] Box 8 Files 7-10 (Education).

Education until much later than others—for example Quebec did not have a ministry of education until 1964).¹⁴³

The United States

Finally, using a framework in part inspired by British International Education programs written into UNESCO membership documents and committee decisions discussing international cooperation and the re-education of Germany, the US in 1945 to 1951, through the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers Civil Information and Education Section, ran the Education Division in the Kanto Region of Japan as part of their occupation and administration of Japan.¹⁴⁴ The education system provided by the Allied command established a new 'moral code' meant to be drilled into Japanese students to better prepare them for participation in democracy.¹⁴⁵ Education, for the education ministers seconded to the Allied command, was involved in the creation and change to the individual's personality.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, the reorganization of schools was necessary to engender cultural change and distance the education system from the Japanese military.¹⁴⁷ This was not a separate project from the main US Education department as a commission from the Office of Education visited the Kanto Region in 1950 to assess the

¹⁴³ Vergari, 'Safeguarding Federalism in Education Policy in Canada and the United States.' 534-557; and 'Presentation of the Ministry: History', Government of Quebec, 2014 accessed 26.11.2014 <http://www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/le-ministere/presentation-du-ministere/historique/>.

¹⁴⁴ Report from Belgian Commission on the Necessity of Re-Education and Minutes from the Audio-Visual Aid Commission on Re-Education of Germany 1945 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] CAME Box 1 Files of the Secretariat of CAME 1943-1945.

¹⁴⁵ Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, 'School Policy—Lower, Higher Secondary,' [NARA: College Park, MD] RG331 Allied Command, School Policy 1945-1951 Special Education to Japanese Contacts Box 5663, File 1 (Special Education).

¹⁴⁶ Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, 'School Policy—Lower, Higher Secondary,' [NARA: College Park, MD] RG331 Allied Command, School Policy 1945-1951 Special Education to Japanese Contacts Box 5663, File 25 (Basic Education Laws).

¹⁴⁷ Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, 'School Policy—Lower, Higher Secondary,' [NARA: College Park, MD] RG331 Allied Command, School Policy 1945-1951 Special Education to Japanese Contacts Box 5663, File 28 (School Policy).

changes and progress made by Allied command. Overall acceptance of the policies of the regime and the very limited suggestions made by the US Education Mission on the effectiveness of 'social' and 'civil' education policies indicate that these individuals considered the efforts made in the Kanto region to be at least a tangential portion of the US Office of Education policies in a general sense.¹⁴⁸ In a similar way, the US Anglo-American Cabinet Committee of the Office of Education, discussed suggestions they planned to give to Britain on the treatment of their Displaced Persons in Germany 1946. The UK, in telegrams to the US ambassador to this committee, responded to these suggestions by stating that both the US and the UK needed to devote the necessary attention to what these displaced persons needed to learn to be 'good DPs'.¹⁴⁹ In this case, a good 'DP' would be protected against discriminatory actions and provided with either the ability to emigrate (considered as a possible preferred action) or support to integrate into German society using the regular school systems and non-preferential education.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, moral, civil and personal development through educational materials was encouraged and sponsored by committees and individuals within the US and was influenced (at least in part) by members of British delegations to international organizations.

Conclusions: Identity Crafting and Diversity

In conclusion, developments in post-World War Two education policy, and related reconstructive efforts showed a distinct policy paradigm focussed on establishing national

¹⁴⁸ Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, 'School Policy—Lower, Higher Secondary,' [NARA: College Park, MD] RG331 Allied Command, School Policy 1945-1951 Special Education to Japanese Contacts Box 5663, File 33 (Miscellaneous Policy 1950) and File 46 (US Education Mission).

¹⁴⁹ Memorandum from UK Delegation to US Ambassador Henry F. Grady. [NARA: College Park, MD] RG43 Records of International Conferences, Commissions, Expositions-Anglo-American Cabinet Committee 1946-1948 Box 13 General Records, 6 Correspondence 6-1946 to 11-1946.

¹⁵⁰ US Forces European Theatre, 'Report of Inquiry,' 20.7.1945 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG43 Records of International Conferences, Commissions, Expositions-Anglo-American Cabinet Committee 1946-1948 Box 13 General Records, 6 Correspondence 6-1946 to 11-1946.

frameworks and international participation that fostered what was believed the correct mind-set for a more tolerant future. These were nations increasingly focussed not only on reforming the system of educational administration, but the experience of schooling itself. Similarly, it is not only an international governmental framework for education that was being reformatted and reconstructed but also the relationships between these nations. It was a relationship between friends, allies, and neighbours that was demonstrated through policy documents, minutes of meetings, and personal observations conveyed through letters. These relationships between countries were personal and public ones where, especially in the case of Canada and France, ministers and officials were demonstrably attempting to fit in to a new international relationship in part influence by more dominant UK and US policies. These were nations trying to find their place in a shifting national and international cultural landscape. Their chosen primary means of navigating this shifting policy landscape was curriculum and schools as it is through education that they argued their collective futures would be secured.

Chapter Three: Shaping Cultural Outlooks and Perspectives

The 1950s and the early 1960s were what many called the 'golden age' in economics and the 'age of conservatism' for youth, in which 'young marrieds' were the norm, which then developed into an age of scepticism, anger and a 'rebellious era' for teenagers and under-25s.¹ This 'decade of youth' saw many of these comparator nations increasingly focussed on providing what they believed were more 'inclusive' and integrative answers to the question of the effect of long term effects of schooling, for example through challenging what was considered more traditional perspectives, encouraging positive *racial relations*, and incorporating *diverse* groups.² The post-war 'baby boom' resulted in seemingly unprecedented population growth: throughout this period, policymakers were debating how to handle an influx of young people, and urban youth in particular, entering new systems of primary and secondary education.³ By 1964, the majority of these nations would endure a swing into new political realities either through election of the opposition parties to lead their nation (in the UK and the US); the declaration of a new republic and constitution (in France); or through a shift into a new status as a major international contributor and new policy framework centred on multiculturalism (in Canada). These changes in policymaking intentions and indeed the policymakers involved reflected the necessity to view such transnational developments and connections within the imagery of Clavin's honeycombs as

¹ Lord Lewis Silkin, *Parliamentary Debates*, Lords, 12 July 1955 vol 193 cc607-64; and Catherine Ellis, 'No Hammock for the Idle: The Conservative Party, 'Youth' and the Welfare State in the 1960s,' *Twentieth Century British History* 16 (2005): 441-470; and David Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

² 'Youth and Social Responsibilities' *Parliamentary Debates*, Lords, 03 March 1965 vol 263 cc1138-246. See also: Edward J. Reilly, *American Popular Culture through History: The 1960s* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), 23.

³ Jan Van Bavel and David S. Reher, 'The Baby Boom and Its Causes: What We Know and What We Need to Know,' *Population and Development Review* 39 (2013): 257-288; Marilyn Irvin Holt, *Cold War Kids: Politics and Childhood in Postwar America, 1945-1960* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2014).

these policies both extended and disrupted previous policies, though in the majority of cases retained the central stated goal to produce a future tolerant and harmonious society.⁴

These changes would filter through both nationalized and federated education systems to influence policies meant to mould their students into what was believed to be a more appropriate pattern. For example, in response to the various members' reports in 1952 discussed below, the UNESCO Director General's Report, by Jaime Torres Bodet of Mexico, of that same year argued that schooling was meant to inspire the 'full development of the human personality.'⁵ Based on the work of national committees on education and related contributions to international organizations, each comparator nation debated the nature of their ideal citizen. The notion of an ideal citizen, influenced by and partially created through appropriate schooling, inevitably focussed on a dual consideration of the eventual participation of these students in society; and how that participation would help to better the nation as a whole.⁶

During this period, the UK, US, Canada, and France offered proposals that focussed on both improving their citizens with better and more diverse school curricula; and preparing those same individuals to act as morally superior competitors in an increasingly divided world. Yet, it was the British who offered frameworks and arguments more often referenced and copied by the other comparators, and a surprising contribution from Canadian ministers which would offer the language used in integrative education policies for the next decade.

⁴ Patricia Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism,' *Contemporary European History* 14 (2005): 421-439.

⁵ Report of the Director General to UNESCO, Paris, 2.1.1951 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] Volume 16 Executive Board General Session 25 1951 (25EX4).

⁶ UNESCO Office of Education, 'Curriculum Development: A Guide to Accompany a Kit of Publications on Documents Selected to Assist Curriculum Committees and Other Concerned with Curriculum Programs,' August 1955, 36 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 323.12 37A 064 (44) '55' Meeting of Experts, Promoting of Teaching of Race Questions in Primary and Secondary Schools.

The UK sat near the heart of the interconnected policymaking network centred around the British and European Councils and UNESCO (See Chapter Two); therefore the UK occupied a unique place within the interrelated education policy networks that allowed their policies to both be transmitted and assessed regularly by the other three comparator nations independently through partnerships and through UNESCO and receive the models of alternative policies through these same networks. The dominance of the UK in the presiding circles UNESCO focussing on the expansion of equal opportunities for educational and literacy acquisition and the necessity to associate such with more comprehensive cultural studies was longstanding and would continue into the 1970s when one of the five Assistant Director Generals would be the UK's Richard Hoggart, author of the 1957 UNESCO sponsored work *The Uses of Literacy* (Former Senior Lecture in English at the University of Leicester and former member of Culture Committee to the UK Commission to UNESCO).⁷ The UK provided a starting point for education policies that reflected a more modern, or diverse, institutional framework in education meant to allow for the widest equality of opportunity amongst its students and future citizens.⁸ Similarly, as it was a royal commission that provided the impetus and first use of multiculturalism in its current ideological framework, then Britain as a participant, if not the exact centre and developer of policies, within a Commonwealth setting must be granted a significant share of the reciprocal policy relationship between Canada and Britain.⁹

⁷ Michael Bailey, Ben Clarke, and John K. Walton, *Understanding Richard Hoggart: A Pedagogy of Hope* (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2012).

⁸ Erik Bleich, 'Integrating Ideas into Policy-Making Analysis: Frames and Race Policies in Britain and France.' *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (2002): 1054-1076.

⁹ G. Bruce Doern, 'The Role of Royal Commission in the General Policy Process and in Federal-Provincial Relations,' *Canadian Public Administration* 10 (1967): 417-433.

UK policymakers planned interventions in the teaching of English and Welsh students of UK and British policies. These policies would thereby influence their transnational network as these students, then citizens, would promote the preferred perception of the British in the world. First, in 1949 the Spelling Reform Bill, introduced by Mont Follick (Labour MP for Loughborough) discussed normalizing the spelling of certain English words in order to commit to a 'rational system...so as to eliminate unnecessary drudgery and waste of time at school.'¹⁰ The Spelling Reform Bill of 1949 would mark the first time that legislation would be employed to standardize the English language itself.¹¹ The corollary to this bill was a plan to help establish English as a 'world language,' including affecting the new British Nationality Act 1948.¹² This would seem counterintuitive as both the US and Canada (as well as the US and UK spheres of influence, Commonwealth, dominions, and territories) either spoke English or used English in an official capacity. Even so, debates over this bill included almost pedantic discussions on how and whether to spell certain words with 'ise' or 'ize', and on the proper conjugation of verbs.¹³ George Tomlinson (Labour Minister of Education under Attlee) argued that to pass the reform act could result in 'cutting ourselves adrift from the greater part of the English speaking people in the outside world' instead of bringing the UK closer to the English-speaking world (as the bill intended).¹⁴ Tomlinson's arguments correlated with the overall policies of the education ministry emphasizing connections between the constituent nations of the UK, the Commonwealth dominions, and their allies.

¹⁰ Spelling Reform Bill, 7 March 1949 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/780.

¹¹ Mont Follick, *The Case for Spelling Reform* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1965), 2.

¹² Spelling Reform Bill, Memorandum 17.1, 7 March 1949 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/780; and Follick, *The Case for Spelling Reform* 203-204.

¹³ Spelling Reform Bill, *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 11 March 1949 vol 462 cc1599-687.

¹⁴ George Tomlinson, 'Order for Second Reading Spelling Reform Bill,' *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 11 March 1949 vol 462 cc1667.

What became known, in all four comparator nations, as the 'Canadian mosaic,' would galvanize policymakers participating in what was now a supranational conversation centred on United Nations organizations and nationally held conferences on education. The Canadian mosaic, referring in part to the pluralism created by the French and English cultural divisions in many Canadian provinces (Quebec in particular), would highlight multiculturalism in terms of a whole created out of many separate pieces description which would be (by the 1970s) attributed to multicultural education policies.¹⁵ The implications of this phrase, first appearing in a report entitled the *Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (discussed below), published in 1965 yet circulated the preceding year, were subsequently used by other ministers discussing policies in multicultural and bilingual nations. For example, Sir John Fletcher-Cooke (Conservative MP for Southampton, Test) used multicultural in similar terms discussing UN reforms in Africa where 'Tanganyikans...do not go about emphasising how different they are from Nigerians or Senegalese' instead taking 'great pains to emphasise what they have in common'.¹⁶ Education ministers latched onto this new phrase as it seemed to encapsulate the whole of the education policy discussion led previously. An acceptance of this 'mosaic' would allow each culture within a nation to keep the best of themselves as individuals, while participating in and enhancing the whole national community. The evolution towards what would become multicultural education policy then had support within curriculum reforms designed to include and enhance minority ethnic, linguistic, and cultural groups; and language with which to participate in wider discussions on global politics.

Exporting British Educational Frameworks

¹⁵ A. Davidson Dunton and André Laurendeau Co-Chairman, 'A Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism' (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1965), 51-52.

¹⁶ Sir John Fletcher-Cooke, *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 7 December 1964 vol 703 c1081.

A related scheme involved certain UK policymakers, such as those involved with the British Council in 1942, who wished that allies and Commonwealth nations could find in the UK's strong national education policy a schematic they then could hope to interpret in their own national contexts.¹⁷ The model policymakers hoped to sell was an aspect of British identity, one that celebrated the varied diversities involved in creating a vibrant Britishness based on an education system that turned out rationally focussed, tolerant, and open-minded citizens.¹⁸ While the confidence in the solidity and benefit to this British model appeared to wane through the later period, particularly due to what were perceived to be convoluted approaches to comprehensive educational or multi-streamed schools, this plan seemed to come to fruition as early as 1952.¹⁹ New transnational models, have begun correcting the historiographical oversight that has led to light treatment of overall social and cultural models intended for export alongside other more dramatic concerns of political refiguring and economic malaise.²⁰ In 1952, the French Report of Member State to UNESCO described the 'bilateral' meetings held with expats and experts in London and Paris charged with investigating comparative history and inspiring changes to the curricula.²¹ Likewise, Canadian and American ministers of education, and other leaders in education policymaking, would find within English and Welsh education policies inspiration for related measures. Routinely, UK ministers of education would be sought for advice and referenced as authorities on policies meant to teach appropriate moral attitudes. In 1962, at the second Canadian Conference on Education the Very Reverend Fr. Henri Légaré (Rector of the

¹⁷ Unnamed Authors, notes, British Council Proposal, 1942 [UK National Archives, Kew] ED 41/1.

¹⁸ Timothy Garton Ash, Edward Mortimer, and Kerem Öktem, *Freedom in Diversity: Ten Lessons for Public Policy from Britain, Canada, France, Germany and the United States* (Oxford: Dahrendorf Programme for the Study of Freedom, 2013), 17-23.

¹⁹ Clyde Chitty and Brian Simon, eds., *Promoting Comprehensive Education in the 21st Century* (Sterling, VA: Trentham Books, 2001).

²⁰ Glen O'Hara, 'Applied Socialism of a Fairly Moderate Kind: Scandinavia, British Policymakers and the Post-war Housing Market,' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 33 (2008): 1-25.

²¹ French National Commission to UNESCO, Report of the Member States in Session [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 1952 7th Session General Conference Report of the Member States.

University of Ottawa and President of the National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges) would cite David Eccles (UK Minister of Education in both 1954-1957 (under PM Anthony Eden) and again in 1959-1962 (under PM Harold Macmillan). Fr. Légaré mentioned Eccles' opinions on how education 'should be used in the service of a good society' where the 'principles' of society 'are explicitly and consistently upheld as part of education itself.'²² These ideas are then utilized to further Fr. Légaré's own demands, especially those stressing the necessity of religious education used as a key feature of moral education. This would reinforce a 'spirit of health toleration' where both religious and secular institutions 'work together for unity *in* and *by* diversity within the framework of a context typically Canadian, that of a duality of races and cultures.'²³

In practice, UK policymakers would focus on the 'correct' version of history and values to be disseminated abroad highlighted the virtues of the virtual 'family' represented by the Commonwealth.²⁴ Emphasis on the Commonwealth and its imagined familial connection served a geopolitical purpose. The relationships between dominions implied 'unity' without 'uniformity,' which Attlee and other UK ministers felt to be the strongest competition the UK could bring for Americanization in the Western World.²⁵ In this case, the concern over identifying as an empire was down to the implied association with lopsided power relationships and an overall exploitation of one nation by another, rather than any true exposition of the UK's dominance, or surrendering of such. It became increasingly important for both MPs and educators that the

²² Fr. Henri Légaré, Speech entitled 'The Primary Ends of Education' at the Plenary Session on *The Aims of Education*, 5 March 1962, in *The Second Canadian Conference on Education: A Report*, ed. Fred W. Price (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), 60.

²³ *Ibid*, 64.

²⁴ Unnamed Author, Foreign Office, Note to PM C. Attlee, re: Televised Remarks after visit to the US and Canada, 11.11.1945, fol 246 [Bodleian Library, Special Collections: Oxford University] MS Attlee dep 27.

²⁵ Clement Attlee, Speech to Birmingham Aldermen [Bodleian Library, Special Collections: Oxford University] MS Attlee dep 61.

Commonwealth be emphasized in official documentation rather than the empire. Where the idea of an 'empire' could suggest an authoritarian or unfair distribution of power, Commonwealth nations were meant to be spoken of, if not always directly included, as equals. In the Commonwealth, UK ministers believed that the United Nations could find inspiration for its operation. For in the Commonwealth, the constituent nations were 'freely cooperating for their mutual benefit, each one living its own life, having its own distinctive characteristics and while avoiding slavish uniformity.'²⁶ The acceptance of Canadian multilingualism was highlighted as part of the 'mutual respect' implied by the Commonwealth.²⁷ A comparable project to promote Welsh teaching and integration of Welsh speakers equally in Wales was established to provide balance in these policies and further reinforce ideals of equality, and encourage cooperation between not only certain Commonwealth nations but also the Home Nations.²⁸

In Canada, their emergent status as a significant influence within policymaking networks would result in a multi-year investigation of biculturalism and bilingualism within Canada that would culminate in the ground-breaking report by a royal commission sent to investigate these concerns. This commission first summarized its findings in 1965 and then published a multivolume set of individual studies, 'Education' a key text within that set, from 1967-1968.²⁹ While the full report and its ramifications on the other three comparators will be discussed in Chapter 4, the preliminary report in 1965 acted as a turning point in this analysis. It was the preliminary report that provided a distinct set of themes that would later dominate policy discussions on

²⁶ Clement Attlee, Speech to Canada Parliament, Ottawa, 2nd Revision fol 64 [Bodleian Library, Special Collections: Oxford University] MS Attlee dep 27.

²⁷ Clement Attlee, Speech to Canada Parliament, Ottawa, 2nd Revision fol 73.

²⁸ Josiane F. Hamers and Michel Blanc, *Bilinguality and Bilingualism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 223-224.

²⁹ A. Davidson Dunton and André Laurendeau Co-Chairman, Report, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 'V1 'General Introduction and Official Languages' (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1967).

multicultural education, including specifying the boundaries of multicultural as a distinct concept from racial or ethnic diversity. The commission presented Canada as possessing a multicultural society, or in this case the 'bicultural' society, created by the unity and (what some provinces deemed the questionable) 'equal partnership of the two founding races' (French and English).³⁰ In this document, there were two races defined by cultural and linguistic ties to France and England, with other cultural divisions listed as culturally, or ethnically diverse groups; for example the 'Indian cultures [that] have existed in Canada for thousands of years' and yet were still 'less integrated in the life of the Canadian community than any other ethnic group'.³¹ Thereby, the multicultural society was defined by the royal commission as a community defined by contrasts in linguistic and racial identity due by cultural divisions in even allegedly racially cohesive regions, for example in the primarily Franco-Canadian province of Quebec.³²

What Was the Message Inherent in the British Model?

Similarly to the UK policymakers' intended dissemination of the perspective that the UK participated in the geopolitical community through a Commonwealth family, the perception of the British and British policies meant to be circulated by representatives of the Commonwealth family amongst their allies was carefully planned. For example, under PM Attlee a centrally determined so-called 'preferred' attitude of officials meant to be demonstrated by all British representatives while in the US was stressed to all ambassadors and visitors to the US.³³ This preferred attitude was not only referenced in speeches and policy documents, especially the

³⁰ Dunton and Laurendeau, Preliminary Report, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,' (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1965), 23.

³¹ *Ibid*, 22.

³² *Ibid*, 28.

³³ 'Notice for British Officials,' Information Office, British Embassy, Washington, DC, 1946, fol 87 [Bodleian Library, Special Collections: Oxford University] MS Attlee dep 27.

phrase, 'our position is temporarily difficult, but that we have great resources of strength,' but was also directly distributed in pamphlets sent out to individual education ministers and ministers seconded to the UN as part of their welcome packets.³⁴ The rules laid down in this document stressed that the officials were 'not in public [to] make comparisons with the US' as part of their goal to present themselves and British policies with 'confidence without conceit, finesse without aggressiveness, [and] authority without patronage.'³⁵ The presence of such a document within education policy planning documents demonstrated that the transnational connections between the US and the UK were mitigated during this period by overriding concerns to present the correct image and inspire a more competitive image for the UK.

Policies on the preferred attitude toward its US ally as given in this pamphlet, though obviously intended as an internal document, would inspire long-term discussion with the US Commissioner of Education's office. For example, in 1962 the Commissioner's Office, under Sterling McMurrin (Commissioner of Education under President John F. Kennedy), undertook careful analysis of allegations of 'misrepresentation' in several manuscripts detailing education systems in both Asia and Europe. The manuscript on the UK education system was poorly received by the British Ambassador's office, who 'registered strong protest' as they claimed it did not 'present a fair picture of British education' as it seemed to focus unduly on the underlying hierarchy of public schools rather than the strides towards equality of opportunity provided elsewhere in the system.³⁶ Whether actively distorted by the Americans, or in this case the five unnamed scholars

³⁴ 'Notice for British Officials,' Information Office, British Embassy, Washington, DC, 1946, fol 87 [Bodleian Library, Special Collections: Oxford University] MS Attlee dep 27.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Oliver Caldwell, memorandum to Dr. Sterling McMurrin 'Publication program of the Bureau of International Education,' 20.7.1962, p1 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OC, Office Files of the Commissioner Box 123, 5 IE Policy.

who submitted their findings, or if the British officials were attempting to push their 'correct' narrative as given by the Foreign Office was unclear.³⁷ Yet the clear intent to manage the message received by the US demonstrated the British policymakers' knowledge that the US was using analyses of the UK system and a concurrent desire for the version used to be accurate. The reverse was also true; the US Office of Education discussed within several attached memoranda how they planned to reformat the international education department as an 'adjunct to the implementation of American educational policy' and decide on the 'values to be exported' that best represented the US.³⁸

Speeches from Attlee's American visit in 1947, and other reports from international visits in the 1950s, also indicated the careful moderation of the official message and desire of the UK to protect its position in the international community. Revisions in drafts of Attlee's speeches that struck out empire and replaced it with the presumably more 'on message' word 'Commonwealth' highlighted a desire to focus on the Commonwealth, rather than empire, including placing Commonwealth before Empire in listed references.³⁹ Empire, as established above, was relegated as it represented a characterization of the UK as a taker of rights rather than a granter of equality of opportunity.⁴⁰ Likewise, a visit by John EH Blackie (HM Senior Chief Inspector of Schools 1951-1964) to Gauteng, Germany's newly established UNESCO Youth Institute, would reflect the diffusion of such beliefs amongst senior UK policymakers in education. The international UNESCO Youth Institute in Gauteng (FRG) was designed to provide a forum for international

³⁷ Oliver Caldwell, memorandum to Dr. Sterling McMurrin 'Publication program of the Bureau of International Education,' 20.7.1962, p1 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OC, Office Files of the Commissioner Box 123, 5 IE Policy.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Clement Attlee, Speech to Canada Parliament, Ottawa, 2nd Revision fol 70 [Bodleian Library, Special Collections: Oxford University] MS Attlee dep 27.

⁴⁰ Unnamed Author, Foreign Office, Note to PM C. Attlee, re: Televised Remarks after visit to the US and Canada, 11.11.1945 fol 246 [Bodleian Library, Special Collections: Oxford University] MS Attlee dep 27.

youth leaders to discuss issues of mutual concern, including 'intergroup relations and the eradication of racial discrimination.'⁴¹

This branding of UNESCO programs as youth oriented, and youth focussed, in the campaign against inequality would emphasize the overall tone of the UNESCO conventions at this time in their attempts to mitigate the issues developing from the newly prevalent youth demographic.⁴²

Blackie's report on his visit, completed in 1953, indicated that he believed that the UK 'should be represented' and that 'our absence would not merely be a matter of unfavourable comment' by their allies in the UN but would also cause 'embarrassment,' especially as 'British examples, British books and British institutions were quoted' by members of the institute.⁴³ These suggestions and observations indicated that Blackie had a positive reaction to the institute and the related conference, with the opportunity to advance British policies already guaranteed.

The remaining relationship that education policymakers discussed was that of the UK to their Cold War enemies. In particular, the British policy toward communist influences was debated at length by the Conservative Parliamentary Education Committee. At the Conservative Parliamentary Education Committee 15 March 1954, certain unconventional methods, such as extra-parliamentary agitation, proposed by this committee were revealed, indicating that the methods employed to pursue the policies put forward by this committee were not confined to the committee room and legislation. For example in a suggestion put by the chair in 1954, Christopher Hollis argued that to combat comprehensive education in grammar schools, which

⁴¹ 'UNESCO and Youth,' Proceedings of the International Conference on Youth, 11.5.1964, 5 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] JUVCO/4.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ JEH Blackie, report on visit to Gauteng 27 June – 4 July 1953 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 36/10.

was suggested as a compromise to propositions for eliminating grammar schools by Labour ministers (discussed below), 'the Conservative Teachers Association should rouse opposition...in grammar school common-rooms.'⁴⁴ In a previous meeting in 1953, Sir Giffard Martel (Lieutenant General in the British Army and member of the Fighting Fund for Freedom—an anti-nationalisation organization) accentuated the importance of teaching 'the right idea' to students, including teaching the 'British spirit as well as scholarship' and eliminating Communist ideas and people from schools.⁴⁵ Though the Conservative Teachers' Association disagreed with the proposal of Martel to alter the 1944 Education Reform Act to allow for the removal of teachers as that may incite 'Roman Catholics and Jews [to] fight to preserve their safeguards.'⁴⁶ The Communist influence on children as passed on by Communists and Communist propaganda in schools was considered a great threat to the correct moral teaching of English and Welsh schoolchildren, but the Conservatives would not risk eliminating this threat at the expense of other minority groups.⁴⁷

The intention behind these actions was clear. It was no longer feasible blindly to maintain traditional cultural associations. The perception of their place in the transnational policy network needed to expand, and to alter if only slightly, to incorporate a new understanding and a new interpretation of the empire—in this period the obvious choice was the new family increasingly created by Commonwealth nations achieving self-determination and the new friends and allies

⁴⁴ Conservative Parliamentary Education Committee, minutes, 15 March 1954 [Conservative Party Archives: Bodleian Library, Oxford University] CRD 2/33 file 3.

⁴⁵ Conservative Parliamentary Education Committee, minutes, 27 July 1953 [Conservative Party Archives: Bodleian Library, Oxford University] CRD 2/33 file 3.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Sir Waldron Smithers, Written Question to George Tomlinson, Commons, 19.10.1950 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 34-134 Q&A Communist Propaganda in Schools; and Albert Cooper, Written Question to George Tomlinson, Commons, 25.10.1950 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 34-135 Q&A Employment of Communists.

found within the UNESCO connections. To participate effectively (and for the UK and the US to effectively compete) in this new vision of international association, schooling, and innovative changes to the curriculum needed to adequately prepare students and future citizens to have strong moral and cultural ties to their homeland and crucially to be tolerant contributors to society.

US Education as National Defence

Nationally, the situation in the US in the 1950s remained administratively disjointed due to the uneven application of national policy changes and the retention of a federated system of education. The 1952 US Report of the Member State to UNESCO gave an insight into how the US Commissioner of Education prioritized education reforms and their participation in UNESCO during this time. This document emphasized that 'education' 'can and must work for peace with freedom, justice, and security'—stressing that 'intellectual circles' saw the usefulness of UNESCO and that certain areas of the US (the middle west for example) believed that UNESCO was being taken for granted.⁴⁸ The report argued that reorganizing districts and facilities to provide equal opportunities would inspire equality of opportunity and not necessarily curriculum changes.⁴⁹ Reports on the current system in certain US states and their progress toward stated UNESCO goals (i.e. movement toward providing equal opportunities for education) presaged the changes that would soon be wrought by desegregation orders stemming from the 1954 *Brown v Board of Education* decision.⁵⁰ These changes would not prove as central

⁴⁸ US National Commission to UNESCO, Report of Member States in Session [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 1952 7th Session General Conference Report of the Member States.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Various, Memoranda [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, International Organizations 1952-1965 Box 21, 8 WH Conference on Education Nov-Dec 1955.

to US education planning during this decade, as historical analysts Ravi Perry and LaRouth Perry would agree.⁵¹

While desegregation would play a major role in publicized policy discourse, and in mass media campaigns, actual progress towards desegregation was much slower than anticipated, following the implementation order of Chief Justice Earl Warren for integration that only ordered state school districts to proceed at 'all deliberate speed.'⁵² Several key states would retain segregated school systems well into the 1970s and 1980s, with Boston, Massachusetts, remaining segregated until the final schools in the district were processed for desegregation in September 1985.⁵³ Desegregation remained an issue fraught with complications, especially as many scholars have argued that the school systems are now beginning to re-segregate due to outside influences such as low-income housing and interconnected economic pressures.⁵⁴ In fact, the majority of policymakers in the 1950s and 1960s would focus on other issues throughout this period, leaving civil rights legislation to the Supreme Court and other members of Congress until well into 1964. The files from the Division of Equal Educational Opportunity on desegregation reflected this lack of attention as the documented evidence of 'desegregation in 1955' and 'integration prior to 1962' were very thin files comprised mainly of newsclippings and statistics relating to items of

⁵¹ Ravi K. Perry and D. LaRouth Perry, *The Little Rock Crisis: What Desegregation Politics Says About Us* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015).

⁵² *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, Implementation Decree; 31.5.1955 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG 267, Records of the Supreme Court of the United States.

⁵³ Joseph Cronin, *Reforming Boston Schools, 1930 to the Present: Overcoming Corruption and Racial Segregation* (London: Palgrave, 2011).

⁵⁴ Gary Orfield and Chungmei Lee, 'Brown at 50: King's Dream or Plessy's Nightmare,' Report by the Civil Rights Project, Harvard University. Cambridge, MA, USA, January 2004. This is the main text on the initial desegregation argument. See: Chungmei Lee, 'Is Resegregation Real?' Report by the Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA, October 2004. The main site for the Civil Rights Project has relocated from Harvard to UCLA: <http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity>.

public health and housing.⁵⁵ The main issues at stake for education policymakers, despite its report as given to UNESCO in 1952, were instead those curricular changes that could create model citizens and prepare those citizens to defend American ideals and freedoms.⁵⁶

To that end, the main US education legislation dedicated to the ideal of education as a 'national defence' and that will 'meet critical national needs' was the National Defence Education Act of 1958.⁵⁷ The introductory discussions to the bill, in particular those from Earl McGrath (Commissioner of Education for President Harry Truman 1949-1953), outlined the importance of the Office of Education (OE) and his desire for the OE to remain in the Federal Security Agency hierarchy (also containing the precursor to the Food and Drug Administration, the FSA would be abolished and transferred into the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—HEW—by President Dwight Eisenhower).⁵⁸ The main argument for the new legislation, according to the records of the Assistant Secretary for the new HEW Elliott Richardson (Graduate of Harvard Law, future Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts and Secretary of HEW under Richard Nixon), was the need to define and enhance education systems that revolved around geopolitical competition, especially promoting scientific advancements contributing to the national defence and the institution 'of a nationwide testing and identification program at the ninth-grade level...to provide motivation and direction' emphasizing the goal of students entering higher education for

⁵⁵ Ephemera, Various 1955-1962 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 Division of Equal Educational Opportunity Records Relating to Desegregation Box 3, 5 Segregation 1955 and 7 Integration Materials Prior to 1962.

⁵⁶ US National Commission to UNESCO, Report of Member States in Session [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 1952 7th Session General Conference Report of the Member States.

⁵⁷ National Defense and Educational Act of 1958 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG11: General Records of the United States Government, 1778 – 2006 Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789 – 2011.

⁵⁸ Earl McGrath, Commissioner's Bulletin, 1953 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Correspondence, Walter Daniel 1951-1953 Box 9 OE, 4 Commissioner's Bulletin.

science and technology.⁵⁹ Not all policymakers within the OE were supportive of such laser-like focus on scientific advancements. For example the Director of Administration, Rufus Miles, suggested that if new legislation focussed on 'new science' at the expense of other subjects, the US could fail to compete in any subject they 'neglect' losing out to competitors like Britain, who were focussed on more holistic humanities concerns.⁶⁰ The language of such recommendations proved a vital component of the eventual legislation, as it was not always *how* the Americans were going to compete in this new world order, but *that* the US was going to be competitive in all areas of education. A press release from William G. Carr (Executive Secretary of the National Education Association) provided a reliable indication of the compromise between the preceding points of view. Carr's press release underlined the theme of the capacity of education to provide 'security and well-being' for the 'American people,' reinforcing the idea that education could and should provide adequate national defence in this context.⁶¹ In order to enact this legislation, Carr, Richardson, and others argued that 'state direction of education must be preserved' and a federal policy network should remain a body providing needed connections between national and international organizations.⁶²

In practice, the US federal government was only loosely responsible for the overall nature and goals of education, but individual states were responsible for determining how legislation would

⁵⁹ Elliot Richardson, 'Education Proposals,' November 1957 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Files of Assistant Secretary, Legislation NDEA 1958 Box 10, File 2 'Elliot Richardson NDEA November 1957 p2' Note: The US ninth-grade is populated by 13-14 year olds and is equivalent to Year 10 in England and Wales.

⁶⁰ Rufus Miles, Memorandum to Elliot Richardson, December 1957 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Files of Assistant Secretary, Legislation NDEA 1958 Box 10, File 4 'Elliot Richardson NDEA December 1957 p2'.

⁶¹ William G. Carr, Press Release of the National Education Association, 1958 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Files of Assistant Secretary, Legislation NDEA 1958 Box 10, File 6 'Elliot Richardson NDEA January-March 1958'.

⁶² *Ibid.*

then be implemented in their state's education system.⁶³ Therefore, despite both the Supreme Court of the United States and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reinforcing and enacting several pieces of national law effecting educational shifts, in 1960 it was still the responsibility of the states to choose specifically how to employ these new laws and meet the goals set by the US government. The resulting interpretations by various states would cause significant delays in the reform process, especially in terms of fairly applying financial benefits to students in upper schools seeking higher education.

French Reformer's Dreams

Despite the 4th Republic being a bare decade into its existence, the 1950s would conclude in the declaration of a new republic and constitution under the leadership of General Charles de Gaulle (leader of the Free-French during the war, and of the Union for the New Republic party). After the 1958 crisis of the Algerian Revolution, the French elected de Gaulle as president over René Coty (Founder of National Centre of Independents and Peasants - a Centre-Right Party) in a bid that seemed primed to return to the themes of victory and call upon the memory of the triumph over the Nazis in World War Two. Though the 5th Republic was declared as part of a relatively secret set of negotiations amongst ministers, several speeches given by de Gaulle while the 4th Republic was still being established indicated that one of the main concentrations of the new republic would be an emphatic response to the challenges of the growing power of the US-UK relationship. In a September 1946 speech in the Épinal commune, de Gaulle laid out several themes that would be incorporated into the new 5th Republic. In particular, de Gaulle highlighted the intensity of the new internationally competitive atmosphere and that the French

⁶³ Vergari, 'Safeguarding Federalism in Education Policy in Canada and the United States,' 534-557.

would need to become more effective competitors within their networks. De Gaulle argued that there was an essential strength that the French government (and its president) would need to express to successfully reach the apex in the international arena over the 'ambitious' and 'young America'.⁶⁴

This belief in international educational competition was not entirely unfounded, as at the same time the US Office of Education ran several comparative studies on the US and the French education systems that concluded that the US education system faced an uneven battle in terms of cultural exchange, in particular with France, and therefore needed to present a more rigidly defined educational mission to France and French imperial possessions to defend against negative international influences.⁶⁵ In a set of attachments, Oliver Caldwell (Assistant Commissioner for International Education) presented his scathing remarks on the French education system, in particular that of the overseas empire, as particularly racist and in need of repairs. Caldwell argued that 'any system of colonial education which teaches little black children using texts prepared for little white children in France to chant as has been reported "All of our ancestors were Gauls", might well be improved'.⁶⁶ The message to Sterling McMurrin (Commissioner of Education) bemoaned the fact that the French had responded so negatively to the publication of Caldwell's comments in *The Annals*. Caldwell closed with a recommendation that a system through which to 'clear' appropriate messages emanating from the office be

⁶⁴ Charles de Gaulle, *Discours et Messages, Dans L'Attente: February 1946-April 1958* (Paris: Librarie Plon, 1970), 32-33.

⁶⁵ Memo to Sterling McMurrin from Oliver Caldwell, 'Cancellation of Clearance,' 17.7.1961, 1 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Selected Central Files Box 8, 3 IE2 Comparative Studies.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

instituted to protect against further 'embarrassments' of this nature.⁶⁷ His argument revolved around making sure the French no longer found out the truth of certain American policymakers' denigration, and overt exaggeration, of several of the French overseas educational policies, though it may be that the heart of Caldwell's argument lay in the damning assessment that 'wherever the French influence in education is dominant American education suffers,' indicating that this was potentially a political misfire based on the overall threat of French competition (as framed by de Gaulle above).⁶⁸

The apology letter written by Caldwell after the publication of the essay and a quick retort by the French ambassador's office highlighted several further points in the transnational policy networks between the French and American ministries of education. First, that Caldwell claimed a personal relationship to France through his ancestors (reflecting the interrogation of the choice of comparator nations in Chapter 1 as a historically and ethnically linked set of communities) and second that Caldwell hoped to salvage the connection by reinforcing the 'traditionally warm relationships' enjoyed between these ministries of education.⁶⁹ Therefore, it would appear that de Gaulle was vindicated in feeling threatened by certain American educational ministers and justified in desiring swift and decisive action to counteract a negative perception of French policies internationally.

⁶⁷ Memo to Sterling McMurrin from Oliver Caldwell, 'Cancellation of Clearance,' 17.7.1961, 1 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Selected Central Files Box 8, 3 IE2 Comparative Studies.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Letter to Herve Alphand from Oliver Caldwell, 17.7.1961 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Selected Central Files Box 8, 3 IE2 Comparative Studies.

Further, de Gaulle stressed that there must be a French government and constitution capable of defending 'their independence, their security, and their rights' alongside 'social reforms'.⁷⁰

Despite the secretive nature of the establishment of the 5th Republic, the investiture of de Gaulle as President of the 4th Republic in June 1958 contained similar notions, including the idea that the crisis in Algiers caused 'our international position [to be] undermined within our alliances.'⁷¹ This necessitated a new Republic and constitution to defend and secure the French influence upon the international community. This new constitution would emphasize the power of France and secure a more rationalized relationship between the National Assembly, its ministers, and the president, while providing a stronger avenue for needed legislation, including education.

In some respects, the 5th Republic can be considered a part of a trend during the 1950s to replace left-leaning governments (UK Labour under Attlee, the US Democrats under Truman, Canadian Liberals under Mackenzie King, and the French Socialists under Auriol) and reinstate more conservative regimes such as those which led during World War Two. By the mid-1960s, there would be a swift swing back toward left-leaning governments, with the French 5th Republic remaining the outlier as Gaullist parties would lead France until 1974. Though these political parties operated under very different national frameworks and to their nations represented different interest groups, there remained a constant theme throughout this period: a theme of how best to pass on a strong moral compass to a nation's youth through education, for example at the 1960 European Conference on Evolution and trends in Secondary Education wherein one topic included in the French reports was moral education as a feature of 'general

⁷⁰ Charles de Gaulle, *Discours et Messages, Dans L'Attente: February 1946-April 1958* (Paris: Librarie Plon, 1970), 32-33.

⁷¹ Charles de Gaulle, *Speech to the National Assembly*, 1 June 1958.

culture.⁷² It was in this context that France was not only a participant in such education policy discussions, but also an important contributor to those policies meant to train appropriately tolerant citizens to operate successfully in an increasingly diverse world.

In the 5th Republic, education policies followed a similar prospectus as laid out in Article 1 of the new French constitution, providing 'secular, democratic' education systems that intended to teach all children equally without discrimination based on their 'origin, race or religion.'⁷³

Proposals to reform the existing National Education system planned to introduce students incrementally to new curriculum, including reforms meant to train a better workforce.⁷⁴

According to André Robert (pre-eminent historian of French education and Professor of culture and politics at the Lyon 2 University), the 4th Republic was characterized by 'reformers' dreams and non-decision' with the majority of reforms stymied by the inefficiency of the relationship between the national government and its ministries and the desire to focus first on the 'dismantling of measures taken by Vichy' (the French Pro-German government established while Nazi Germany controlled the bulk of France and thereafter negatively referenced by the Free French under de Gaulle).⁷⁵ Historian Debbie Lackerstein argued that these Vichy-style education policies, while they would be based overall on traditional 19th century Ferry laws, would also enact similar ideological policies such as the 'new man' inspired by those policies in Nazi

⁷² French National Commission to UNESCO, Report of the Member States in Session, 58 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 1960 11th Session General Conference Reports of the Member States. Erik Bleich, *Race Politics in Britain and France: Ideas and Policymaking since the 1960s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

⁷³ Article 1, *Constitution of 4 October 1958*, France.

⁷⁴ French National Commission to UNESCO, Report of the Member States in Session, 58-59 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 1960 11th Session General Conference Reports of the Member States.

⁷⁵ André Robert, *Système éducatif et réformes (de 1944 à nos jours)* (Grenoble: PUG, 2010), 11.

Germany to promote a narrative of victory within French education systems.⁷⁶ Vichy policies were considered tainted by such associations, Lackerstein referring to these policymakers as 'collaborationists.'⁷⁷ The opportunity provided by the 5th Republic's more streamlined system of government allowed education ministers an easier track through which to push relevant reforms.

Jean Berthoin (Minister of National Education 1954-1956, and 1958-1959) took almost immediate advantage of the system provided by the new republic to extend the school-leaving age to 16 for all students (much as the UK would consider during this period) and expand the 'modern' French education system throughout the French '*outré-mer*' (overseas empire). As the imperial policies of the French toward certain of their colonies had formed the basis of negative press from American education ministers, such as those of Oliver Caldwell discussed above, the reforms to Algerian education provided a solid example of how France would respond to transnational policy pressures. The French Ministry of National Education treated the French overseas empire within French education policy as a section of their French republic within a supranational framework of education policymaking that provided education policies for those at home as well as those abroad.⁷⁸

In 1951, the treatment of 'new education' in Algeria was noted by the New Education: Algerian Group.⁷⁹ This organization routinely presented their findings to the Ministry of National Education; among their concerns were that students were being taught in their 'mother language'

⁷⁶ Debbie Lackerstein, *National Regeneration in Vichy France: Ideas and Policies, 1930-1944* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 163-230.

⁷⁷ Lackerstein, *National Regeneration in Vichy France*, 240.

⁷⁸ Peter Newman and Andy Thornley, *Urban Planning in Europe: International Competition, National Systems and Planning Projects* (London: Routledge, 2002), 20.

⁷⁹ Algerian Group for New Education, Report to the Minister of National Education, 1951, 1-5 [Archives Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 312AP Marcel Abraham File 14 UNESCO 1952-1954.

with French being taught as a 'foreign language,' indicating a desire that French be considered their mother tongue, or be treated as an equal partner with the more traditional Arabic language of the area.⁸⁰ By referencing French as the 'mother' tongue, the integrative French policy offered a quite complex identity formation. First, a conception of the overseas empire and French empire together as a family with a singular French 'mother' allowed the incorporation of Algerians as equals, at least in policy terms, with other students within French national schools and mirrored similar British Commonwealth arguments of the same period. However, a deeper ministerial and national connection was assumed by the Ministry of National Education as they retained evaluation oversight over the overseas imperial colonies.⁸¹ Yet an overarching assimilative theme cannot be overlooked as the Algerians were expected to give up their first language and adhere to the French. While the overseas empire and its relationship to human rights will be discussed later, it is important to note certain pieces of legislation characterized the 5th Republic's attitude toward their creation and expansion of socially motivated education reform. According to James Dean LeSueur (Professor of French and Algerian history at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln), French education of this early 1960s intended to create a society in the *outré-mer* (in this case Algeria) that mirrored the French metropole. Using education to 'mediate cultural difference and foster loyalty to the French national community,' would help to integrate the Algerians as *outré-mer* into the French nation, despite different cultural backgrounds that were generally overlooked by ministers of education.⁸²

⁸⁰ New Education: Algerian Group, Report to Ministry of National Education, 7.5.1951, fol 1 [Archives Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 312AP Marcel Abraham File 14 UNESCO 1952-1954.

⁸¹ New Education: Algerian Group, Report to Ministry of National Education, 7.5.1951, fol. 5.

⁸² James D. LeSueur, *Uncivil War: Intellectuals and Identity Politics During the Decolonization of Algeria* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 82.

Throughout this period, education policies intended to familiarise students new to France and those immigrants from the French empire to those aspects of French culture believed to encourage integration and produce proper Frenchmen and Frenchwomen, while respecting their human rights. Indeed, those in the French Commission to UNESCO, who played a major role in the creation of 1948 human rights legislation--René Cassin amongst others--would spend the 1950s and early 1960s evaluating policies meant to interpret the measures defined by the UN human rights legislation (especially those relating to the right of every child to an education) in a particularly French manner (i.e. Republican and secular).⁸³ For example, in 1960, in the Cahiers de l'Union Federale for Veterans and Youth, René Cassin described a more integrative attitude as the necessary 'new mind-set for a new world.'⁸⁴ A new world for Cassin would be one that incorporated equality of opportunity for all individuals and an essential recognition of their human rights, including the right to an education. Combined with the 5th Republic's framing of a competitive relationship within their policymaking networks, this meant that the French system of education would receive a significant overhaul, incorporating new analyses of the place of the French empire within the French supranational organization and the place of France within the worldwide community.

English, Welsh, and Canadian Bilingual Policy Planning

The incorporation of diverse communities within national education system would connect both Canadian and French policies. As discussed above, Canadian ministers sought in UK materials a framework for how to incorporate their own bilingual students and subjects into their federal

⁸³ 'Problems of Algeria,' report of the meeting of l'Union Federale Vannes, 7.4.1958, fol 12 [Archives Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 382AP 115 Rene Cassin Divers 9 UF Congres Nationa Vanne 1958.

⁸⁴ René Cassin, Cahiers de l'Union Federale for Veterans and Youth, 1960, 1. '<Mentalités nouveaux pour un monde nouveaux>' [Archives Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 382AP 115 Rene Cassin Divers 11 UF Congres National 1960.

schools system. An analysis of the Welsh bilingual education policies is therefore necessary to provide a foundation for our analysis of these international aspects. The implementation of education policy in Wales was quite turbulent through the 1950s, with the (Education) Miscellaneous Provisions Bill proving a struggle in 1948. This was a relatively innocuous bill, as it was intended to regularise the Welsh education system with the 1944 Education Reform Act and eliminate the duality provided by the retention of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889. The difficulties with the Bill were illuminated in a letter to Clement Davies (MP for Montgomeryshire and leader of the Liberal Party) from D. Brnymor Anthony, the Chief Inspector of the Central Welsh Board of Education, who believed it 'strange that the Central Welsh should not have been fully informed that it [was] the Government's intention to repeal or amend the Act.'⁸⁵ This statement demonstrated the essential disconnect that remained between the English and Welsh Boards of Education, which coincidentally was one of the items that the new bill was meant to rectify. Further discussion on the subject by George Tomlinson defended the actions of the Board of Education by stating that he 'explained the position as fully as I could' and further noted in the margin of the document that he believed that 'either the Executive Committee were not fully satisfied by his explanation, or that they wish to have another dig at us because we did not consult them.'⁸⁶ This discussion and subsequent debate reinforced the legality of the new (Education) Miscellaneous Provisions Act 1948 and the relevant information was passed to the Central Welsh Board of Education. Yet, the episode exposed the often fractious relationship between the two Boards and the circuitous methods used to achieve the goals of the Board of Education, who maintained override power of the subordinate Welsh Board.

⁸⁵D. Brnymor Anthony, Letter to MP Clement Davies, 26.2.1948 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/773.

⁸⁶George Tomlinson, Annotation on Letter to Clement Davies from D. Brnymor Anthony and Letter to Clement Davies, 5.3.1948 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 31/773.

In Wales, the Education Ministry for England and Wales considered the teaching of Welsh a priority in the 1950s, despite difficulties convincing students and parents of the necessity and usefulness of such bilingual teaching arrangements. For example, the Welsh Department of the ministry gave a relatively negative 'Report on a Survey of The Teaching of Welsh as a First and Second Language in the Primary Schools of Swansea' in the Summer Term of 1954, describing significant problems with teaching practice; students not being interested; and also that students taught Welsh as a first language had difficulties in secondary schools.⁸⁷ In teaching practice, the report concluded that the teaching of Welsh was most successful when there was a 'Welsh specialist' on staff.⁸⁸ The suitability of teachers and specialized teacher training was a recurring theme within both UK and Canadian education policies; and the French reformers under Berthoin, discussed above, likewise indicated the need for specialized training to provide an adequate number of qualified teachers for this work, as the US Office of Education revealed in a 1963 report on French education policies.⁸⁹

The curriculum of bilingual teaching was similarly criticised in the Swansea report as variously 'formal and lifeless' and lacking in progression 'so that work in the fourth year differed very little...from that in the first year.'⁹⁰ As the curriculum was seen to lack innovation, the students were disengaged and often dropped what was included generally as an elective course.⁹¹ There was a small difference seen regionally, with Swansea including more students who spoke Welsh

⁸⁷ 'Report on a Survey of The Teaching of Welsh as a First and Second Language in the Primary Schools of Swansea' Summer Term 1954 Ministry of Education Welsh Department [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 77/227.

⁸⁸ 'Report on a Survey of The Teaching of Welsh as a First and Second Language in the Primary Schools of Swansea' Summer Term 1954 Ministry of Education Welsh Department, 2.

⁸⁹ US Office of Education, *Education in France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1963), 87.

⁹⁰ 'Report on a Survey of The Teaching of Welsh as a First and Second Language in the Primary Schools of Cardiff' Autumn Term 1954 Ministry of Education Welsh Department, 2 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 77/228.

⁹¹ 'Report on a Survey of The Teaching of Welsh as a First and Second Language in the Primary Schools of Cardiff' Autumn Term 1954 Ministry of Education Welsh Department, 3.

as a first language than Cardiff and therefore reporting a higher percentage of participants in bilingual programs. The 'Report on a Survey of The Teaching of Welsh as a First and Second Language in the Primary Schools of Cardiff' demonstrated other issues, including those difficulties ensuing from a more varied ethnic landscape, with 'twenty-one different nationalities' present at one mixed school in the Docklands area.⁹² The report's description that a 'high level of work' was limited to those areas that were 'almost entirely anglicised,' indicated the difficulties perceived in those non-Anglicised (non-English) ethnicities, especially those which would necessarily be present in the Welsh capital city and along the docklands due to trade with the Commonwealth and empire.⁹³

This power of 'anglicizing' forces to influence the teaching of Welsh continued to be discussed in the related 'Survey of Teaching of Welsh in Primary Schools' in West Glamorgan in 1956. Yet, in this survey the attendant Anglicization associated with the Board's Welsh teaching directives was argued to be more a threat to not only Welsh as a language but also to Welsh cultural life in general.⁹⁴ Where this survey agreed with the preceding reports published in 1954 was in the conviction of the authors that the weakening of the Welsh language was a 'serious and urgent educational challenge,' though like the preceding reports this was considered as a fact, and did not discuss *why* such a challenge existed.⁹⁵ The reason such a challenge needed to be met by the Board was made more clear in the West Glamorgan survey, arguing that the Welsh had an

⁹² 'Report on a Survey of The Teaching of Welsh as a First and Second Language in the Primary Schools of Cardiff' Autumn Term 1954 Ministry of Education Welsh Department, 2 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 77/228.

⁹³ 'Report on a Survey of The Teaching of Welsh as a First and Second Language in the Primary Schools of Cardiff' Autumn Term 1954 Ministry of Education Welsh Department, 4

⁹⁴ 'Survey on the Teaching of Welsh in Primary Schools, West Glamorgan' 1956 Ministry of Education Welsh Department, 1 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 77/285.

⁹⁵ 'Survey on the Teaching of Welsh in Primary Schools, West Glamorgan' 1956 Ministry of Education Welsh Department, 2.

important 'heritage' that should not be forgotten or marginalized within the UK.⁹⁶ These reports taken as a whole indicated that the inclusion of bilingual teaching to preserve Welsh by the Board of Education was almost unanimously positive, though such teaching in practice was more often than not believed to be slipshod and dull instead of being presented 'attractively' as Her Majesty's Inspectorate would have preferred.⁹⁷ Further, despite differences in cultural diversity (ethnic and socio-economic compositions), the Welsh Board pursued policy goals to teach Welsh as a second language and preserve this aspect of their cultural and linguistic heritage for those students either new to Wales or new to Welsh.

Canadian Importation of Welsh Bilingual Education Policies

The trials experienced by school boards in incorporating the teaching of Welsh into the curriculum were followed carefully by the Canadians through their relationship with the UK in UNESCO. It was through these reports and other materials consulted by the Canadian Commission to UNESCO that the teaching of French in both French and English regions of Canada was plotted. The Canadian Commission specifically concentrated on the successes of Welsh bilingualism as described in HMSO pamphlets concerning the International Seminar on Bilingualism in Wales, 1960.⁹⁸ This was not only a conference dedicated to bringing equality of opportunity for the bilingual student. The Canadian Commission in particular considered the varied ethnicities that would likewise be affected by new bilingual teaching programs adopted on the scale as that had been done previously in Wales, prompting Lewis Perinbam (Fund

⁹⁶ 'Survey on the Teaching of Welsh in Primary Schools, West Glamorgan' 1956 Ministry of Education Welsh Department, 2.

⁹⁷ 'Survey on the Teaching of Welsh in Primary Schools, West Glamorgan' 1956 Ministry of Education Welsh Department, 2 [UK National Archives: Kew] ED 77/285.

⁹⁸ 'Education—Welsh Seminar on Bilingualism part 1-2,' Canadian Commission for UNESCO Fonds [Library and Archives Canada: Ottawa] MG28-197 Canadian Commission for UNESCO Box 8, 8 Education--Welsh Seminar on Bilingualism p2.

Committee, Canadian Commission for UNESCO) to task the Programme Assistant (Dorene Jacobs) to request a list of Indian schools from the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration part-way through the conference as a reference tool.⁹⁹

Among several sets of letters, requests for information, and further discussion on the pedagogy of linguistics, an interesting pattern developed. This pattern linked university professors who participated in the conference, for example Dr. William Mackey (Professor of English Philology and Linguistics of Laval University, Quebec City), with the Associate Supervisor of School Broadcasts in Canada, and through these varied connections back to the Canadian Commission to UNESCO, Education Committee. These networks discussed many interrelated topics on how to best implement bilingual and bicultural teaching into the education systems in various provinces, with the example given above discussing the logistics of educational programming to promote bilingual education.¹⁰⁰ Such investigations into the treatment of bilingualism in Canada would culminate in one of the first recorded initial uses of multiculturalism, in the *Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* in 1965. This report specifically linked multiculturalism with multicultural especially in describing 'the Canadian Mosaic,' referring to the French Canadians.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Dorene Jacobs, letter to R. F. Davey, 30.6.1960 [Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa] MG28-I97 Canadian Commission for UNESCO Box 8, 9 Education--Welsh Seminar on Bilingualism p3.

¹⁰⁰ T.V. Dobson, Letter to William Mackey 4.7.1960 [Library and Archives Canada: Ottawa] MG28-I97 Canadian Commission for UNESCO Box 8, 8 Education--Welsh Seminar on Bilingualism p2.

¹⁰¹ *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "multiculturalism," <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/multiculturalism> [accessed 10 April 2016].

Integrative Education: Analytical Statement on Teaching and 'The Race Question'

What policymakers thought was a more 'inclusive' curriculum, in a configuration closer to future multicultural education as a celebration of multiple diversities (both minority and majority racial communities), was foreshadowed in 1955 in an assessment of the 'race question' by a meeting of expert contributors at the UNESCO Expert Meeting on the Promotion of Teaching of Race Questions in Primary and Secondary Schools from 29 to 23 September 1955. The published pamphlet 'The Race Question', as the third part in a series entitled *UNESCO and its Program*, included contributors from the UK, France, and the US (for example Ben Morris of the National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales, Louis Francois of the French National Commission to UNESCO, William Vickery of the US National Conference of Christians and Jews, university professors and other academics).¹⁰² This document contained a discussion of racism founded on the principle that racism was 'a particularly vicious and mean expression of the caste spirit' that created unnatural hierarchies among racial identities that otherwise would not indicate innate differences.¹⁰³

The focus of this work proved in tune with scientific and anthropological definitions of race and the etymology of not only the word but its thematic use within policy. This pamphlet and attendant materials proved well-travelled within the 'conversation' between the UK and the US in particular as it was included in a subsequent publication on Curriculum Development by the UNESCO Department of Education in 1955. The pamphlet and related annexations can be found

¹⁰² Letter to Alfred Metraux from J.B. Anand, 'Teaching of the Race Questions in Primary and Secondary Schools, 13.9.1953 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy]; and Proceedings of the Expert Meeting on the Promotion of Teaching of Race Questions in Primary and Secondary Schools, List of Experts, 29 to 23 September 1955 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 323.12 37A 064 (44) '55' Meeting of Experts, Promoting of Teaching of Race Questions in Primary and Secondary Schools.

¹⁰³ UNESCO and Its Programme III, 'The Race Question,' 3 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 341.16.001.

among the papers of several key figures in the office of the US Commissioner of Education, specifically Ambrose Caliver, who at a conference on the Post-War Education of Negro Veterans and War Workers referenced himself as the senior specialist in the education of negroes (a provocative title to be sure).¹⁰⁴ Caliver was appointed by Herbert Hoover to the Office of Education in 1930 to act as a senior specialist on the education of 'negroes,' remaining a fixture in the Office of Education and subsequent advisory and international roles until his death in 1962, focusing on reforms for adult literacy and African American education.¹⁰⁵ In his work, Caliver often referenced British reforms and also the British outlook on US decisions, especially in his work on curricular changes and in assessing the potential cultural implications of these changes.¹⁰⁶

A UK delegate to UNESCO, A. I. Polack, assessed the development of the aspects of the UK's varied schools' curriculum that intended to teach tolerance in analysis of the race relations teaching in UK schools as part of the materials provided for the 1955 Expert Meeting. Albert Isaac Polack was the educational officer for the London based Council of Christians and Jews established in 1942 to promote peaceful relations between these religious groups. For Polack, UK schooling already included a curriculum that dealt appropriately with the 'race question' and

¹⁰⁴ UNESCO and Its Programme III, 'The Race Question' [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Office of Ambrose Caliver Box 9 Study of Postwar Agricultural and Economic Problems to US Government OE Classifications 3UNESCO.

¹⁰⁵ Ambrose Caliver, Factbook, Conference on Post-War Education of Negro Veterans and War Workers [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Office of Ambrose Caliver Box 3 '1 Dr. Caliver Articles, Reprints and Factbook' 3 Conference on Post-War Education of Negro Veterans and War Workers.

¹⁰⁶ Office of Education, 'Comparative Education News-Notes: Items of Interest to the Comparative Education Staff of the Office of Education and Others Working in International Education, 5.12.1951, 1 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Office of Ambrose Caliver Box 3 '1 Dr. Caliver Articles, Reprints and Factbook' 2 Comparative Education.

could be reformed to inspire good 'race relations' in Great Britain.¹⁰⁷ In this assessment, the average English child was not believed to be 'actively confronted' with race.¹⁰⁸ Instead, religious and class differences were what 'confronted' the English schoolchild with difference in their early years. Due to the history and geography curriculum teaching about the Commonwealth and Empire, Polack argued that the race 'question' was not ignored, but introduced in a relatively 'unobtrusive' manner that nonetheless crystalized personal beliefs.¹⁰⁹ To inspire better treatment of the 'race question', Polack suggested removing 'emotive' words that hardened prejudice—like foreigner and British race—and moulding 'discriminating' and 'humane' citizens who would embrace 'all families' of the 'human race'.¹¹⁰ The use of discriminating in this sense has a closer relationship with a discerning nature rather than a discriminatory one.

An overall assessment of inclusive racial relations education by the UNESCO Department of Education provided quick summations of 1955 policies and curriculum developments with regard to incorporating the 'Race Question', including a set of analyses of the four comparator nations in this study.¹¹¹ These analyses gave insight into the stated goals of various education policies, including the United Kingdom's 'aim of education...to develop to the full the potentialities of every child at school;' comparable policies in the US 'to develop understanding of and respect for our cultural heritage" and those in Alberta, Canada to ensure 'the happiness of the *individual*' through encouraging 'increased values derived through association with

¹⁰⁷ A. I. Polack, minutes on 'The Race Question,' Expert Meeting on the Promotion of Teaching of Race Questions in Primary and Secondary School; Paris; 1955, 2 [UNESCO, Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 323.12 37A 064 (44) '55' Meeting of Experts, Promoting of Teaching of Race Questions in Primary and Secondary Schools.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 1-3, 4, 19-20.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹¹¹ UNESCO Office of Education, 'Curriculum Development: A Guide to Accompany a Kit of Publications on Documents Selected to Assist Curriculum Committees and Other Concerned with Curriculum Programs,' August 1955, 3 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 323.12 37A 064 (44) '55' Meeting of Experts, Promoting of Teaching of Race Questions in Primary and Secondary Schools.

others...in common cultural activity.'¹¹² Finally, the summation of French policies emphasized the analogous moral themes, adding that cultural education which provided 'clear ideas, judgement, order and justice' was combined with more practical education that provided the skill needed to operate successfully in French society (a topic discussed in more depth in Chapter 4).¹¹³ Consequently, the UNESCO evaluation of the progress of these nations towards the incorporation of a more multifaceted understanding of racial identity demonstrated that the majority of these comparator nations had committed to a new integrative education framework that granted diverse racial and ethnic identities as a feature of socialization rather than an *a priori* fact that granted special supremacy for majority racial identities over other minority communities.

Suitability and Integration

The US and UK application of inclusive education policies began in the field of fundamental education, or what the 1956 UNESCO working paper defined as 'that kind of education which aims to help children and adults...to understand the problems of their environment and their rights and duties as citizens and individuals.'¹¹⁴ In 1952, US Commissioner of Education Earl McGrath argued that fundamental education involved 'attempts...to improve social, political, and economic conditions through education.'¹¹⁵ When applying the principles of the UNESCO directive on fundamental education, this description was perfectly in line with the prevailing

¹¹² UNESCO Office of Education, 'Curriculum Development: A Guide to Accompany a Kit of Publications on Documents Selected to Assist Curriculum Committees and Other Concerned with Curriculum Programs,' August 1955, 34-35 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 323.12 37A 064 (44) '55' Meeting of Experts, Promoting of Teaching of Race Questions in Primary and Secondary Schools.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹¹⁴ Administrative Committee on Coordination, Working group on Community Involvement, 'Working Paper on the Definition of Fundamental Education,' 15.6.1956, 1 [UNESCO: Paris, Place Fontenoy] WS/066.59.

¹¹⁵ Earl McGrath, Memorandum on Fundamental Education, 8.8.1952, 1 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Office of Ambrose Caliver Box 4 'Federal Education Legislations' 1 Fundamental Education 1952.

mission of UNESCO's fundamental education project to provide each child with a basic education.¹¹⁶ The US version differed in internal memoranda, such as the one above, as McGrath continued his assessment of fundamental education to include references to the fact that the understanding perpetuated by such fundamental education would help in 'facilitating the implementation of the foreign policy of the United States,' which as discussed above involved mimicking the UK policy of controlling the message it would disseminate on its major policy frameworks to both its allies and its possessions.¹¹⁷ With the publication of the 'Race Question,' the discussion of what was entailed in fundamental education would shift to a more racial and ethnic agenda, preserving equal access to education as well as basic educational rights

Ambrose Caliver closely observed the developments within equal education opportunity both within UNESCO and within the other comparator nations, thereby his analyses and collections of materials regarding integration and the progress of the US toward full integration of the schools system in the 1960s were particularly compelling. The executive orders issued to enforce desegregation in 1955 mainly involved federal installations, as state school systems were the purview of individual states.¹¹⁸ Caliver's documentation of the desegregation process was unique as the withholding of approval for a Civil Rights Bill by Truman was deliberately juxtaposed, by filing these alongside one another, against discussions by Commissioner McGrath on how to 'manipulate' Southern districts into desegregating by (among other things) withholding federal

¹¹⁶ Office of Education and US National Commission for UNESCO, 'Proposed Project on Fundamental Education: General Statement About Fundamental Education, Purposes, Objectives, and Activities of the Project, Budget and Justifications, January 1952 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Office of Ambrose Caliver Box 4 'Federal Education Legislations' 1 Fundamental Education 1952.

¹¹⁷ Earl McGrath, Memorandum on Fundamental Education, 8.8.1952 1-3[NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Office of Ambrose Caliver Box 4 'Federal Education Legislations' 1 Fundamental Education 1952.

¹¹⁸ Legislative Services Branch, Office of Program and Legislative Planning, 'Highlights—Congressional Record' 13.9.1963, 1-2, 4 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Office of Ambrose Caliver Box 4 'Federal Education Legislations' 5 General Legislation.

funds—such as those that would be promised by the National Defence of Education Act 1958.¹¹⁹ An attitude that endowed education with the ability to alleviate racial tensions, and inspire good race relations, as well as helping to create a shared culture continued into the 1960s.

England and Wales: the shift to Labour

A few major concerns arose in UK discussions on reforming education in the 1960s. First, the question of how much curricular change was required to achieve the maximum achievable tolerant attitude in schooling. For example, in 1961, the Conservative Education Committee and David Eccles suggested that 'independent and state systems...be brought closer together' so that 'increasing prosperity' would not 'create more social divisions.'¹²⁰ These independent schools were at the time taking in an increased presence of Commonwealth students, which Eccles denoted as a positive change. Further discussions by Eccles in this committee, indicated an almost natural, evolutionary, progression toward toleration and equitable schooling where only changes in science and 'the decline of religion' had challenged what were previously a 'Christian people' who needed a diverse schools system due to varied 'traditions and needs of the different parts of the United Kingdom' prior to 1944.¹²¹

The image of passive acceptance of diverse groups by governmental ministers would be challenged by Labour policymakers in the 1964 election campaign, culminating in their successful capture of a majority of the House of Commons. In August 1964, in a letter to Harold

¹¹⁹ 'Integration Materials,' 1962 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 Division of Equal Ed Opp Records Relating to Desegregation Box 3, 7 Integration Materials Prior to 1962.

¹²⁰ Conservative Education Committee, minutes from meeting 19.10.1961 [Conservative Party Archives: Bodleian Library, Oxford University] CRD 2/33/5.

¹²¹ Conservative Education Committee, minutes from meeting 19.3.1962 [Conservative Party Archives: Bodleian Library, Oxford University] CRD 2/33/6.

Wilson, Anthony Greenwood (Labour MP for Rossendale and member of the Shadow Cabinet) determined that 'education appears to be another major cause of racial tensions.'¹²² Greenwood attributed these tensions to a 'difficulty [that] arises principally from the fact that once the proportion of immigrant children in a school rises above about one third, some English parents are inclined to transfer their children to other schools or fail to enrol them—usually on the grounds that immigrant children demand more attention from the teachers.'¹²³ Greenwood's solution, almost uniquely for this period, did not argue that Britain was tolerant. Instead he argued that 'discrimination' and 'Racial prejudice was too deep seated and irrational' to be effectively contained with passive measures.¹²⁴ The discussion of tolerance, and how to promote it, culminated in a pamphlet, 'Time for Decision,' produced by the Labour campaign, which would commit to providing 'Educational Opportunity for All.'¹²⁵ Yet, this did not indicate the inclusion of integrative policies to alleviate the racial or immigration concerns outlined above. Instead, this pamphlet only considered those issues relating to obstacles faced by different social classes created through economic disparity.¹²⁶ Yet, it was clear from internal documents that the Race Relations Bill that would become the 1965 Race Relations Act was produced before the election alongside this pamphlet.¹²⁷ Therefore, Wilson likely took Greenwood's suggestions seriously and instead chose to speak to the 'uncommitted electors' on the so-called 'bread-and-butter' issues, avoiding more stormy issues such as race and immigration until after victory was

¹²² Anthony Greenwood, letter to Harold Wilson, 28.8.1964, 3 [Bodleian Library, Special Collections: Oxford University] MS Wilson c. 1367.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹²⁵ Labour Party Campaign, pamphlet, 'Time for Decision,' 1964 [Bodleian Library, Special Collections: Oxford University] MS Wilson c. 1367 and Labour Party Campaign, pamphlet 'Educational Opportunity for All,' 1964 [Bodleian Library, Special Collections: Oxford University] MS Wilson c. 1367.

¹²⁶ Labour Party Campaign, pamphlet, 'Time for Decision,' 1964 and Labour Party Campaign, pamphlet 'Educational Opportunity for All,' 1964 [Bodleian Library, Special Collections: Oxford University] MS Wilson c. 1367.

¹²⁷ Draft Race Relations Bill, 1964 [Bodleian Library, Special Collections: Oxford University] MS Wilson c. 1367.

assured.¹²⁸ Calculated measures proposed by UK MPs corresponded with the discussions in the US that Calver related regarding manipulating of those states that hesitated to implement desegregation in the US, which due to the close relationship between these ministers in UNESCO as outlined above was unsurprising. Indeed, an active plan to purposely reinforce and establish integrative education systems proved a theme throughout the latter half of the 1960s and 1970s and will be a phenomenon discussed in further detail in a later chapter.

Second, in terms of entrenched class-based differences, there was ongoing discussion of reforming or abolishing grammar schools and the appropriate methods for introducing the 'lower' economic social classes into independent schools. Based on *The Future of Independent Schools* pamphlet vetted by Wilson and drafted by Michael Young and members of the Fabian Group, the goal for changes to Independent Schools was not just integration of a previously separate class into a pre-existing system, but to change the existing character of these schools.¹²⁹ The pamphlet reaffirmed that Labour pledged not to undermine the reorganization of secondary education as stipulated by the 1944 Education Act (and subsequent reform addendums in 1946). Nevertheless, these individuals (heavily influenced by the Fabian Group) questioned whether it was a positive to allow 'the schools [to] so far retain their identity that an old Etonian will in manners and outlook, still be an old Etonian however he was recruited in the first place?'¹³⁰ This type of questioning indicated that reforms to schooling through the 1960s continued to focus on not just the system itself, but also on the culture and the citizen that the system produced.

¹²⁸Labour Party Campaign, pamphlet, 'Let's Go,' May 1963 [Bodleian Library, Special Collections: Oxford University] MS Wilson c 1367.

¹²⁹'The Future of Independent Schools', p72, Special Subject Files E (Education) 113.1a Education pre 1964 [Bodleian Library, Special Collections: Oxford University] MS Wilson c. 884.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

US Shifting Positions on Civil Rights

By 1964, the reorganization of schools was not the only method planned by US officials to work toward the elimination of poor race relations and prejudice; instead policies meant to inspire various forms of 'American' identity filtered down through US states. In a statement that proved tantalizingly close to multicultural education, Oliver Caldwell (Acting Associate Commissioner for International Education) in letters (such as one to Clement Stone of Combined Insurance Company of America a philanthropist who had offered several times to finance the venture), policy documents, and other reference materials proffered a new suggestion framed as 'polycultural education...as a matter of vital concern' that could eliminate the 'inadequacies of American education as a realistic introduction to world affairs.'¹³¹ Francis Keppel (Commission of Education) wrote similarly to Robert Manning Assistant Secretary of State) offering polycultural education as a more 'realistic curriculum which more adequately portray our cultural debt to non-Western peoples.'¹³² Polycultural education was outlined in further discussions setting up a two-day curriculum development conference to determine how US academics would plan to introduce a curriculum meant to 'equip young people to understand the march of events in an increasingly interdependent world.'¹³³ This polycultural education stressed the need for American students to not only understand American history and America's place within the world, but also to be taught non-western history as a method through which to instruct and eliminate bias.¹³⁴ The emphasis on not only understanding the majority culture, in this case

¹³¹ Letter to Clement Stone from Oliver Caldwell, 27.4.1964 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OC, Office Files of the Commissioner Box 123, 9 Polycultural Education.

¹³² Letter to Robert Manning from Francis Keppel, 20.4.1964 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OC, Office Files of the Commissioner Box 123, 9 Polycultural Education.

¹³³ Letter to Francis Keppel from Robert Manning, 7.4.1964 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OC, Office Files of the Commissioner Box 123, 9 Polycultural Education.

¹³⁴ Robert Manning, 'Some Questions about Education and Foreign Affairs: 'Polycultural Education,' 7.4.1964, 2 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OC, Office Files of the Commissioner Box 123, 9 Polycultural Education.

United States/American, but also on learning foreign cultures both domestically and internationally located in order to avoid appearing biased and ignorant, was an important shift in ideology at this time. It became not only important for the American ideals to be promulgated in education to effectively compete in the new international order, but likewise for the American to be affected by such changes and become more tolerant individuals (or at least be taught enough so that they may appear so).

A visit by the Director General of UNESCO, René Mattieu, documented and praised the 'traditional American values' perpetuated by the American education system, making particular note of the focus on American freedom.¹³⁵ Such American freedom, some argued, could not exist in a nation where their own ideals were not being fully recognized and therefore Douglas Cater, Lyndon B. Johnson's Presidential Assistant, flagged several items for concern for the new President in 1964. The US Civil Rights Act 1964 was arguably the first major success of the Johnson administration, and of Johnson personally as he shepherded it through the US Congress as Vice-President and then President after John F. Kennedy's assassination. Johnson's office was determined to not allow the elimination of racial discrimination to disappear after the passing of the Civil Rights' Bill, and in fact Cater was even tasked with providing ideas in case of a pseudo-Civil War after the legislation was signed. Cater would present these ideas to Johnson signed with a haunting phrase, 'Lasting progress cannot be won by the zealots.'¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Unpublished materials, Meeting of Program and Education Committee of the US of the US National Committee for UNESCO, 24.4.1963 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Committees, Panels, Councils Box 10, 1 Meeting of Program and Education Commission US UNESCO Apr 1963.

¹³⁶ Douglas Cater, memorandum to the President (Lyndon B. Johnson), 4.5.1964, 1 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] S Douglass Cater Box 13 Memos to the President (Special Assistant. Adviser on Health and Education Issues, Liaison with HEW. 1964-1968.) File 1 Memos 1 May-August 1964.

Instead, Cater argued that it would be facts, and legislation passed by elected officials based on those facts, that would be successful in finally guaranteeing equal civil rights for all Americans and equality before the law. Similarly, and perhaps due to Cater's own background as a journalist, he included a new prioritization of problems based on a Gallup poll in 1965 which listed 'improving public education' as number 1 and placed 'reducing racial discrimination' farther down the list at number 6.¹³⁷ The interrelationship of education and civil rights was therefore implied and education reform indicated as a precursor in some manner to providing equality through civil rights reforms. There was an international inspiration for such reforms indicated by notations made by US delegate Sally Tancil on conference materials relating to discrimination and prejudice at the UNESCO Seminar on Prejudice and Discrimination at the Hamburg Institute in 1964. One set of materials in particular, which presented questions on how to combat problems of discrimination using the curriculum, includes a handwritten notation in the margin that states very clearly 'history teaching,' presumably as the preferred solution.¹³⁸

Policymakers discussing US involvement in international education networks addressed concerns that the American education system could face problems due to unwanted international influences on an American identity. In several policies, the American place in the world as a focus for world history studies was discussed as a means of combatting these problems.¹³⁹ As the British had done in previous years, the US formed education policy statements that would

¹³⁷Douglas Cater, memorandum to the President (Lyndon B. Johnson), 3.8.1965, 2 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] S Douglass Cater Box 13 Memos to the President (Special Assistant. Adviser on Health and Education Issues, Liaison with HEW. 1964-1968.) File 1 Memos 1 May-August 1964.

¹³⁸ Sally Tancil, UNESCO - Seminar "Prejudice & Discrimination" - Hamburg Institute, May 1964 Reports General Correspondence and Information [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, International Organizations 1952-1965 Box 7, 10 UNESCO Seminar 'Prejudice and Discrimination' Hamburg May 1964.

¹³⁹ International Education Policy [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OC, Office Files of the Commissioner Box 123, 5 IE Policy.

emphasize the importance of students to view the US as not only a part of the world but a world leader. The relationship of the US to the UK remained important to the Office of Education, however, as indicated by materials discussing accusations by the British that the US misrepresented UK education policies in a manuscript sponsored by the Office of Education, discussed above.

Conclusions: National and International Integrative Identities

During the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s, the UK, US, Canada and France found themselves within a highly competitive, newly interactive, educational policy network and worked consistently to rationalise their relationships with one another. The relations between comparator nations at one time or another caused each nation to be both the progenitors of innovative integrative and inclusive education policies and the receivers of such policies, either through the creation of comparative education reports in national ministries or through participation in UNESCO and other international organizations. Similarities in the national circumstances of the certain comparator nations, for example between bilingual Canada and Wales, caused these nations to reach out through the policymaking networks to interrogate materials that could provide solid progress for their own nations. The application of integrative policies, increasingly framed as a means by which diverse communities would be incorporated as active members of society, transitioned in this period towards a varied implementation of policies. The implementation of integrative policies in these comparator nations would instead be as diverse as their own cultural environments and their intentions to create a specific type of citizen to operate within those communities.

Several broad themes emerged in education policies, including instilling moral codes and tolerance, providing equality of opportunity, and overarching competitiveness. These policies were created through a reciprocal attachment within transnational policy networks between national ministries of education and national commissions to UNESCO. Not that these relationships were always perfectly peaceful ones, as worries arose over who would be the principal in developing newer, better, and more effective education policies. At the start of the period, it was the UK that held an almost undisputed leadership. Later in the period, the US and France jockeyed for position in educational policy networks with each determined that their national identity was superior and likewise committed to promulgating a connection to that unique identity through their education systems. The period ended with a relatively quiet contribution by Canada that would hold an immense creative power throughout the next twenty years.

The transnational policy transfers between these nations flowed along established policy networks based on personalities, such as Oliver Caldwell and Jean Berthoin as well as international commitments to developing UNESCO conventions. Similar to the policymaking process defined by Patricia Clavin, these policies worked both within and beyond national boundaries to create a united policy network riven by competitiveness and distrust, in some cases, between national ministries and their perceptions of and published literature on alternative environments.¹⁴⁰ Thereby, control of the message disseminated to students and publicized by national ministries provided another key policy fragment of future multicultural education policies.

¹⁴⁰ Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism,' 421-423.

Chapter Four: Adapting to Shifting Cultures and Reorganizing Diversity

As the discussion on education policy and its proper place within national and international policymaking continued, Canada and France focussed on developing policies of integration while the UK and US focussed on the various legislative demands relating to anti-discrimination policy and education policies that proposed to alleviate discrimination. France, at the same time, remained steadfast in its education ministry's commitment to integration through assimilation into a singular French republican culture.¹ Canada meanwhile broke new ideological ground by experimenting with multiculturalism as its official public policy into the 1970s.²

Concurrently, education would find a new foothold in the developing medium of television. The UK and the US in particular produced materials which would emulate the desired society and citizen meant to be created by the education systems of these nations—either directly through educational programming sponsored by national television organizations (BBC or PBS) or indirectly through fictional programs depicting idealized images of the proposed tolerant society. Connecting these shifts in policy through the frameworks previously established in Chapters 2 and 3 by close analysis of UNESCO policies, and the interrelationships between the American, English, French, and Canadian offices of education, may demonstrate a more interrelated picture of what was more a discussion between nations. During this period of

¹ Leah Bassel and Akwugo Emejulu, 'Struggles for Institutional Space in France and the United Kingdom: Intersectionality and the Politics of Policy,' *Politics and Gender* 6 (2010): 517-544; and Christophe Bertossi ed., *European Anti-Discrimination and the Politics of Citizenship: Britain and France* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

² Peter Henshaw, 'John Buchan and the British Imperial Origins of Canadian Multiculturalism,' in *Canadas of the Mind: The Making and Unmaking of Canadian Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Norman Hillmer and Adam Chapnick (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 191-195.

innovation, discussion over education and racial relations policies interrogated the correct means by which to defuse tensions based on a perceptible lack of equality for diverse communities.

As previously discussed in Chapter 2, international policymaking networks between the UK, Canada, France, and the US acted as transnational conduits for policy development, which indicates that multicultural policies did not only stem from the US and proceed outward as some scholars of multicultural education policy have indicated.³ Consequently, after a shift into a new, more equal status, for Canada as a leading member of the British Commonwealth, their position, represented by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (RCBB) final report, on multiculturalism and implementation of multicultural policies throughout the later 1960s and 1970s would inspire other policymakers. These individuals, for example S. Douglass (Doug) Cater (Special Assistant to President Johnson, adviser on health and education issues, and liaison with Health, Education, and Welfare from 1964-1968), would incorporate similar images of mutual toleration and integration of bilingual and bicultural groups into their own policies dedicated to providing equal opportunity and equal rights. The RCBB final report on the 'Canadian mosaic' would see wide circulation in its own right, and find its place in the files of ministers of education alongside official publications of UNESCO and other publications of mutual import.⁴ This indicated a significant leap forward for Canada as they moved quite

³ James A Banks, *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education* (London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 2009); and Christine Bennett, *Comprehensive Multicultural Education: Theory and Practice* 7th Edition (London: Pearson, 2011).

⁴ Facsimile copies available in several files, a small selection of relevant files is included here. 'Records of the Board under the Race Relations Act,' Race Relations Board. 1966-1968 [UK National Archives: Kew] CK2/33 Canada; Douglass Cater, various memoranda, 'Meeting of the Task Force on Education September 24, 1968,' [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] Box 39 Task Force on Education 1968, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, Files of S. Douglass Cater); and Travaux. René Cassin. [Archives Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 382AP 165 Rene Cassin Travaux 1967-1969.

quickly from observer, to subject dominion, and finally to equal participant in creating policy with international influence.

Tracing the use of similar concepts and phrasing from the RCBB preliminary and final reports in the UK Parliament provides a distinctive window into the transmission of such ideologies and their application. Historian Daniel Rogers argued that social policies moved between nations in 'clusters' from model nations based on the transfer of narratives.⁵ Similarly, Julia Moses and Martin Daunton have emphasised the transnational aspects of related narratives based on 'social reform associations'.⁶ For example, in Britain despite previous uses of the phrase 'multicultural' by Sir John Fletcher-Cooke (Conservative MP for Southampton, Test) in 1964 in reference to new 'multicultural' states that deserved representation as sovereign nations in the UN, this phrase was not used in direct reference to the United Kingdom until 1971. Yet, Fletcher-Cooke's first use was valuable as it made a clear distinction between multicultural as an expression of ethnic and national origin and multiracial as an identifier of racial characteristics in this case 'as Africans'.⁷ In 1971, a statement by Lord Donald Wade (former Liberal MP for Huddersfield West, elevated to a life peerage in 1964) would mark the first time the 'multicultural' concept was used by parliament to define the UK, using this phrase as a positive narrative for racial and ethnic diversities. Lord Wade was responding to reforms proposed by Ian Ramsey, the Lord Bishop of Durham (from 1966-1972 and previously a Nolloth Professor in the Philosophy of Christian Religion at Oxford University), on the future of policies for 'multi-racial Britain' especially which were needed especially where 'superficial knowledge breeds prejudice and

⁵ Daniel T. Rodgers, 'Bearing Tales: Networks and Narratives in Social Policy Transfer,' *Journal of Global History* 9 (2014): 301-13.

⁶ Julia Moses and Martin Daunton, 'Border Crossings: Global Dynamics of Social Policies and Problems,' *Journal of Global History* 9 (2014): 177-88.

⁷ Sir John Fletcher-Cooke, *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 7 December 1964, vol 703, cc 1081.

where mutual ignorance breeds strife, and where bad teaching can be deeply divisive.⁸ Reforms intended to abrogate inequitable actions occurring beyond direct discrimination would prove a theme throughout the later 1960s and into the 1970s. This debate, while indicating several areas of educational concern in terms of language teaching, would start with a discussion of appropriate terms for the tensions deriving from integration. Lord Wade, in his response, defined a personal preference for multicultural as it would indicate more strongly the historical developments of multiple races and cultures in the UK; and also referenced multicultural as an identifier for the operation of a distinct set of policies.⁹ These policies, for Lord Wade, would imply 'an understanding of, a respect for and a desire to learn about each other's culture and history' rather than independent 'self-development'.¹⁰ An emphasis placed on the interrelationship between diverse groups would remain a crucial gauge for the professed successes in English and Welsh adaptations of multicultural education policies, including warnings alongside policies that could tacitly allow independent pseudo-nations to develop outside of governmental control.

The conceptions characteristic of education systems, including those which were believed to produce an educated individual, in these four nations were perceptibly in flux during the 1960s—an era seen then and since as involving a decisive break from the past centred around the freedom to view the world in alternative and new ways.¹¹ A contemporary account by Edmund Traverso (Committee on the Study of History by the Amherst Project at the University of Massachusetts) made use of the epithet 'the Age of Aquarius' to assess the changes conveyed to

⁸ Lord Bishop of Durham, *Parliamentary Debates*, Lords, 15 December 1971, vol 326, cc 1137.

⁹ Lord Donald, Baron Wade, *Parliamentary Debates*, Lords, 15 December 1971, vol 326, cc 1155

¹⁰ Lord Donald, Baron Wade, *Parliamentary Debates*, Lords, 15 December 1971, vol 326, cc 1158-1159.

¹¹ Edmund Traverso, 'Education in the Age of Aquarius,' *Bulletin of the Amherst Project* 3 (1969), 1.

education through new curriculum materials and questioned whether or not asking students to only 'cope with evidence, real evidence, with sophistication and style' was outdated.¹² For Traverso, these materials rarely allowed students space to confront more 'subjective feelings and emotions'.¹³ Thereby, the varied and emotive youth movements of the 1960s and early 1970s more often filtered into primary and secondary schools principally as trends in language and philosophy rather than the more shocking expressions of sexual freedom and permissiveness.¹⁴

The arbiter of the stronger cultural change for many of these schools was a new and increasing cultural and racial diversity precipitated by continuing immigration into the UK and France, integration of public (state) schools in the US, and the discontent of a vocal French-speaking minority in Canada.¹⁵ The methods by which policymakers intended to encourage integration and acceptance of these varied groups often centred on their entrance into such schools and the guarantee of equal opportunity for education, rather than innovative curricular changes.

Legislators vacillated between anti-discrimination measures, which were increasingly stringent in terms of enforcement, and policies which focussed more on integration using terms correlated with what would be now referred to as multiculturalism either in nature or in scope.

Race Relations

Previous work on race relations legislation and related policies in this period often centred around the cooperative and compromising relationship between anti-discrimination legislation

¹² Traverso, 'Education in the Age of Aquarius,' 2.

¹³ *Ibid*, 3.

¹⁴ James A. Banks, *Cultural Diversity and Education* (London: Routledge, 2015).

¹⁵ See also: David Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

and strict immigration controls, in the UK in particular.¹⁶ The intimate relationship between these two different types of laws meant to reduce incoming immigrant populations from the periphery and correlated palliative policies meant to alleviate cultural concerns at the centre led to a dualism in policy planning. A related branch of such scholarly work argued that the UK Race Relations Acts, in particular the 1965 Race Relations Act, were built (however uncertainly) off the foundation provided by the US 1964 Civil Rights Act.¹⁷ Yet, an assessment of the influences on, and administration of, such legislation indicates that the two sets of statutes were demonstrably different in focus and scope.

Applying a new transnational assessment of such policies was necessarily informed by comparative constructions, as important research on the development of multicultural education policies by scholars such as Richard Race, James A. Banks, and Ted Cantle is relatively comparative in focus; and likewise policy planners were working from comparative frameworks in research files and background materials either implicitly or explicitly.¹⁸ Despite such limitations to discovering an intentionally transnational dissemination of ideas (policy transfer rather than policy similarities), a more reciprocal relationship between the UK, Canada, France, and the US can be assessed through the developing national and international interactions on policies (in UNESCO and related conferences on planning and education) meant to reduce

¹⁶ Muhammad Anwar, Patrick Roach, and Ranjit Sondhi, eds. *From Legislation to Integration: Race Relations in Britain*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000); and Zig Layton-Henry, *The Politics of Immigration: Immigration, 'Race' and 'Race' Relations in Post-war Britain* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1992).

¹⁷ Erik Bleich, *Race Politics in Britain and France: Ideas and Policymaking since the 1960s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) and Omar Khan, ed., *How Far Have We Come: Lessons from the 1965 Race Relations Act* (London: Runnymede Trust, 2015).

¹⁸ Richard Race, *Multiculturalism and Education* (London: Continuum, 2011); Banks, *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education*; and Ted Cantle, *Interculturalism: The New Era of Cohesion and Diversity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

discrimination and limits placed on the economically and culturally disadvantaged.¹⁹ While these are often general annual reports to UNESCO, or answers to questionnaires from UNESCO on the national responses to and progress toward stated UNESCO goals, the nature of UNESCO's boards and committees demonstrated that these reports were indicative of a deeper transnational connection between nations.

In the early 1960s, new US and UK leaderships were based on liberal and progressive political parties (a Democratic leadership under President Kennedy and then President Johnson and a Labour leadership under Harold Wilson) and both governments recognized a need for reorganization of educational institutions and new integrative policies to deliver equality of opportunity to disadvantaged groups. As UNESCO was a significant influence on the national policy of these nations (as shown in Chapters 2 and 3), when the executive board of UNESCO again chose education policy as a major site for new reforms to improve the lives of disadvantaged individuals, reports from these nations offered insight into the near parallel policy decisions made throughout this period.

In particular, the lack of educational opportunities for certain groups was considered a violation of the Human Rights Convention and thus in 1960 a new Convention against Discrimination in Education was declared at the 11th UNESCO General Conference. Under this convention, three articles are of particular importance in establishing the precepts of what would become formal multicultural education policies in the subsequent decade. First, in Article 3, the convention ensured 'by legislation where necessary, that there [was] no discrimination in the admission of

¹⁹ The interrelationship between the US and the UK in this respect is a feature of several studies, including: Stephen Tuck, 'Malcolm X's Visit to Oxford University: US Civil Rights, Black Britain, and the Special Relationship on Race' *The American Historical Review* 118 (2013): 76-103.

pupils to educational institutions.²⁰ Second, in Article 4 national education policy was encouraged to 'promote equality of opportunity and treatment in the matter of education.'²¹ For both of these concerns the UK and the US had policies either enacted or in progress that adhered to these strictures. The UK education acts from 1944 through the 1950s arguably provided admissions and opportunities to disadvantaged groups through establishing new comprehensive schools and continuing to offer assistance to those from less affluent economic backgrounds to attend independent schools. The US 1964 Civil Rights Act and implementation orders in individual states worked toward eliminating segregated school systems at a slow, but steady, pace.²² Thirdly, in Article 5, a more innovative framework that directly presaged multicultural education policy was introduced. Therefore, the reports from member states to UNESCO on their nation's progress toward achieving these goals offered clear signposts leading toward the integration of education policies encouraging the 'strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms,' and promotion of 'understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups.'²³

Reports drawn from member states to UNESCO's Executive Board had formed a crucial component in the administration and tracking of UNESCO's policies, offering both UNESCO

²⁰ 'Conventions and Recommendations Adopted by the General Conference at its Eleventh Session: B: Convention against Discrimination in Education' Article 3b, 14.12.1960 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] General Conference 11th Session, Resolutions.

²¹ 'Conventions and Recommendations Adopted by the General Conference at its Eleventh Session: B: Convention against Discrimination in Education' Article 4, 14.12.1960 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] General Conference 11th Session, Resolutions.

²² Erica Frankenberg and Kendra Taylor, 'ESEA and the Civil Rights Act: An Interbranch Approach to Furthering Desegregation,' *The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* 1 (2015): 32-49.

²³ 'Conventions and Recommendations Adopted by the General Conference at its Eleventh Session: B: Convention against Discrimination in Education' Article 5a, 14.12.1960 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] General Conference 11th Session, Resolutions.

and national representatives to UNESCO a glimpse into progress toward mutual goals.²⁴ For members of the executive board, the introduction of international policies into the national context often resulted from quite intimate connections as often members held positions in national governments, such as US Senator William Benton (Democrat-Connecticut) who was a member of the UNESCO Executive Board in 1966. In the case of the Convention against Discrimination in Education, a more formal method of assessment was employed in the organization of questionnaires relating to each article under the convention. These reports, covering an eight year period (1960-1968), were published during the 79th Executive Board Session in September 1968 with reports from both member states signing on to the convention (France and the United Kingdom) and those states considering implementation (Canada and the United States). Overall, the answers from the UK were the most voluminous of the four comparator nations as data from colonial holdings was also included in the report, and replies from France were quite brief. The annotation to these reports from the executive board likewise offered general discussion on the whole of the reporting sample, but often these summations were much too general and vague to offer strong connections to individual nations. The annotations to the reports, rather, offered insight into the preoccupations of the UNESCO Executive Board. For example, the lack of clarity in terms of what activities 'national minorities have the right to engage in' frustrated the executive board in answer to the questionnaire on Article 4 (admission of minorities and activities).²⁵ Similarly, the organization of the chapters demonstrated the executive's prioritization of the convention's articles with Article 5's

²⁴ Draft Resolution, 74EX/DR2, 24.10.1966 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] Executive Board 74th Session.

²⁵ Reports from Member States on Convention against Discrimination in Education, Ch4 Educational Activities of Minorities. 79EX/ComDis/1, 30.9.1968, Section 371[UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] Executive Board 79th Session.

multicultural policies celebrating individuality and tolerance appearing prior to Article 4's strictures adjuring equality of opportunity.

Reports from these States on Article 5, arguably the most innovative portion of the Convention against Discrimination in Education due to its direct connection to establishing education as a means by which to encourage integration of ethnic minorities and propagate such diversity, demonstrated that all four nations desired to remain within the limits of this convention and readily provided data describing their successes in establishing good practice.

In relation to the first section of Article 5 ('educational activities of minorities'), reports generally focussed on language instruction as a means by which minority groups were integrated into school systems. Yet, while discussing such minority groups, the comparator nations disagreed on the appropriate method to identify groups needing special access. For example, France generally qualified or removed reports on the presence of minorities in their nation.²⁶ Such reports operated in direct opposition to Canadian report of the existence of 'national minorities...in all provinces,' demonstrating the increasing acceptance of and celebration of such diversities in the Canadian context.²⁷ The US report further identified such minorities by ethnicity and racial grouping 'Spanish-Americans, Indians, and Negroes' though the inclusion of only these three ethnic groups could be construed as disingenuous as Asian-Americans were missing from the list.²⁸ Still, according to their report, France did adhere to the language-teaching policies of the convention as they agreed that such instruction increased 'population confidence in the schools

²⁶ Reports from Member States on Convention against Discrimination in Education, Ch4 Educational Activities of Minorities. 79EX/ComDis/1, 30.9 1968, Section 379 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] Executive Board 79th Session.

²⁷ Reports from Member States on Convention against Discrimination in Education, Ch4 Educational Activities of Minorities. 79EX/ComDis/1, 30.9 1968, Section 403.

²⁸ Reports from Member States on Convention against Discrimination in Education, Ch4 Educational Activities of Minorities. 79EX/ComDis/1, 30.9 1968, Section 409.

[and] eradicated illiteracy among adults and contributed to the advancement of culture.²⁹ This policy choice appeared in direct proportion with the UK's reported progress in Wales concerning the teaching of Welsh and acceptance that both languages held 'equal validity...in the conduct of public administration.'³⁰ As these nations were in constant communication during these reporting periods, and had access to the responses and progress of other nations through the bureaucracy of UNESCO, it was not unfounded to associate these policies as part of a general reforming trend in these comparator nations.

The second portion of Article 5 ('aims of education') provided the strongest connection to what would be multicultural education policies as the specific 'curricula and instruction' through which understanding and tolerance toward ethnic minorities was promoted within, if not dictated to, these member nations.³¹ A hesitance in establishing such policy as adjunct to their current curricula or an inability to provide such direct central control over curriculum within schools hampered these efforts and palpably irritated the executive board as annotation to these reports suggests that 'few replies [were] sufficiently explicit and specific.'³² France's report fell back on its wholehearted acceptance of the Human Rights Convention (1948) as proof of the nation's adherence to such concerns of tolerance, while the UK seemingly could not offer similar assurances, including instead a rather bland statement that the provisions of the 1944 Education Act were sufficient in offering provisions that were 'in complete accord with the general aim.'³³

²⁹ Reports from Member States on Convention against Discrimination in Education, Ch4 Educational Activities of Minorities. 79EX/ComDis/1, 30.9 1968, Section 372.

³⁰ Reports from Member States on Convention against Discrimination in Education, Ch4 Educational Activities of Minorities. 79EX/ComDis/1, 30.9 1968, Section 392.

³¹ Reports from Member States on Convention against Discrimination in Education, Ch4 Educational Activities of Minorities. 79EX/ComDis/1, 30.9 1968, Section 432.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Reports from Member States on Convention against Discrimination in Education, Ch4 Educational Activities of Minorities. 79EX/ComDis/1, 30.9 1968, Sections 439 and 452.

Given the level of detail present in the other answers from the UK, such a vague answer was curious. Yet, taken in context (and in conjunction with the US's response) it was more clear that the UK could not offer more explicit assurance as curriculum matters were not decided from the central government as they were in France. Similarly, the US operated under a 'federal system' whereby 'no curricula could be set for public schools.'³⁴ Yet, in keeping with the intent of such responses the US answer seemed compelled to include that 'certain activities, such as courses' provided needed instruction to make sure that 'the ideas expressed' were 'instilled into the majority of pupils,' ideas presumably relating to the tolerance of others' expressions of human rights.³⁵

The relatively rote answers in response to this article of the Convention against Discrimination in Education proved disappointing in providing details of policy transfer, yet the connections between these nations were shown by the competitive nature of their responses (see Chapter 3 for more discussion of the competitive attitudes in policy networks). For example, in a subsequent chapter containing reports relating to Article 4 of the convention (equality of opportunity and treatment) the executive board reported broad agreement amongst the replies to the questionnaires. The reliance on 'the constitution' (Canada) or 'the laws or regulations in force' (France, US, UK) as of 1968 to prove that there are sufficient protections 'designed to promote equality' made it evident that policy had shifted from a primarily legislative focus on providing equality of opportunity into a more elusive, yet valuable for our assessment, focus on adapting

³⁴ Reports from Member States on Convention against Discrimination in Education, Ch4 Educational Activities of Minorities. 79EX/ComDis/1, 30.9.1968.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

personal feelings (i.e. instilling tolerance and promoting understanding through education).³⁶ The reports on the Convention against Discrimination in Education demonstrated that the 'elimination of discrimination and conferring of equal opportunities on all' remained a clear goal for the UK, Canada, France, and the US.³⁷ Moreover, I argue that these reports revealed that these nations were both attempting to prove to UNESCO that they were committed to such international agreements as the Convention against Discrimination in Education, and that they were monitoring one another's progress through the documentation and publication of these reports. Further, analysis of comparable connections is documented by historian Christophe Bertossi's work on developments in British and French citizenship education.³⁸

UK National Policy Innovations

Subsequent national reform movements in the UK through the 1960s reflected a similar attitude, especially in regard to race relations policies. For example, in the build-up to the 1964 election, some in the Conservative Party Research Department (CRD) maintained that anti-discrimination legislation needed to head the list of election issues. A duality in race relations policymaking (as established above), considering positive racial relations alongside strict immigration controls, has been well-established in the literature, such as in arguments by Erik Bleich and Zig Layton-Henry.³⁹ It was again obvious at this stage of the policymaking process. In order to develop a current picture of racial relations in the Conservative Party, Charles Bellairs of the Social and Industrial Reform Committee requested notes on immigration dating to the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act from Anthony Greenland (CRD specializing in education). In this document,

³⁶ Reports from Member States on Convention against Discrimination in Education, Ch4 Educational Activities of Minorities. 79EX/ComDis/1, 30.9.1968.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Bertossi, ed., *European Anti-Discrimination and the Politics of Citizenship*.

³⁹ Bleich, *Race Politics in Britain and*; and Layton-Henry, *The Politics of Immigration*.

arguments from PM Alec Douglass Home that Commonwealth citizens must be 'treated exactly as we treat our own citizens' so that racial prejudice against such individuals could be eradicated were contrasted with commentary from Peter Griffiths (Conservative MP from Smethwick who defeated Labour candidate Patrick Gordon Walker) detailing his plan 'on the colour issue' which required 'immigrant children to learn English quickly so that they can teach their parents our ways and ideas.'⁴⁰ Overall, the differential discussions of integration in these documents, and further minutes attached from the CRD, demonstrated the difficulties of establishing what 'integration' as a phrase exactly meant in these policy debates. For example, in both political parties the nature of integration as a process by which relations between disadvantaged and the majority could be normalized was emphasized, and often individual policy constructs were shared between parties. In education policy, the integration of schools into a single state system was as a key plank for the 1964 Labour election campaign, including both a resolve for public schools to remain independent (integration along a Conservative agenda) and the continuing debate on the elimination of grammar schools (integration in a Labour context).⁴¹

One of the first innovations of the first Wilson government in preparing to legislate for integration was the 1965 Race Relations Act (1965 RRA). As argued above, the 1965 RRA was at least partially influenced by the 1964 US Civil Rights Act. However, the international policy shift toward legislating tolerance as directed from the UN Human Rights Convention and related UNESCO conventions held a more direct influence on both the US and UK. A more interactive mode of policy transfer was thereby more likely. In either case, the 1965 RRA was relatively

⁴⁰ Commonwealth Immigration, Greenland Letterbook, Undated [Conservative Party Archives: Bodleian Library, Oxford University] CRD 2/33/19.

⁴¹ Labour, Liberal, and Conservative Policy on Public Schools. Conservative Research Department, 10.10.1963 [Conservative Party Archives: Bodleian Library, Oxford University] AGMG/MA.

weakly formed in comparison to the US Civil Rights Act, lacking a legal charter to deal appropriately with offenders. The framing of this legislation and subsequent reports detailing its policies and exploring its effectiveness centred on civil laws and governmental organization rather than criminal legislation. Likewise, follow-up assessments, such as those by E.J.B. Rose of the Institute of Race Relations (a think tank established in 1958 that would hold strong ties to the Race Relations Board created by the 1965 RRA to deal with cases of discrimination) and W.W. Daniel of Political and Economic Planning (a think-tank charged with assessing the 1965 RRA) highlighted the need for further legislation to tighten up control over policy within the government and provide stronger legal recourse for victims of discrimination.⁴²

The 1968 Race Relations Act (1968 RRA) was what many policymakers, including Home Secretary Roy Jenkins, considered a follow-up or continuation of previous legislation. The 1968 RRA provided depth to the UK antidiscrimination law that followed closely on the actions proscribed by the UN Human Rights Accords. Where the 1968 RRA held that 'a person discriminates against another if on the ground of colour, race or ethnic or national origins he treats that other, in any situation less favourably than he treats or would treat other persons,' some limitations of the 1965 RRA in terms of the place where discrimination could have occurred were overturned.⁴³ Therefore, the 1960s race relations policies throughout the dominance of Wilson's first Labour government can be characterized as a series of reforms aimed at eliminating discriminatory actions based on a brand of colour-blind anti-racism.

⁴² E. J. B. Rose, *Colour and Citizenship: A Report on British Race Relations*, Institute of Race Relations (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969) and W.W. Daniel, *Racial Discrimination in England: Based on the P.E.P. Report* (London: Penguin Books, 1968).

⁴³ Race Relations Act, 1968 c. 71 (UK): para. 1.1.

This typology set it apart from similar American civil rights legislations as those more explicitly focussed on highlighting racial characteristics as a feature of protected groups.⁴⁴

Civil Rights in the Johnson Administration

The main progenitors of civil rights legislations in the US, the Johnson Administration, instituted the 1964 Civil Rights Act (1964 CRA) and the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965 ESEA). The policy planning that led to these laws was characterized by the tenor of the policymaking in the administration, indeed by the personalities that would inspire policies and maintain the network connections established by earlier governments with the other comparator nations.⁴⁵ In particular, the rapport between Doug Cater (Special Assistant to President Johnson) and President Johnson highlighted the type of personal relationship enjoyed by the majority of Johnson's close advisors and cabinet officers. Cater and Johnson enjoyed an easy-going and close liaison on national and international education issues, reflecting the trust inherent in Cater's position. When Cater's initial one year leave of absence from Wesleyan University to act as Special Advisor to the President was completed in May 1965, Cater sent President Johnson a memorandum, typical of such memoranda with tick boxes for presidential approval, requesting an opinion on whether Cater should stay. In place of the usual yes/no indicators, Cater had substituted 'Good Riddance' and 'Stay a While', the latter of which President Johnson marked through twice.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Bassel and Emejulu, 'Struggles for Institutional Space in France and the United Kingdom,' 517-520

⁴⁵ Patricia Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism' *Contemporary European History* 14 (2005): 421-439.

⁴⁶ Douglass Cater, Memorandum to the President, 17.5.1965 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] S Douglass Cater Box 13 Memos to the President, Memos 5 May 1965.

Leading up to the election, Cater sent a further set of memoranda detailing the President's campaign commitments and reflecting on what image of a President Johnson 'the can do president!' should plan to create to stand against Barry Goldwater.⁴⁷ These relatively casual interactions and memoranda attachments between advisors, cabinet officers (i.e. Health, Education, and Welfare), and the President filtered throughout the White House central staff on various issues, including 'read and respond for me' directional memos on research documents relating to desegregation and implementation of the 1965 ESEA.⁴⁸ Thereby, policies, new ideas, and relevant research on education issues were widely and straightforwardly disseminated throughout the Johnson administration. When such assistants were attached to national organizations, such as the National Science Foundation, transfer of policy on the proper methods for creating integration through education can be established through a direct network to the President, his cabinet, and his staff.

According to Fabrizio de Franceco, the implementation of national policies and related evaluation of the successes of these policies was a crucial element in the international policymaking process.⁴⁹ While evaluation processes were a common element in other comparator nations, for the US Project Talent was a valuable research group with ties to both HEW and the White House that provided essential data to US policymakers, informing the 1965 ESEA and providing data necessary for reporting to UNESCO on US implementation of

⁴⁷ Douglass Cater, Memorandum to the President, 3.6 1964 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] S Douglass Cater Box 13 Memos to the President, Memos 1 May –August 1964.

⁴⁸ Various, Directional Memos attached to Letters to the President 1962-[Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] White House Central File on Education Box 24 Education ED5 Teaching Methods.

⁴⁹ Fabrizio De Francesco, *Transnational Policy Innovation: The OECD and the Diffusion of Regulatory Impact Analysis* (Colchester: ECPR Press, 2013) 23.

Fundamental Education (basic education being a human right).⁵⁰ Project Talent was the US first national talent census conducted by the Office of Education, the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Science Foundation, and the University of Pittsburgh. The tests 'especially developed for the project,' broadly equivalent to the Armed Forces Qualification Test used by Selective Service, were administered to 440,000 students 'in grades 9-12 in 1352 public, private, and parochial schools' in 1960.⁵¹ Through Walter Jenkins (Assistant to President Johnson), Program Director of Project Talent John Dailey (University of Pittsburgh, American Instituted for Research) issued various reports on the progress of the project and related results from follow-up investigations. The connection between Project Talent and policy advisors on education was ensured with a personal letter of thanks from President Johnson and a request to be kept advised.⁵² Follow-up studies were intended to span a period of twenty years and included various areas of concern such as the education of gifted students and African Americans.

As part of a continuing effort to monitor the progress of all schools toward full integration (see *Brown v Board of Education* implementation orders in Chapter 3), preceding the 1964 CRA one such 'special study' of Project Talent related 'to the proportion of Negroes in each of 822 high schools' and 'the quality of education offered by that school'.⁵³ The integration of schools remained a point of intense dissent, especially after later orders planned to have all school

⁵⁰ John C. Flanagan, Frederick B. Davis, John T. Dailey, Marion F. Shaycoft, David B. Orr, *The American High School Student : The Identification, Development and Utilization of Human Talents* (Oxford: John Wiley, 1964).

⁵¹ John Dailey, Letter to President via Walter Jenkins 19.3.1962 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] White House Central File on Education Box 24, Education ED5 Teaching Methods, ED5 1962 to 1964 Teaching Methods.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

districts be integrated by 1967.⁵⁴ For example, one memorandum on new integration orders from Cater to President Johnson reported that 'most of the other southern [districts had] accepted them resignedly' but that Senator Strom Thurmond (Democratic senator from South Carolina who became a Republican in part due to the 1964 CRA), among others, argued that it was 'completely impractical and unwise,' a comment that was highlighted for action by Johnson in emphatic red.⁵⁵ Project Talent reported in 1963 that their study gave 'a comprehensive picture of the extent of inequality of educational opportunities available to various groups of youth.'⁵⁶ The full data set, attached to an introductory letter from Dailey to Jenkins possibly as an administrative action as the report itself was dated from January, highlighted the specific inequality of educational opportunities experienced by disadvantaged students. Inequality experienced by such groups was assessed quite succinctly by comparing the quality of education in fully segregated schools for in comparison 'with 100 percent white schools in poor quality housing areas, the 100 percent Negro school in similar areas tend to spend less, have more poorly paid teachers, have larger classes, and smaller libraries.'⁵⁷ These are all areas highlighted by education research as having a negative effective on the educational achievement of students.

The dissemination of the benefits of Project Talent's research was not limited to US policymakers since Dailey, through arrangements by the White House and the Department of State, travelled to the UK in what he described as a 'busman's holiday' to visit Ministry of

⁵⁴ Douglass Cater, Memo to the President 4.5.1965 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] S Douglass Cater Box 13 Memos to the President, Memos 5; May 1965.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ John Dailey, Letter to President via Walter Jenkins 20.12.1963 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] White House Central File on Education Box 24, Education ED5 Teaching Methods, ED5 1962 to 1964 Teaching Methods.

⁵⁷ Project Talent, First National Talent Census Preliminary Follow-Up Results 7.1.1964. [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] White House Central File on Education Box 24, Education ED5 Teaching Methods, ED5 1962 to 1964 Teaching Methods.

Education officials and schools.⁵⁸ In an informal report, Dailey focussed in particular on the 'education of children from low-income families' and the attitudes of educators and officials toward the implementation of central education authority.⁵⁹ Dailey reported that he had 'met no one in Great Britain who seemed very satisfied with their educational system' yet still concluded that early removal to primary education resulted in a positive effect on English students and that these students were more developed than those of a similar 'culturally impoverished environment' in the US.⁶⁰ Due in part to such evidence, one program suggested by Project Talent would lead to the formation of Head Start in 1965, one of several 'pilot project packages to improve education in slum areas' intended to 'bolster the language experiences and motivation of children from poor families.'⁶¹

Discussions of the British system likewise attempted to clear remaining segments of misinformation, for example on the UK 11-plus exam. Instead of what many in the US believed to be a 'rigid national testing system' that determines whether students 'will be permitted to go to college' at the age of 11, Dailey argued that the 11-plus screening was much more flexible and related to whether students would 'go into a school whose curriculum is college-preparatory or not.'⁶² Similarly, Richard Goodwin (Special Counsel to President Kennedy and Special Assistant to President Johnson on domestic and urban affairs, 1963-1965) reported that research and models of 'consortiums across political boundaries as in England,' referencing the English Local

⁵⁸ John Dailey, Letter to the President 20.1.1964, 1 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] White House Central File on Education Box 24, Education ED5 Teaching Methods, ED5 1962 to 1964 Teaching Methods.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶¹ John Dailey, Letter to the President 20.1.1964, 2. See Also: Edward Zigler and Sally J Styfco, *The Hidden History of Head Start* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 25-30.

⁶² John Dailey, Letter to the President 20.1.1964, 2 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] White House Central File on Education Box 24, Education ED5 Teaching Methods, ED5 1962 to 1964 Teaching Methods.

Educational Authorities, were established by some California school districts in 1964.⁶³

Therefore, several areas of the British system, including a more direct relationship between secondary schools, central government, and college preparation, were admired and brought back to the US as policy points for the 1965 ESEA.

Desegregation of schools after the 1964 CRA, leading to the construction of the 1965 ESEA as part of Johnson's 'War on Poverty' was incomplete due to poor enforcement strategies and the pressures of poverty on disadvantaged students.⁶⁴ The educational components of the 1964 CRA included 'institutes...authorized for special training to improve the ability of teachers...to deal effectively with education problems occasioned by desegregation' anticipating a period of intense dissent during the implementation of the new civil rights and racial relations legislations.⁶⁵ The progress of individual states toward full integration was reported to the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, as was required by the 1965 ESEA. The council reported in 1966 that the first set of reports were positive in terms of achievement by individual states and that 'local schools reveal that educators from all levels of Government [were] working together to provide equal educational opportunities for all.'⁶⁶ Such opportunity, with reference to the successful integration of migrants, required the improvement of language

⁶³ Statement of Policy 1964: Appendix III: Schools for the American Society: An Inventory of New Forms, Models, and Arrangements, 3 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] Richard Goodwin Box 10 Education—Teacher, AV aids, Curriculum.

⁶⁴ Tracy K'Meye, *From Brown to Meredith: the Long Struggle for School Desegregation in Louisville, Kentucky, 1954-2007* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

⁶⁵ Appendix VI: Inventory of Federal Programs Applicable to Teacher Preparation and Modern Curricula, 31.10.1964, 1 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] Richard Goodwin Box 10 Education—Teacher, AV aids, Curriculum.

⁶⁶ Lyndon Baines Johnson, Letter to Congress 9.5.1966 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] WHCF LE 35 LBJ Legislation (Gen LE-ED).

skills, in particular those of primary school students based on recommendations from Project Talent.⁶⁷

Other avenues for the achievement of equality of opportunity explored by US policymakers included providing funds to individuals and schools to help 'bring opportunity to those who have until now lacked even hope.'⁶⁸ The cyclical nature of poverty and lack of economic equality was a spectre that haunted policies meant to encourage integration and provide opportunity for newly protected groups. The focus of such policies was not only monetary aid, but to provide a new mind-set that removed the bonds of a life presently filled with 'hopelessness and misery.'⁶⁹ The negative mentality inculcated by segregated schools was a main concern for policymakers. For example, James Gaither (Staff Assistant President Johnson's domestic staff under Joseph Califano (United States Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare) with responsibilities for legislative program development and coordination of task forces), believed that 'poor Negro children [faced] additional handicaps' as their segregated schools added to 'their isolation from the white community' which limited 'their ability to function in society.'⁷⁰

The 1965 ESEA provided monetary aid to increase the quality of education for all students, yet policymakers devoted special attention and increased funds to African Americans in particular to provide the same equality of opportunity experienced by other children. Gaither and other members of the task force focussed not only on providing equity amongst these groups, but also

⁶⁷ Lyndon Baines Johnson, Letter to Congress 9.5.1966.

⁶⁸ Report of the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, 31.3.1966, 2 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] WHCF LE 35 LBJ Legislation (Gen LE-ED).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ James Gaither, Some Thoughts on Education for the Poor (from draft), 7.4.1967, 5 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] James Gaither Box 314 TFEEd 1966, Task Force on Education 1966 2.

encouraging those children to fully integrate as productive citizens in society. In 1966, the identification of disadvantaged groups newly included those from a 'totally alien culture' such as those from Spanish-speaking homes and the poor.⁷¹ The inclusion of 'new' protected groups into policy discussion reflected a shift away from a black and white focus in the implementation of US integration policies.

Likewise, these 'deviant cultures' were blamed for the 'culture of poverty' meant to be eliminated from society.⁷² The proposed 'fix' for the damaging cultural division in US society was not assimilative processes that forced cohesion to the 'middle-class background' of the teachers in schools, but a 'sufficiently flexible and individualized' education and curriculum 'geared to the special needs of disadvantaged children.'⁷³ By such means, US education policymakers shifted away from a 'colour-blind' education system and anticipated a more multicultural and inclusive system. According to the Task Force on Education, a diverse educational system united under a federal government focussed on eliminating limits to equality could provide 'the solution to major problems facing the nation' including those racial and ethnic tensions that inhibited social cohesion and economic growth.⁷⁴ An integrated system, according to William Cannon (Chief of Education, Manpower, and Science Division), could be a celebration of diversity and progress toward a tolerant society as the 'largely public, elementary and secondary school system, with its traditional roots in the States and localities,...[provides] timely and strategic assistance to help [individuals] help themselves'.⁷⁵ Paying attention to the full person as a condition for providing

⁷¹ James Gaither, Some Thoughts on Education for the Poor (from draft), 7.4.1967,6.

⁷² *Ibid*, 2-8.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 19.

⁷⁴ William Cannon, Memo to James Gaither, 17.5.1967, 1 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] James Gaither Box 351 ESEA Task Force on Education, Task Force on Education 1966 4.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 2.

educational opportunity proved a theme throughout reforms for harmonious multicultural interactions, relating to both the requirements under the Human Rights Convention and those sought under the Convention against Discrimination in Education.

Nevertheless, education reform under the 1965 ESEA, following on from UNESCO conventions discussed above such as the Convention Against Racial Discrimination, remained focussed on providing equality of opportunity to all students, including setting aside US federal funds to support special education projects aimed at reducing the inequalities experienced by the disadvantaged.⁷⁶ In its 1968 report to UNESCO on progress toward the policy goals of equality opportunity and treatment for all students, the US reported that it had established laws meant to 'achieve equality of educational opportunity for all' including the 1964 CRA, and the 1965 ESEA, and referenced the 1958 National Defense of Education Act as amended in 1964.⁷⁷ Enforcement of such legislation needed clarification, and more intense implementation, of exactly what type of 'equality of opportunity' needed to be ensured. One approach emphasized the quality rather than quantity of schools. Goodwin argued that 'the assimilation of the migrant has been superbly accomplished by schools' and in a statement of policy in 1964 recommended that instead of legislation, education reforms should focus on providing 'education of better and better quality.'⁷⁸ Statements of legislative effort were mirrored by the report of France which, in the competitive spirit of such reports, pointed to an earlier educational decree of 1959 that made education

⁷⁶ Eric A. Houck and Elizabeth Debray, 'The Shift from Adequacy to Equity in Federal Education Policymaking: A Proposal for How ESEA Could Reshape the State Role in Education Finance' *The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* 1(3) (2015): 149-150.

⁷⁷ Reports from Member States on Convention against Discrimination in Education Ch 6 Equality of Opportunity and Treatment 79EX/ComDis/1, 30.9.1968, Section 543 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] Executive Board 79th Session.

⁷⁸ Statement of Policy 1964: Appendix IV Supplementary Educational Centers, 3 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] Richard Goodwin Box 10 Education—Teacher, AV aids, Curriculum.

'equally accessible to all, on the basis of individual capacity' and provided 'school bus services' to encourage integration in schools of those from all economic backgrounds.⁷⁹

Implementation and Evaluating Policy Planning

Accordingly, planning and policy became ever more important in both national and international educational reform discussions. Without effective planning and implementation, policymakers such as William Cannon argued that central government oversight could overwhelm feebly planned measures and 'hamper local imagination, innovation, and activity.'⁸⁰ At the 14th General Conference of UNESCO in 1968, members, including Director General René Maheu, decided that effective policy planning could provide more solid support for new reforms and discourage 'half-hearted attitudes' and 'weak educational administrations'.⁸¹ Citing overwhelming new responsibility for newly created offices of education (in the US and UK for example) and a lack of understanding of planning by many members of education ministries, the International Conference on Educational Planning (ICEP) proposed to establish regulations for ministers of education that would provide a 'global strategy' and 'guidance for international co-operation.'⁸² Both the French and British National Commissions to UNESCO provided research documents to this conference, ensuring that both national ministries of education's concerns regarding

⁷⁹ Reports from Member States on Convention against Discrimination in Education Ch 6 Equality of Opportunity and Treatment 79EX/ComDis/1, 30.9.1968, Section 519 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] Executive Board 79th Session.

⁸⁰ William Cannon, Memo to James Gaither, 17.5.1967, 2 [LBJ Presidential Library: Austin, TX] James Gaither Box 351 ESEA Task Force on Education, Task Force on Education 1966, 4.

⁸¹ Educational Planning: A Survey of Problems and Prospects, International Conference on Educational Planning, Paris 6-14 August 1968, 4.6.1968, 9 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] ED/ICE3. emphasis original.

⁸² *Ibid*, 20.

resistance to planning and strategies for combatting such resistance were disseminated to all members at the conference, including representatives from the US and Canada.⁸³

Devising approaches to reducing impediments to innovation was the crux of the conference. Many member states, for example, experienced what the conference deemed to be 'socio-psychological resistance to reform' despite the 'complete agreement in theory to the view that great changes [were] inevitable.'⁸⁴ The entrenched position of more traditionally minded educators provided strength to those resistance efforts challenging those policymakers in educational ministries espousing innovation in both type of schooling and curricula offered to children.⁸⁵ In a section of the resulting conference report, written by the British National Commission to UNESCO, 'reforms to structure' were suggested as a means to encourage 'centralization' of policies for equal education opportunities and the open 'channels of information and transmission of directives' that the commission argued proved the 'current trend in the United States of America and the United Kingdom'.⁸⁶

Since the 1944 Education Act, the principal contribution that British education policymakers made toward the establishment of multicultural education policy was their insistence on central educational policy command structures and a streamlined federated schools system with certain levels of independence. Similar reforms in the United States in the 1950s (as discussed in Chapter 3) implicitly emulated this trend. The British National Commission's reference to such

⁸³ Educational Planning: A Survey of Problems and Prospects, International Conference on Educational Planning, Paris 6-14 August 1968, 4.6.1968,21.

⁸⁴ Educational Planning: A Survey of Problems and Prospects, International Conference on Educational Planning, Paris 6-14 August 1968, 4.6.1968.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Report of Educational Planning: A Survey of Problems and Prospects, International Conference on Educational Planning, Part III Ways and Means of Implementing Educational Plans, 165 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] ED/ICE3.

parallels demonstrated that in this respect at least the UK and US National Commissions (from which a US Senator-William Benton-was publicizing Johnson administration policy) were in accord. The French National Commission's research reflected a convincing aspect of what would be multicultural education policy, even if the French retained their commitment to a singular assimilative model as discussed below. The integration of disadvantaged groups as productive members of society remained a key piece of education reforms not only for France, but for the other comparator nations of this study. The French National Commission's Report highlighted many such characteristics of educational innovation for example stressing that 'education [affected] the whole future of society' through 'character moulding of children.'⁸⁷ For France, as for other nations, it was important 'to impose a 'sense of duty' in these future citizens, and integrate such children into the community.'⁸⁸ The insistence that education could ensure a stronger future society, and that schooling itself could manipulate the mind of such children, would remain part of educational policy planning since if education could shift perspectives into a more open-minded innovative framework then new policy planning would face less resistance.⁸⁹

In France, anti-discrimination legislation was instituted in one large supposedly all-encompassing pathway, rather than involving incremental steps toward race relations policy as seen in the UK and in the US. The assimilative model, which the French referred to as *integration*, of French anti-discrimination was quite bluntly colour-blind. French legislators argued that through eliminating 'race' as a model and criminalizing racism and racist actions,

⁸⁷ Report of Educational Planning: A Survey of Problems and Prospects, International Conference on Educational Planning, Part III The Different Ways of Tackling Educational Planning and its Objectives, 78-79. 165 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] ED/ICE3.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 79 and 96.

discriminatory actions would cease. Rather than solely eliminating recognition of racial difference as a means to discourage racism, the French model argued that French citizenship 'requires "private" identity not play a "political" role.'⁹⁰ Various private identities are disavowed in this case due to the French arguments for laïcité (secular) treatment in school.⁹¹ The 1972 French Antiracism Law (*Loi n° 72-546 du 1 juillet 1972 relative à la lutte contre le racisme*) criminalized all forms of discrimination (indirect and direct) alongside proscriptions against incitement to racial hatred. Thus, the freedom of the press was limited and 'those who...[incited] discrimination, hatred or violence against a person or group of persons because of their origin or membership or non-membership in an ethnic group, nation, race or religion' were punished with imprisonment.⁹² The inclusion of incitement to racial discrimination within the proscribed actions was not exclusive to the French law, as this was included in both the 1965 RRA and 1968 RRA. Unique in the French anti-discrimination legislation were the dual considerations of religion as a protected category and the criminalization of such discriminatory acts.⁹³

Placing French anti-discrimination oversight in criminal rather than civil courts provided a clear distinction between French and Anglo-American legislation. For scholars such as Alec Hargreaves, despite the determination of French policymakers to provide a more definitive answer to the crises defined by the UN and other nations as relating to poor racial relations, and impose a harsh penalty on those deviating from the 'republican' ideal by discriminating against one's fellow citizen, these policies proved inadequate.⁹⁴ For example, follow-up appeals to

⁹⁰ Bassel and Emejulu, 'Struggles for Institutional Space in France and the United Kingdom,' 518.

⁹¹ Eléonore Lépinard, 'Migrating Concepts: Immigrant Integration and the Regulation of Religious Dress in France and Canada' *Ethnicities* 15 (2015): 611-632.

⁹² Loi n° 72-546 du 1 juillet 1972 relative à la lutte contre le racisme, (France 5th Republic) 1er titre.

⁹³ See: Bleich, *Race Politics in Britain and France*.

⁹⁴ Alex G. Hargreaves, 'Empty Promises? Public Policy Against Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in France,' *French Politics, Culture, and Society* 33 (2015): 95-105.

further limit freedom of speech as part of the criminal act of incitement to racial hatred were increasingly argued to be considered a 'ban on revisionism' rather than anti-discrimination policy; thereby inadequate protections for the individuals against the state.⁹⁵ At once appearing to be the most strict and least effective, due to more private individuals rather than governmental organizations seeking redress with complaints, the French anti-discrimination legislation provided new substance to the policy discussion between these nations at the end of this period of innovation.

Instituting Official Multiculturalism in Canada: Plans and Reactions

Utilizing the policy frameworks and transmission of ideas concerning educational planning, Canada was the first nation in this study to fully incorporate an explicit policy of multiculturalism and emphasize multicultural education policies—those policies directing the incorporation of diverse communities of citizens into schools while respecting the cultural contributions of those members. More so than the other comparator nations, Canada seemed more internationally focussed and had been more vocal in looking at the practices of the UK and the US, possibly due to the relatively new leadership position occupied by Canada in major international policy networks.⁹⁶ A multivolume set of books documenting the culmination of work for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (RCBB) in Canada were published between 1967 (*The Official Languages*) and 1970 (*Voluntary Associations*) with the second volume on Education (1968) presenting plans for major policy shifts throughout the provincial education systems of Canada. These works provided a seminal contribution to the international discussion on multiculturalism. Yet the official report is now often almost

⁹⁵ Erik Bleich, 'Integrating Ideas into Policy-Making Analysis: Frames and Race Policies in Britain and France,' *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (2002): 1060.

⁹⁶ Hilmer and Chapnick, *Canadas of the Mind*.

marginalized in the historiography of multiculturalism in education policies or discussed in terms of how the US would influence Canadian policies without due acknowledgment of the reciprocal influence of Canada.⁹⁷ Instead, historians of education and education scholars like Richard Race often prefer discussing the preceding preliminary report as it was the first use of the policy of multiculturalism in its present form. As many multiculturalists spend time defining the policy and attendant theoretical applications the relatively more accessible definition of integration provided by the preliminary report seemed more convenient.⁹⁸

The importance of the RCBB's final report was not only the innovation of its proposed treatment of minority ethnicities, but the transnational development of the materials included. In fact, the volume on education included research into the American, English, and French schools systems and demonstrated the Canadian intent to incorporate the best of these systems into their own. The efforts at UK and US centralization of policy combined with the federation of the education system, assimilative efforts in the French National Curriculum, and the effects of the 1944 Education Act on British schools were particularly investigated by A. Davidson Dunton (co-chairman of the RCBB) as pathfinders or models for multiculturalism in education.⁹⁹ Likewise, the presence of these works and discussions on their policies, especially the second and third volumes on education and the federal administration, in the files of federal offices of education in the US and UK provided a window into what seemed more of an open and reciprocal

⁹⁷ Reva Joshee and Susan Winton, 'Post-Crossings': US Influences on the Development of Canadian Multicultural Education Policy,' in *Multicultural Education Policies in Canada and the United States*, eds. Reva Joshee and Lauri Winton (Toronto: UBC Press, 2007), 17-27.

⁹⁸ Alice Bloch and John Solomos, eds., *Race and Ethnicity in the 21st Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010); John Horton, ed, *Liberalism, Multiculturalism, and Toleration* (London: Macmillan Press, 1993); Joe L. Kincheloe and Shirley R. Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997); and Race, *Multiculturalism and Education*.

⁹⁹ A. Davidson Dunton and André Laurendeau Co-Chairman, 'Final Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,' Volume 2: Education (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1967), xx-10.

discussion between policymakers on these issues.¹⁰⁰ For example, Doug Cater retained copies of individual pages from volume two, on Education, as part of his reading files for proposed changes to the funding of research and evaluation for secondary schools during a meeting of the Task Force on Education 1968, indicating that he either was given an advance copy or had access to the drafts for this work and valued their insights.¹⁰¹

The influence of the US on Canadian policy has been well documented, and was inevitable due to the close proximity of the two nations and the prevalence of border-crossing policymakers and members of the education community.¹⁰² The RCBB final report highlighted what they saw as the main difference between the American and Canadian frames of reference. For the RCBB, the US did not have a similar outlook on equal opportunity as Canada because African Americans in the US had demanded full integration rather than 'any particular linguistic or cultural rights.'¹⁰³ This characterization of African Americans would posit that these individuals were either not considered culturally diverse in relation to the white American majority, or potentially were considered already assimilated into the dominant culture in all but name. Both representations would be inaccurate, as discussed above on US progress towards full integration. While this characterization of the administration of American civil rights may not be appropriate or accurate, it does demonstrate the connection the RCBB made between equal opportunity legislation and demands for privileges based on language and cultural needs. Despite its deficiencies, this

¹⁰⁰ Task Force on Education, 1968 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] Joseph A Califano Box 39 Education Task Force on Education.

¹⁰¹ Douglass Cater, various memoranda, 'Meeting of the Task Force on Education September 24, 1968,' [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] Box 39 Task Force on Education 1968, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, Files of S. Douglass Cater.

¹⁰² Moses and Daunton, 'Border Crossings,' 177-88; and Joshee and Winton, 'Post-Crossings,' 18-20.

¹⁰³ A. Davidson Dunton and André Laurendeau Co-Chairman, 'Final Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,' Volume 1: The Official Languages (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1967), xl.

characterization indicates a strong connection between Canadian policy and related English legislation meant to integrate Welsh speaking individuals and subsequent legislation for West Indian immigrants. The corresponding influence of Canada on the US has been less well-documented; though Canadian policies were most likely not a direct influencer on legislative change during this period as the major pieces of US legislation meant to ensure equal opportunities (the Civil Rights Acts 1964 and Voting Rights Act 1965) were already in effect. However, the resulting implementation orders meant to pressure school systems to desegregate in the US and apply such anti-discrimination policies equally could have been inspired by the ongoing trends in Canada as they moved toward multiculturalism as their official public policy, especially in the northern US states sharing a border with Canada such as Oregon and Maine.¹⁰⁴

The key controversies that the RCBB focussed on were the successes and failures of integrating Francophone minorities in the majority English-speaking provinces and the increasing demands of Quebec (the province with the highest majority of Francophone citizens) for either devolution or independence. Therefore, despite references to other ethnic minorities and diverse communities in Canada, French-speaking citizens were the main ethnic minority that the report, and resulting legislation, would initially advocate for with its policies. These policies, however, were written in a quite flexible manner and therefore the proposed institutional changes to the education system, which were geared towards Francophone integration into the Anglophone majority, would also be applied in certain provinces to include most if not all non-majority communities.

¹⁰⁴James Rice and Michael Prince, *Changing Politics of Canadian Social Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

For example, the initial exploration of language and culture in Volume 1, while providing a relatively grand pitch for their proposed interventions into the cultural milieu of Canada that were not all eventually realized in the resulting documents, rejected a 'hierarchy' with the French and English 'races' at the top that might lead to discrimination of those believed to be 'lower order ethnic groups'.¹⁰⁵ The rejection of race as an explicit scale due to these concerns and the subsequent focus on culture and ethnicity provided a key insight into what would be multicultural education policy in its purest form, the recognition and protection of the 'cultural and linguistic riches that Canada possesses' and the establishment of policies engaged in 'safeguarding those riches'.¹⁰⁶ The admiration of diversity in such policies provided a crucial connection between the Canadian policies of the 1960s and the resulting multicultural education policies of the other nations in this study by the 1990s. The mind-set implied by such a celebration of difference would need to be nurtured. One chosen medium for such encouragement was education and, judging by the fact that this was the second volume in this final report, education was a priority.

As Canada lacked a federal system for education, the education policies deriving from the report, carried further into the provincial governments by the new federal department of multiculturalism after 1971, were among the few Canadian federal departments that would have national influence over education policy.¹⁰⁷ Thereby, despite the somewhat haphazard application of policies regarding official languages in the provinces, even after the 1969 Official

¹⁰⁵ Dunton and Laurendeau Co-Chairman, 'Final Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,' Volume 1: The Official Languages, xxii-xxiii.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, xxvi.

¹⁰⁷ 'John W. Berry, 'Research on Multiculturalism in Canada,' *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 37 (2013): 663-667.

Languages Act, implementation of education policies from the RCBB were much more consistent across provinces.¹⁰⁸

For Canada, as with British education policymakers, the integration of a minority group with the next highest population after the majority group was given the most attention in innovative policies, with only a secondary focus given to other ethnicities along similar lines. In both cases, there was a distinct linguistic and cultural concentration on reforming schooling itself and parallel desires to build new institutions representing specific religious and cultural interests that would help to ensure equality of opportunity for all groups. In the RCBB's final report, stimulating a 'partnership' between the Francophone and Anglophone communities was paramount.¹⁰⁹ In the Canadian case, the key word implemented for educational institutions was balance, with preference given for dual instruction in both languages over providing institutions with single instruction in one of the dominant languages.¹¹⁰ The representation of language as an almost indivisible component of one's culture remained a point of contention for implementation of similar policies in other nations such as France which, according to the Directorate of Cooperation with the Community and Abroad (DCCE), preferred that the dominant language remain the mode of instruction for all educational institutions 'in France' and those in African overseas colonies (*Outre-Mer*) though other languages could be incorporated, including those of 'black-Africans,' after the provision of a 'basic education in French and in English'.¹¹¹ The

¹⁰⁸ Waldemar Zacharasiewicz and Fritz Kirsch, eds., *Immigration and Integration in North America: Canadian and Austrian Perspectives* (Vienna: Vienna University Press, 2014), 16 and 670-675.

¹⁰⁹ A. Davidson Dunton and André Laurendeau Co-Chairman, 'Final Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,' Volume 2: Education (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1968), 10.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

¹¹¹ Memoranda 'Study of African Languages', Meeting of the DCCE, 29 January 1964, 1-2 [Archives Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 19770495/1 'Coopérations Accords Culturels 1961-1966', File DCCE Commission 29-1-1964 Langues Africaines.

DCCE's inclusion of English as a component of basic education in this case was as an approved modern language rather than a primary language of instruction, following on from recommendations relating to the Cultural Commission of Franco-Britannique Cooperation amongst universities in African colonies (and former colonies).¹¹² Nevertheless, for Canada there was also an assimilative component in their multiculturalist policies. For example, one of the intentions of schooling under multicultural education policies was to 'assist immigrants in acquiring at least one of the official languages,' though the potential complications to pedagogical success of the suggested dual instruction in both English and French were anticipated.¹¹³ Yet, the determination behind multiple policies relating to language education in these nations was both integration into the dominant linguistic culture of diverse groups, and the retention of the minority linguistic cultures as a result of encouraging bilingual individuals.

The transnational component to the RCBB's research work cannot be overstated. While the research on the development of policies in the US, UK, and France included in the RCBB final report was admittedly wrought in broad strokes based on legislative changes, and also focussed on varied time periods for each nation, the foci for these short introductions was significant in offering insights into Canadian preferences for certain aspects of education policy. Above all these research summaries designated as positive those schools systems with a variety of streams for students of differential ability, and referenced as progressive provisions that provided a more comprehensive educational system that could produce a set level of education for all students prior to needed specialization. An emphasis on establishing egalitarianism through education

¹¹² A. Pellegrin, letter to the Minister of National Education, 21 February 1963, 1 [Archives Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 19770495/1 'Coopérations Accords Culturels 1961-1966', File Commission Culturelle (Afrique) Franco-Britannique.

¹¹³ Michael Dewing, 'Canadian Multiculturalism (Background Paper)' Library of Parliament, Canada 2009-20-E, 6.

systems provided a thematic connection between the comparator nations, including a confidence in policy planning that educators and appropriate institutions could be matched to those students with different abilities.¹¹⁴ The effects of federation and theoretical policies in the US were highlighted as progressive and useful despite the fact that these materials were quite dated in relation to the other precis. French assimilative efforts and the UK 1944 Education Act were likewise emphasized due in part to their value in encouraging a Canadian brand of such policies.

First, the precis on the US side of the debate concentrated on the development of their comprehensive education policies, with particular emphasis on the deployment of such education to develop needed skills for their citizens.¹¹⁵ The incorporative aspects of such a representation of the American education system were emphasized by a reference to John Dewey (American philosopher and pragmatist) as the purveyor of the 'democratic ideals' that the RCBB found to permeate the US education curriculum, especially the intention of certain curricula to respect 'the identity of the child'.¹¹⁶ Yet in some of Dewey's works, the opposite seemed to be true. For example, in the polemical 1902 work *The Child and the Curriculum* Dewey advocated imposing 'well-ordered realities' over childish perspectives, and ignoring or minimizing 'the child's individual peculiarities, whims, and experiences'.¹¹⁷ Though this may contraindicate the idea of 'multicultural' education, it still reflected some portion of the goals for multicultural education policy as it does intend to inculcate, or engineer, a particular perspective in students, in this case more ordered and precise mind-set. Dewey's philosophies on education facilitating the creation

¹¹⁴ Dianne Gereluk and Richard Race, 'Multicultural Tensions in England, France, and Canada: Contrasting Approaches and Consequences,' *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 17 (2007): 113-129; Diane Goodman, *Promoting Diversity and Social Justice: Educating People from Privileged Groups* (London: Sage, 2001).

¹¹⁵ Dunton and Laurendeau, 'Final Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,' Volume 2: Education, 14.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, 13.

¹¹⁷ John Dewey, *The Child and the Curriculum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1902), 8.

of citizens were embedded within a portion of multiculturalist rhetoric, in particular his other works on the democratic ideal, and held up more persuasively as these students would eventually become citizens respected as individuals. The curriculum of schools would be encouraged to respect the students' individuality as future citizen, as was argued by the RCBB. Dewey's philosophies of education, despite the age of such publications, remained a crucial explanatory factor for American education policy with Joseph Califano (Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare) including copies of relevant work on identities in the reading materials for the 1968 Task Force on Education.¹¹⁸

If, as the RCBB claimed, Dewey's works formed a philosophical basis for the American education system (which in some ways it did) then understanding the influence of these ideals on the correct mode for citizens and the related seeming dismissal of the student as a citizen are essential in understanding why multicultural education policies would find it acceptable to influence the future by fashioning a particular mentality in its children.¹¹⁹ The RCBB's emphasis on the utility of education in this respect would dovetail with the policies implemented in the US relating to President Johnson's reforms to the National Defence of Education Act, including intentions to promote an education system which would produce competitive citizens. Yet, the precis failed to reference these more modern developments (indeed concurrent developments in some respects). Despite this weakness the RCBB's discussion of comprehensive education's potential to incorporate specialized education does suggest a similar Canadian desire.

¹¹⁸ Reading File, Task Force on Education 1968 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] Joseph Califano Box 39 Education Task Force on Education 1968.

¹¹⁹ Dunton and Laurendeau, 'Final Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,' Volume 2: Education , 14.

The discussions of English and French policies, while more up to date than the American sketch, served the dual purpose of underscoring both needed changes to older systems that created hierarchies and encouraged divisions between students from different socio-economic groups, and the need to provide the more diversified education offered by comprehensive schools. The treatment of the UK system analysed changes wrought by the 1944 Education Act and the proposed modifications to legislation throughout the interim period. Similarly to the American case, the English discussion focussed on policies which planned to offer compromises which would have softened the more rigid systems of teaching, including the 1965 Labour government's planned additions to the education system, i.e. new multilateral schools and the addition of more comprehensive institutions.¹²⁰ The French example was much more broadly focussed, and while it appeared that the precis was attempting to avoid direct mention of specific education ministers the sources available on such legislation often referred to the post occupied by the minister or only their surname.¹²¹

More intimate knowledge of various ministers of education and their interrelated ministries and complex postings (from public instruction, to national education, and continuing education) would have been needed to indicate the minister responsible for individual policy measures. Instead, the RCBB used the intentions of policy as stated by these ministers rather than referencing the policymakers themselves. Though this could have been a deliberate attempt to obscure France's comparative peculiarities, for example the lack of a French Minister of National Education until 1932, the choice of public speeches and publicized reports does seem to indicate that while the Canadian RCCB researchers had access to more private reports from the English

¹²⁰ Dunton and Laurendeau, 'Final Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,' Volume 2: Education, 16.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, 16-17

government records, their access to the French records was more removed.¹²² In any case, a direct reference to Jean Berthoin and the purport of his reforms to the Jules Ferry education laws (including the extension and expansion of secondary education for all students) would have offered context to the RCBB's reference to the 1963 legislation plans to provide a more 'common' system and curriculum than had been available previously in France.¹²³ Using these précis offered a strong foundation for the RCBB reports' argument that allowing for specialization post-secondary education rather than in primary education, as had been the rule in many nations, would provide more equal opportunities for all students.

The intent behind such Canadian policy shifts was to introduce a more diversified set of institutions that included a curriculum designed to incorporate the subjects best suited to produce useful citizens. By providing such brief introductions into the systems of the other Atlantic nations, the RCBB demonstrated its multi-layered relationship to their Commonwealth partner and other allies; and also how the systems created by each were envisioned as fitting into a new Canadian system of education. The evidence of such comparisons being drawn and examples carefully cultivated by the RCBB was in the final section of the second volume that identified the 'correct' version for the teaching of Canadian education. As with the considerations in Chapter 3 on the correct teaching of American and British history, the Canadian proposals are revelatory on the preoccupations of the Canadian policymakers. In this case, the teaching of Canadian history was also meant to inculcate appropriate values into its future citizens, but those values (in comparison to those established in the American context) seem almost radically different. Rather

¹²² Lépinard, 'Migrating Concepts,' 611-613.

¹²³ Dunton and Laurendeau, 'Final Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,' Volume 2: Education, 17. See Also: Jean-Michel Chapoulie, 'At the peak of the State of initiative on the school: the Planning Commission, the development of the national statistical system and the school board of the first cycle (1955-1970),' *Histoire de L'Éducation* 140 (2014): 93-113

than focussing on competition within the international community, history teaching of Canadian values intended to educate not 'indoctrinate,' with the RCBB cautioning against teaching practices that included the duality of Canadian heritage and culture as 'an article of faith' as such teaching would be 'biased and inadequate.'¹²⁴ Such learning 'by heart' would also be opposed by the French Ministry of Education later in 1970, as they preferred to inspire students to 'analyse and understand "historical facts" developing a necessary quality for every citizen.'¹²⁵ Therefore, both the Canadian and French curriculums would seem to focus on the role of history and teaching as an informative mode inspiring independent thought.

Though at risk of assimilation due to cultural pressures, in the western provinces in particular, the RCBB prescribed that preservation of the duality of Canadian linguistic heritage required special and pervasive protections. Despite what seemed a desire to manipulate the curriculum of the Canadian provinces, the report argued that it was not offering specific recommendations. Instead the RCBB anticipated a more general policy meant to inform and guide so that all students could 'develop one or more language skills when this seems necessary or desirable.'¹²⁶ This tactic appeared to be weak—indeed, as the RCBB argued, the cultural duality could only be preserved by the presence and celebration of bilingual individuals. These bilingual individuals were also considered bicultural as language was considered inseparable from culture.¹²⁷ The lack of sufficient pressure to guarantee that there would still be such individuals after the pressures of

¹²⁴ Dunton and Laurendeau, 'Final Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,' Volume 2: Education, 288.

¹²⁵ Counsellor for Continuing Education, Note to the Minister of National Education, 'The Field of Continuing Education,' 28 April 1970 [Projet, application, et le legislation 1967-1972], 2 [Archives Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 19870192-15 Education National Cabinet du Ministre 1967-1972, 1 Formation Continue Projet, application, et le legislation 1967-1972], 2-3.

¹²⁶ Dunton and Laurendeau, 'Final Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,' Volume 2: Education, 296.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 296-297.

assimilation pushed minority groups and new immigrants toward emulating the Anglophone majority may have led to their disappearance in subsequent generations if such a passive policy were maintained. The warnings against the manipulative nature of some teaching methods, for example the certainty that 'the attitudes of academics today will influence the public opinion of tomorrow,' indicated that the RCBB recognized, and yet rejected, that the potential role of schooling and the pursuit of policy aims to provide for a certain future could be much more aggressive.¹²⁸ It was the more expansive definition of the nature of teaching and the potential influence education could have on future citizens that became intrinsically connected to multicultural education policies. For it was this influence that seemingly could guarantee the future society desired by policymakers. In Canada, this was the extension of the dual cultures that formed a 'distinctive and significant feature of the multifarious Canadian identities.'¹²⁹

Likewise, in terms of the contributions of 'other ethnic groups' the final report stressed that these individuals have also made positive contributions to a 'dynamic and prosperous Canada' including providing a means by which Canada communicates 'with the rest of the world.'¹³⁰ These connections appeared firm through Canada's participation in UNESCO and other international education conferences, for example the White House Conferences on Education. The new federal policy of multiculturalism in Canada would be one of many discussions held in such conferences in the Canadian perspective and the ties binding together Canadian commissions and French, British, and French commissions were strong. Ambassadorial

¹²⁸ Dunton and Laurendeau, 'Final Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,' Volume 2: Education, 296-297.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, 287.

¹³⁰ A. Davidson Dunton and Jean-Louis Gagnon Co-Chairman, 'Final Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,' Volume 4: The Cultural Contribution of Other Ethnic Groups (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1969), 14.

connections were a stable example of the connections between these nations. For example, at the 1968 White House Conference on Education the US national commission held a special reception at the close of the conference for those individuals who Doug Cater argued 'represent countries with strong educational and cultural ties.'¹³¹ On the guest list for this reception a collection of current ambassadors (Canada-Charles Ritchie, the UK-Patrick Dean, and France-Herve Alphand) were included; these individuals all had operated as an ambassador to the UN in the late 1950s and early 1960s prior to their service as an ambassador to the US.¹³²

The continued connection between these individuals, especially at these conferences devoted to reforming educational opportunities, fulfilled the dictates of the UNESCO conventions and demonstrate that the network of policymakers provide significant opportunities for transnational development of education policies. France, with policies that ignore or side-line racial and ethnic difference and intend to produce more assimilative forms of integration, may have been considered in some arenas as an outsider in the creation of multicultural education policies, despite their participation in such policy planning networks. Yet, as Leah Bassel and Akwugo Emejulu argued in 2010, France in this case was a false outlier, because 'through a process of misrecognition, intersecting axes of disadvantage are separated and in some cases even silenced.'¹³³ There are intersections (or transnational nodes of interaction) between policies and in particular the intent behind legislation meant to eliminate or reduce the inequalities faced by disadvantaged and protected groups.¹³⁴ The harmonious connections desired between diverse members of Canadian society and also between Canada and the international community were of

¹³¹ Douglass Cater, Memo to McGeorge Bundy, 19.7.1965 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] S. Douglass Cater Box 13 Memos to the President, Memos 7 July 1965.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ Bassel and Emejulu, 'Struggles for Institutional Space in France and the United Kingdom,' 519.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 519.

preeminent importance in the proposed Canadian society created by more varied education. A comparable aspiration would be evidenced in French policies throughout the 1970s concerning their shifting perspective on the theoretical basis for the French education system.

Television Tropes and Cultural Conventions: Utilizing New Medias

One mode of transmission planned for the introduction of new innovative policies to encourage equal educational opportunities was the employment of new medias. The potential use of new media, especially television, as an educational and cultural tool has been a key research goal for UNESCO almost since its inception. A 1963 report by Henri Dieuzeide (UNESCO contributor, and founder and director of the School of Radio and Television Service, University of Paris Diderot from 1952 to 1967) acknowledged the power of television to contribute to a 'feeling of belonging' and 'participating in an activity of national importance' amongst its viewers, which had helped to establish an aspiration for education policy to expand to encompass this medium in a more systematic and universal manner.¹³⁵ Similarly at the 1968 International Conference on Educational Planning (ICEP), television was further identified as an integral part of cultural life.¹³⁶ Yet Dieuzeide urged some caution in the application of televised educational materials as a replacement for traditional teaching due to the danger of a correlating 'what is perceived as what is received,' meaning that there was a fear that what individuals were exposed to would be illogically assumed to be what was understood.¹³⁷ Conversely, the ICEP considered further research that demonstrated 'televised education gives results equivalent to or better *than* direct

¹³⁵ UNESCO: UIL, 'Final Report of the Meeting of Experts on the Development and Use of New Methods and Techniques in Education' *Educational Studies and Documents* 48 (1963), 18.

¹³⁶ Educational Planning: A Survey of Problems and Prospects, International Conference on Educational Planning, Paris 6-14 August 1968, 4.6.1968, 99 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] ED/ICE3.

¹³⁷ UNESCO: UIL, 'Final Report of the Meeting of Experts on the Development and Use of New Methods and Techniques in Education' *Educational Studies and Documents* 48 (1963), 28.

teaching.¹³⁸ Speculation was rife at the ICEP on whether this success of televised education was because 'the nature and style of television required the teacher to be friendly, persuasive, and intelligible' or whether televised teaching helped to create 'a society of young people...continuously helped and supported by the actual broadcasts, [where it was] possible to achieve the essential purpose of education, which is knowledge of others, communication and life with others, all elementary things which traditional education is in the process of forgetting.'¹³⁹

This innovative teaching method, therefore, could help to transform schooling into a more modern process of acculturation.¹⁴⁰ In the Final Report of the Meeting of Experts on the Development and Use of New Methods and Techniques in Education' a provocative final sentence hinted at the full usefulness of television as a medium through which to produce positive changes in equality of opportunity and positive cultural acquisition. Here Dieuzeide called for solutions to varied problems associated with television as an educational medium and the final note provided direct connection to the full scope possible for multicultural education. In this note, Dieuzeide hypothesized that these broadcasts could and would 'propose a global transformation technique for mental attitudes and human-relations.'¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Educational Planning: A Survey of Problems and Prospects, International Conference on Educational Planning, Paris 6-14 August 1968, 4.6.1968, 128 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy]] ED/ICE3. emphasis original.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, 134.

¹⁴⁰ Other new programmes to expand equality of educational opportunity and schooling were also pursued, such as in the UK the definition of Educational Priority Areas to build up the educational attainment in so-called 'deprived' areas and the establishment of the Open University in 1969 taking advantage of developing technologies to institute a distance learning and thereby to expand the availability of a university education. See Also: Ann Berlak and Harold Berlak, *Dilemmas of Schooling: Teaching and Social Change* (London: Routledge, 2011).

¹⁴¹ UNESCO:UIL, 'Final Report of the Meeting of Experts on the Development and Use of New Methods and Techniques in Education,' *Educational Studies and Documents* 48 (1963), 28.

For the US and the UK, several educational and multicultural policies, including those relating to developing the 'correct' mentality in its citizens, went into the production of informational and fictional programs that were meant to inspire and educate the citizens of these nations. The main drive for both nations was the creation of a state sponsored broadcasting network, and also independent broadcasters, with the mandate to produce and disseminate innovative programs aimed at young persons. While some of these programs, mainly produced by the BBC in England or the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) in the US, were intended for school-age children and held educational value, other fictionalized programming produced by independent broadcasters would instead emulate the cultural values that these nations aspired to spread by their more inclusive education systems; and representations of tolerance to an highly idealistic degree were among the most preeminent.

As television was alleged to have 'as much influence as the school or more,' the programming choices for broadcast and educational television were an important influence on the successful production of a harmonious society.¹⁴² The use of fictional programming as a tool employed to encourage understanding of diverse and disadvantaged groups, and its influence on society as a whole, has been analysed in the UK context by historians of art and society Darrell Newton and Gavin Schaffer, among others, with a central argument reflecting on two broad categories of programming, drama and satirical comedy, and their relationship to determining representations of multiculturalism.¹⁴³ Both types of multicultural programming chose images and stories believed to be representative 'ordinary' British life and multicultural interactions. An important

¹⁴² Educational Planning: A Survey of Problems and Prospects, International Conference on Educational Planning, Paris 6-14 August 1968, 4.6.1968, 134 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] ED/ICE3.

¹⁴³ Darrell M. Newton, *Paving the Empire Road: BBC Television and Black Britons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) and Gavin Schaffer, *The Vision of a Nation: Making Multiculturalism on British Television* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

example of a drama program intended to emulate multicultural Britain, was ITV's *Empire Road* (1978-1979). *Empire Road*, written by Michael Abbensetts (a Guyanan-born Black-British playwright), focussed on a dramatic representation of multicultural and multiracial Birmingham and was quickly infamous for depicting interracial relationships as ordinary.¹⁴⁴ The other version of multicultural programming in Britain making use of satirical comedy can be characterized by the less popular, but no less influential, ITV series *Curry and Chips* (1969). *Curry and Chips*, written by Johnny Speight, was a spin-off program from Speight's popular and long running working class comedy *Till Death do Us Part* (1965, 1966-1975). Though this program like *Empire Road* made the multicultural society an ordinary fact, the program played racist statements, discriminatory actions, and prejudice for comedic effect.¹⁴⁵ Both programs represented a particular cultural 'moment' in British television programming where multicultural attitudes were believed to be mutable and receptive to programming designed to instil a sense of the normalcy of protected groups. These programs provided a cultural backdrop for an analysis of the educational and schools programming, which more explicitly were tuned towards influencing a more tolerant mind-set amongst its viewership (school-age children).

Educational television would enjoy more direct influence through their programming choices due to the influence of governmental ministers and anti-discrimination policymakers. Yet, the inclusion of images illustrating a degree of multicultural integration and toleration arguably not yet active in reality was shared by such programming. An important example of such programming was the US children's program *Sesame Street* (1969-present) created by the

¹⁴⁴ Onyekachi Wambu, 'Empire Road' British Film Institute: Screenonline
<http://www.screenonline.org.uk/tv/id/535304>

¹⁴⁵ Ali Jaafar, 'Curry and Chips' British Film Institute: Screenonline
<http://www.screenonline.org.uk/tv/id/535237/>

Children's Television Workshop (an adjunct of US National Educational Television).¹⁴⁶ The development of *Sesame Street*, included a transnational element as the BBC impact studies assessing the influence of television and media on children in 1954 played a role in the choices made by the creators of the new program.¹⁴⁷ The multicultural society was then represented in *Sesame Street* by the inclusion of 'hosts' from minority ethnicities, in particular either 'two negro or Puerto Rican' adults in addition to a balance of two white counterparts.¹⁴⁸ Studies on *Sesame Street* by Ute Sartorius Kraidy and Robert Morrow demonstrated that this program can be considered a forerunner and adjunct to the propagation of a version of multiculturalism and multicultural policy.¹⁴⁹

In fact, the use of media to train individuals into particular modes of thought was not a new idea. During the interwar period, Marshall Plan funds were used by various organizations to circulate ideas of liberty and a positive image of progress toward recovery through film presentations.¹⁵⁰ Likewise, post-World War Two the League for Political Education, associated with Harry Truman's administration, operated both in Europe and Asia. This group was dedicated to providing political education films for use in the newly freed and occupied nations. These films, while recommending certain themes offered considerable leeway in the actual presentation of these subjects based on the needs of individual nations. For example, one film idea from 1948

¹⁴⁶ In 2016, *Sesame Street* is in its 46th season on broadcast television and has 34 separate international versions listed as co-productions with regional and nationally specific content.

¹⁴⁷ Norman S. Morris 'What's Good About Children's TV' *The Atlantic* August 1969
<<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1969/08/whats-good-about-childrens-tv/305127/>>

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Ute Sartorius Kraidy 'Sunny Days on Sesame Street?: Multiculturalism and Resistance Postmodernism.' *Journal of Communications Inquiry* 26 (2002): 9-25 and Robert W. Morrow, *Sesame Street and the Reform of Children's Television* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

¹⁵⁰ Albert Hemsing, 'The Marshall Plan's European Films 1948-1955: A Memoir and Filmography,' *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television* 14 (1994): 269-297; David W Ellwood. 'The Propaganda of the Marshall Plan in Italy in a Cold War Context,' *Intelligence and National Security* 18 (2003): 225-236; and David W Ellwood, 'You Too Can Be Like Us: Selling The Marshall Plan,' *History Today* 48 (1998): 33-39.

meant to be produced and provided to Japanese citizens in occupied territories required an 'explanation of government;' and suggested scenes included a close up of 'basic education law' more generally, while simultaneously specifying an overview of the definition of the constitution 'as a beacon light of hope, that was erected from the ruins'.¹⁵¹ US cultural policies in this respect hoped to establish and support a new perception of the current system as progress out of a darker past. With a legislative focus this proposed film, in particular, could stress the positives of the cultural contributions of Japanese history and yet still emphatically demonstrated the benefits of socio-cultural reforms (such as those to the education system). Overall, these films defined a US desire to present the Japanese people, and indeed other freed European nations with a new (and supposedly better) system of thought.

For Canada in the later 1960s, the broadcasting of educational programs seemed both an opportunity and a threat to their proposed policy changes. In the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the report assessed the assimilative qualities of the current broadcasting schedule due to the programs deriving from the state-run Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, which broadcast primarily in English and French. Broadcasting more equally in French and English and likewise producing programming in the languages of other ethnic groups was recommended by the RCBB to offset such assimilative tendencies.¹⁵² While not ignoring the potential for educational advancement represented by the new media, the main educational use of television proposed by the RCBB would be centred on propagating the preferred bicultural

¹⁵¹ Memoranda. 'Film-'Who Sits on this Chair' Sponsored by the League of Political Education' 25 May 1948, 1 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG331 Allied Command, Political Affairs Activities Box 5243, File 8 League Political Education, Movies.

¹⁵² Dunton and Gagnon, 'Final Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,' Volume 4: The Cultural Contribution of Other Ethnic Groups, 182-18, 188, and 192.

Canadian society and encouraging the development of linguistic skills with language-teaching packages.

Though in the context of continuing education and not secondary education, France also considered incorporating more educational materials alongside existing television programming that had a 'socio-educational and socio-cultural' focus.¹⁵³ In this case, the 'sociological' aspect of these words was crucial as educational television was intended by state-run broadcasting groups to encourage integration (becoming socialised) into a French community and nation. There was further debate on whether new educational materials, capitalizing on the popular trends spread by television, would take 'individual or collective (episodic) forms for interested groups;' and how these materials would be disseminated, either at school and home; and whether these materials would be sponsored by 'local authorities, companies, or private initiatives.'¹⁵⁴ These considerations directly reflected similar concerns from the UNESCO reports on the use of televisual materials, including further reports by Dieuzeide. For the French state, educational programming became a partner for the national curriculum with broadly defined programs, often filmstrips and other silent films, designed to accommodate more generalized lesson planning for the proscribed time periods of each subject per term.

The 1968 educational programming list from French Television Broadcasting (RTF) included various subjects, such as economic and scientific programming, but of special importance to this study were the programmes devoted to history and geography. These broadcasts generally

¹⁵³ Chief Managing Director for Continuing Education, 'The Objectives and Activities of Continuing Education for 1971-1972,' Ministry of National Education, 5.5.1971, 2-3 [Archives Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 19870192-15 Education National Cabinet du Ministre 1967-1972, 1 Formation Cotinue Projet, application, et le legislation 1967-1972.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

engaged with the set national curriculum on a variety of issues, including the French Renaissance and France's imperial history; the classical histories of Egypt and Greece; and art history (Gothic Art was notably popular programming for this year).¹⁵⁵ This episode guide was directly related to the 1968-1969 school year and grouped programs both individually and as parts of series. In addition to theme and type of broadcast, these materials were synced to match the stages and abilities of primary and secondary students in France, suggesting additional readings and thematic connections to the National Curriculum. For example, a series titled '*Entrer dans la Vie*' (To Enter into Life) was meant to provide an audio-visual accompaniment to school work and reflect the 'themes chosen for the school year, professional information [and] initiation into the economic, civic and cultural' life in France.¹⁵⁶

Making the best use of educational programming as a means by which to ensure proper integration of disadvantaged groups was likewise a concern of the US during the same period. To secure a place for educational programming within a suite of education and school reforms, the 1967 Public Broadcasting Act (1967 PBB) provided funding for 'the growth and development of public radio and television broadcasting, including the use of such media for instructional, educational, and cultural purposes.'¹⁵⁷ The institution of the 1967 PBB included a reference during an introductory message by President Johnson to Congress in 1968 to previous policies on the rhetoric of freedom and liberty during World War 2, in this case creating a 'fifth freedom' as the 'freedom from ignorance'.¹⁵⁸ The format of such educational programming fluctuated

¹⁵⁵ Éducative Programment Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française, 1968-1969, 56-57 [Archives Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 19870192-25 Programming List 1968-1969.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁵⁷ 47 U.S. Code § 396 - Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

¹⁵⁸ Message on the Fifth Freedom to Congress, 5.3.1968, 9 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] Fred Bohem Box 9 File 1 Education Message.

between a single-channel federally or state run platform and a multi-channel platform that included participation by private or commercial organizations (such as CBS and the Carnegie Corporation of New York). In a letter from Henry Cauthen (Executive Director of the South Carolina Educational Television Centre) to President Johnson at LBJ Ranch in 1966, Cauthen joined his support to the Carnegie Commission on Education Television on the further provisions for educational television that were multichannel and multiplatform, including public, federal, private influences.¹⁵⁹ Similar letters from New York and California were appended to Cauthen's letter in the file, presumably for administrative purposes as the 1967 PBB was drafted. The resulting legislation allowed for such various platforms and services to receive federal funding for their enterprises.¹⁶⁰ Significantly, one of the first presentations of educational television after the 1967 PBB directly intended to influence attitudes toward those of disadvantaged groups. The series, entitled *One Nation, Indivisible?*, produced five programs detailing aspects of racial conflict between African Americans and other groups (primarily whites).¹⁶¹

The programs were aimed at children in order to directly influence the development of their understanding of minority racial groups and self-identification as a valued fellow citizen if a member of a minority racial group. The inclusive nature of the materials, indicating that 'racial conflict is a problem which challenges all Americans' designated a multicultural attitude in such

¹⁵⁹ Henry Cauthen, Letter to President Johnson 7.12.1966, 2 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] White House Central File ED 24 Education, ED5 Teaching Methods, ED5 1963 to 1967 Teaching Methods.

¹⁶⁰ 47 U.S. Code § 396 - Corporation for Public Broadcasting .

¹⁶¹ Francis Keppel, A Message from the National Steering Committee of One Nation, Indivisible? (An Experiment in Nationwide Instructional Television) 6.5.1968, 1 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] J Presidential Library: Austin TX] White House Central File ED 24 Education, ED5 Teaching Methods, ED5 1967-1968 Teaching Methods.

educational programming.¹⁶² In a message to Doug Cater (as Johnson's HEW liaison) the steering committee responsible for the *One Nation, Indivisible?* series included answers to predicted questions on their programs, including concerns that the series was being produced with undue speed and insensitive subject matter.¹⁶³ The answers appear enlightening as to the proposed influence the steering committee [including James Allen (Commissioner of Education, State of New York), John Gardner (Chairman, Urban Coalition), and Francis Keppel (President and Chairman of the Board, General Learning Corporation)]. These programs, meant to be included in the curriculum as part of a lesson on racial relations, were an action that 'might lead to a change of attitude;' and rather than aiming to bound US race relations within only a consideration of colour the steering committee blamed the lack of inclusion of other ethnic minorities on the speed with which the programs needed to be distributed (making certain to take advantage of the 'mood of increased sensitivity and awareness' after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr).¹⁶⁴

Transnational Communities in Policy Planning

Internationally, the representatives of policymakers in the US enjoyed deep ties to UNESCO, including Robert Wade as US Permanent Representative to UNESCO and Senator William Benton as a Member of the UNESCO Executive Board, and through these ties to the other comparator nations. Wade, for example, argued in 1965 that education planning required a 'multilateral dimension' and stressed connections that the US maintained with other member

¹⁶² Francis Keppel, A Message from the National Steering Committee of One Nation, Indivisible? (An Experiment in Nationwide Instructional Television) 6.5.1968, 2 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] J Presidential Library: Austin TX] White House Central File ED 24 Education, ED5 Teaching Methods, ED5 1967-1968 Teaching Methods.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, 3.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 4.

states.¹⁶⁵ These relationships were sustained by US participation in international conferences, including hosting the White House Conference on Education, and a 'corps of educational attaches' part of the ambassadorial staff that helped 'to provide for more adequate US educational representation abroad,' which necessitated a 'close and continuing contact with the domestic scene.'¹⁶⁶ Making use of the transnational network of policy planners was, according to Wade, as important as the use of what Professor Wilbur Schram (Institute for Communications Research Stanford University) called 'multipliers-such as radio, TV, education films, programmed learning' and other mass media.¹⁶⁷

Referencing Schram was a deliberate move by Wade to highlight the import of including his conclusions (and Schram's) within President Johnson's speech 'The Noble Adventure' to the Smithsonian Bicentennial Celebration. Schram was a highly influential advisor to the Johnson administration as emphasized by William Benton's personal letter to Schram indicating that Benton believed that Schram was 'in a much more key role, in a personal sense, than [Schram] realized' in the writing of a memorandum on new techniques in the field of education, especially as Schram's research was spoken of 'warmly' (as was Schram himself) by Doug Cater.¹⁶⁸

Schram's influence on Cater (and thereby on Johnson administration policymakers) led Dean Rusk (Assistant Secretary of State for Education Chairman of American Delegation to

¹⁶⁵ Robert Wade, Program to Implement Five Basic Objectives of President Johnson's Smithsonian Speech-Multilateral Aspects, 1.1.1965, 1 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] S Douglass Cater Box 44 International Education.

¹⁶⁶ Francis Keppel and Charles Frankel, Minutes of the Meeting of the Task Force on International Education with the Secretary of State, 25.9.1965, 4-5 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] S Douglass Cater Box 44 International Education.

¹⁶⁷ Robert Wade, Program to Implement Five Basic Objectives of President Johnson's Smithsonian Speech-Multilateral Aspects, 1.11.1965, 5 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] S Douglass Cater Box 44 International Education.

¹⁶⁸ William Benton, Letter to Wilbur Schram, 11.11.1965 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] S Douglass Cater Box 44 International Education.

UNESCO) to support not only UNESCO's conventions on new media more strongly, but also to stress that the US National Commission to UNESCO should stress 'our interest in international developments in new educational technology' and the intent of the US to 'offer five fellowships for observers from other countries' to study the use of educational television in United States schools.¹⁶⁹ Therefore, US policymakers were contentiously using new medias to instruct, and also seeking a principal place within the international discussion on these topics.¹⁷⁰

This discussion in the US came quickly on the heels of British interest in offering instruction to international teachers on how to best apply education policies in these new medias. The exportation of British influence was a well-established concept as the UK often considered themselves at the vanguard of the development of educational media, and more often viewed themselves as at the heart of a greater transnational policy network (as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3). The introduction of teaching for the new pedagogy for educational programming followed alongside the introduction of televised materials into national education systems and would be stimulated in part by UNESCO British delegates suggesting fellowship schemes between more established broadcasters in other nations to best utilize resources. For example, British ITV would participate in the School Teacher Fellowship Scheme sponsored in part by UNESCO.¹⁷¹ The notations referencing the press notice from ITV in the files of France's Ministry of Lifelong Learning, including a copy of the press release itself, demonstrated that the Ministry of Lifelong Learning often housed transnational innovative research into educational

¹⁶⁹ Dean Rusk, Letter to Douglass Cater 16.10. 1966 [Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library: Austin, TX] White House Central File ED 24 Education, ED5 Teaching Methods, ED5 1963 to 1967 Teaching Methods.

¹⁷⁰ See Also: Donald Ely, 'Frameworks of Educational Technology,' *British Journal of Educational Technology* 39 (2008): 244-250.

¹⁷¹ Joseph Rovin, Addendum to Note to Pierre Greysse, Press Notice 'ITA School Fellowship Scheme', 9 July 1969 [Archives Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 19870192-15 Education National Cabinet du Ministre 1967-1972, 2 Formation Permanente Correspondence Suivre 1967-1972], 3.

policy frameworks. Similar injunctions on the usefulness of new medias in continuing education were found in the International Conference on Educational Planning.¹⁷² Finally, the dissemination of policies on teaching innovation was an international affair; when looking at these questions there needs to be a more fluid definition of the nation responsible for programming choices and the teaching of relevant pedagogy meant to successfully introduce educational programming into schooling.

Case Study: Protéger la Française ('To Protect What is French') Lifelong Learning

UNESCO's policy on Lifelong Learning was incorporated into the mission statement of the Institute for Education in 1963 and was meant to inspire international connections and encourage research and development of policies for fundamental and linguistic skills for individuals.¹⁷³ For France, the policies of lifelong learning, *éducation permanente*, would provide an opening through which French ministers of education would participate in the ongoing transnational discussion relating to the incorporation of diverse groups. The intent of such policies to eliminate illiteracy in all aspects of cultural life including 'inter-cultural ignorance, or the inability to gain an insight into the intellectual make-up, modes of thought, interests and images of other nations' would inspire French education ministers to action in preventing their citizens from being considered 'illiterate' in any sense.¹⁷⁴ In this way, policymakers continued to protect and preserve

¹⁷² Educational Planning: A Survey of Problems and Prospects, International Conference on Educational Planning, Paris 6-14 August 1968, 4 June 1968, 136 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] ED/ICE3.

¹⁷³ Examination of the Draft Programme and Budget for 1971-1972 (document 16 C/5) and Recommendations of the Executive Board: Preparatory Study of Part II of 16 C/5: Ch1 Education 1970 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 84 EX/11 Part I Chapter 1; and UNESCO: UIL, 'Final Report of the Meeting of Experts on the Development and Use of New Methods and Techniques in Education' *Educational Studies and Documents* 48 (1963), 42-43. For the current mission of the Institute for Lifelong Learning as an independent organization see: <http://www.uil.unesco.org/topic/about-institute>

¹⁷⁴ UNESCO: UIL, 'Final Report of the Meeting of Experts on the Development and Use of New Methods and Techniques in Education' *Educational Studies and Documents* 48 (1963), 44.

the positive and competitive image of France and its citizens at home and abroad, a stated goal of the 5th Republic.

In the 1970s, lifelong learning policies offered a unique glimpse into how the French Ministry of National Education viewed the transmission of cultural mores to their students, based on the connection drawn between the teaching of young people and the resulting needs of adult education. In documents submitted to the Ministry of National Education from the subsidiary ministries of lifelong learning and continuing education, various ministers referenced the goals of secondary education and the use of such education to propagate French culture. For example, when discussing the content taught to students, the French Counsellor for Lifelong Learning in the Ministry of National Education in 1970 argued that there was a real need for a 'new perspective' toward content and materials that helped schools shape an inquisitive mind in French students so that they 'will want to and be able to continue their education.'¹⁷⁵ This perspective, while emphasizing the need for students to understand their own place within the 'legacy of their past culture,' also planned to inspire them to consider 'their place in the current environment' and their 'relationships to each other.'¹⁷⁶ The indications of a more open and flexible attitude to the promulgation of French culture appeared to be similar to Canadian curricular policies that meant to protect diverse viewpoints in the same manner. By encouraging students to question and analyse materials rather than memorize these facts, French students now faced with extended time in secondary schools due to the Berthoin laws raising the leaving age for students would have new direction as they pursued specialized educational opportunities

¹⁷⁵ Counsellor for Lifelong Learning, Note to the Minister of National Education, 'The Field of Continuing Education,' 28.4.1970, 2 [Archives Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 19870192-15 Education National Cabinet du Ministre 1967-1972, 4 Education Permenante 1970.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

outside of the traditional *lycée* (state funded secondary school traditionally accepting only the elite).

The same intention would be espoused by Bertrand Schwartz, who was one of the originators of the UNESCO lifelong learning initiative while serving as the Director of the University Centre for Economic and Social Cooperation (CUCES). Later, Schwartz would help create the French National Institute for Adult Learning while serving as a professor at the University of Paris-Dauphine from 1969-1973. Schwartz, in a paper submitted to the French Ministry of Lifelong Learning in 1970 argued that 'the school...should be simultaneously a way and place for everyone to enter into critical understanding of cultural and social life, so as to be able to discuss and learn trades [and the] meaning of knowledge.'¹⁷⁷ This proposition was different from that of French secondary schools who had traditionally acted as inelastic pathways to future academic or vocational positions. A newly restructured French education system would result from these considerations, offering a more generalized education for its students and providing more opportunities for students to engage in specialized learning before university education. The new perspective focussed on a greater mandate for education to provide for personal development and the attainment of the core values of French culture.

It was possible to determine the intended treatment of French culture in its education system based on the introduction of the core values necessary for 'Life in France' to immigrant workers in the proposed operating budget submitted to the Minister of National Education by the Ministry

¹⁷⁷ Bertrand Schwartz, 'Prospective Studies on Lifelong Learning,' 1970, 8 [Archives Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine]19870192-15 Education National Cabinet du Ministre 1967-1972, 4 Education Permenante 1970.

of Continuing Education in 1970.¹⁷⁸ These proposed operations or programmes were submitted as a part of a series of similar programs, including a proposed program dedicated to helping secondary school students understand their place in the industrial world. For new immigrant workers, it was recommended that they obtain knowledge of their cultural obligations, for example learning and using French as well as related 'social rules' that were considered requirements for their successful participation in the French economy. This knowledge would help these workers avoid the pitfalls that 'the lack of information and preparation of immigrants' could cause, such as avoidable errors which make immigrant workers the 'designated victims of all kinds of adversities,' proposing the implementation of 'operations that must protect them.'¹⁷⁹

While assimilative in character, as an integrative education policy the 'Life in France' operation had more in common with the linguistic demands of 'other ethnic groups' defined in the decidedly multiculturalist policies of the RCBB report and the suggested policies which were intended to help smooth their integration into society. Likewise, an implementation of policies designed to eliminate opportunities for situations causing discriminatory actions can be linked thematically to the UK 1968 Race Relations Act through 1972 French Antiracism Law, where recourse was provided for indirect and possibly unintended discriminatory acts (as discussed above). The proposed operation recognized that such adversity for non-French immigrant workers was unpopular and disclosed the ministry's aspiration to prevent such adversity from continuing by both coaching appropriate attitudes in immigrants and also, by implication, in their fellow French citizens. Both of these shifts in ideology would prove major links between French

¹⁷⁸ R. Vatier, et al, 'Introduction to Life in France for Immigrant Workers' c311, 23 July 1970, 1 [Archives Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 19870192-15 Education National Cabinet du Ministre 1967-1972, 2 Formation Permanente Correspondence Suivre 1967-1972.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

policies toward multicultural groups and their allies within the Atlantic World. Further connections would derive from the development of television as a medium for cultural exchange and means for educational attainment.

Conclusions: The Character of Policy Innovation

In summary, policymaking between 1960 and 1972 was a complex discussion between the UK, Canada, France, and the US based on a shared desire to mitigate the damage inequality of opportunity caused to society and individuals. New innovations in legislation, policy planning, and teaching methods provided various recourses for both disadvantaged (now protected) groups and those members of majority groups to promote understanding and tolerance. New medias offered an important further field through which these comparator nations modelled appropriate and desired behaviours and, with a degree of suspension of disbelief, what the future tolerant society could be. The society intended to be created by the implementation of such policies varied due to the unique cultural characteristics of each nation, for example the 'republican' ideal of France necessitated a more assimilative mode as compared to the more integrative and multicultural mode of the UK; and the federal mode of both Canada and the US provided a more multifarious set of identities and processes of integration.

Despite initial failures of various policies and legislative efforts to provide complete equality of opportunity, the weak 1965 and 1968 Race Relations Acts in the UK and the relatively inadequate 1972 French Antiracism Law, a cultural shift had occurred in this period that normalized policies of cooperative, integrative, education and anti-discrimination. Seemingly inevitably, such a peak of reformed policymaking and exciting transnational cooperation towards

the goal of creating and enforcing innovative educational change would not last as after a flurry of legislative changes in the UK, US, and France, and constitutional changes in Canada, a period of calm within policymaking (a brand of 'détente') had arrived when more traditional framing of multicultural issues provided a foil for policymakers who now concentrated on employing multicultural education policies in their own national contexts.

However, the semi-permanent and flexible networks built both through UNESCO and tangentially related to UNESCO through expert groups, consultation arrangements, and comparative studies increasingly demonstrated a more transnational policymaking process rather than a linear one. In this conception, these comparator nations were actively seeking out ideas from other nations and taking to heart the lessons of the innovations of other nations.¹⁸⁰ The evaluation and feedback loop of policymaking, where new reports necessitate a new application of more effective reforms, was to become ever more important in defining how integrative education policies were crafted.¹⁸¹ Increasingly, integrative education policies would be distilled by all four comparator nations into multicultural education policies enacted along the lines provided by the Canadian multiculturalism action groups.

¹⁸⁰ Patricia Clavin, *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations: 1920-1946* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 347-353.

¹⁸¹ De Francesco, *Transnational Policy Innovation*, 14-22.

Chapter Five: The Fate of Multicultural Education Policy Innovations

Multicultural education policy frameworks built in the 1960s and early 1970s remained a major influence on reform proposals and the implementation of education policies, even those outwardly directed at assimilation, through to the 1980s. At this point a fully realised policy framework in these nations was established that these were that these *innovative* policies recognized the *multicultural* complexities of their societies and intended to promote positive *racial relations* and incorporating *diverse* groups on their own terms. These policies recognized ethnic minorities as valuable contributors needing integration on their own terms. The various policies associated with both multicultural (as a concept defining the society created by diverse communities) and multiculturalism (the celebration of such diverse communities in preparation for an integrated and harmonious society) were both pursued at various points during this period. This acknowledgment linked the policies of the UK, US, Canada, and France in a transnational mode through education reform networks formed by international interdependence and participation in UNESCO and other international organizations. Indeed, bonds between these nations were revealed as similar legislative acts by these nations seemed to coalesce at various periods; again the image of Clavin's policymaking honeycombs provided a crucial historical context for such transnational connections. At the close of the decade in 1988-1989, these comparator nations would all enact legislation that either standardized their education system or instituted a central cultural policy.¹

¹ The UK Education Reform Act in 1988 that established a national curriculum and the US Augustus F. Hawkins-Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments of 1988 that reauthorized leading secondary education programs including bilingual education; the Canadian Multiculturalism Act 1988 and the French Jospin Law in 1989.

Thus, national ministries of education and national commissions to international organizations were linked by a wider network of reformers--in particular, those networks analysed in: Chapter 2 with the formation of UNESCO by the UK, US and France; in Chapter 3 through participation at Conferences on Education and Discrimination; and in Chapter 4 through the development and transmission of reports detailing the Canadian mosaic. Further analysis of the depth of such ties and related transnational development of such policy exchanges reveals that concurrently developed policies were not independent creations, but flowed along long-established networks as well as utilizing terminology and policy fragments from earlier policymakers. An analysis of integrative education policies in the 1970s and 1980s rested upon this transnational framework. There are direct linkages between nations operating within a direct transmission of policies along transnational lines, for example discussion of the UNESCO programme budgets for 1984 and the exportation of UK and Canadian education policies. The majority of this analysis took it as read that the participation of these nations in UNESCO conferences, planning committees, and bureaucracy guaranteed exposure to the national policies of these four comparator nations. In addition, these nations participated in related intergovernmental commissions on policy, education, and other concerns which provided a useful framework through which to assess how each nation then influenced the others based on their differential commitment to various international organizations.² When the US and the UK decided to leave UNESCO in the middle of the 1980s, the overall transnational connection between these nations faltered, yet did not cease to exist. Yet, the shakeup does provide a useful chronological boundary for this analysis, in addition to the thematic and political boundary provided by the implementation of various forms of national cultural and educational policies in all four nations.

² See also: Patricia Clavin, *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations: 1920-1946* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Between 1972 and 1989, stated goals (policy) and implementation (practice) continued to vary quite widely. As has been noted by policy scholars such as Henrik Larsen, such variance is usually seen by policymakers as acceptable within a certain range to allow for analysis of the intentionality of policy and the methodologies considered appropriate for establishing anticipated reforms.³ The institution of multiculturalist policy as a feature of education policy in the 1970s and 1980s has been well established by historians, such as James A. Banks and Christine Bennett among others.⁴ For education and multicultural policies, the seventies were often considered by education scholars and historians, such as Richard Race and Tariq Modood, to be the pinnacle of innovative programmes meant to incorporate diverse groups into national populations previously considered homogenous.⁵ Education policies in the UK, US, and Canada often openly referenced multiculturalism, or were less explicitly multiculturalist in nature, and reflected the widespread institution of what education scholars such as James A. Banks considered multicultural education policy, though in Banks' case the US provided the primary momentum for the spread of these policies internationally.⁶ Canadian policies became ever more entrenched in multiculturalist dialogues in policy if not uniformly in practice: eastern provinces, such as Quebec, had lagged behind Northern and Eastern provinces in implementing multicultural education policies.⁷

³ Henrik Larsen, *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis: France, Britain, and Europe* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2014).

⁴ Christine Bennett, *Comprehensive Multicultural Education: Theory and Practice* 7th Edition (London: Pearson, 2011); and James A. Banks and Cherry A McGee Banks, eds. *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* 7th Edition (Oxford: John Wiley and Sons, 2010).

⁵ Richard Race, 'Analysing Ethnic Education Policy-Making in England and Wales' Discussion Paper, University of Sheffield, 6; and Richard Race, *Multiculturalism and Education* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); and Tariq Modood and Stephen May, 'Multiculturalism and Education in Britain: An Internally Contested Debate,' *International Journal of Education Research* 35 (2001): 306-308.

⁶ Banks and Banks, *Multicultural Education*, 8-9.

⁷ Michael Dewing, Background Paper: Canadian Multiculturalism 14.5.2013, 8 (Ottawa, Ontario: Library of Parliament Canada, 2013) Publication No 2009-20-E; and D. Paul Shafer, *Studies and Documents on Cultural Policies: Aspects of Canadian Cultural Policy* (Paris: UNESCO 1976), 21; and Summary, 'Education, North

UK Conservative Party education policies in 1968 established that curricular innovation was the province of the teaching staff and that secondary education should be developed separately from higher education to allow teachers the 'freedom...to experiment' and avoid 'excessive specialisation' in students that would inhibit individual opportunity.⁸ In fact, techniques would be employed by a new Conservative government in the 1970s to eliminate divisions caused by what some Conservatives argued was a failure to appreciate 'human values and attitudes or the rich cultural variety which people from overseas have brought to the classroom.'⁹ Using implicitly multiculturalist techniques (i.e. those not directly calling the policies multiculturalism but espousing some of the tenets) would be in fact a feature of subsequent proposals, as some British policymakers would praise the voluntary efforts of some teachers who incorporated the diversity of their local communities into the curriculum echoing the government's focus on proposals that celebrated individual action and choice.¹⁰ A parallel tactic was taken by French education ministers to ensure the implementation of similarly focussed integrationist education policies. These policies also lacked explicit connection to the multicultural education policies more popular in the US and in some areas of the UK, a fact which was often exploited by French national education ministers in their arguments lauding the superiority of French policies.¹¹ The acceptance of such policies by the national governments of these comparator nations led to a

Evaluation 1978-1982 and Alternative Programs Sourcebook,' January 1983 [Library and Archives Canada: Ottawa] COP.YZ.2.1985-1409.

⁸ 'Conservative Education Policy for the Seventies: A Report by the Education Policy Group' July 1968 [Churchill Archives: The Papers of Baroness Thatcher, THCR, Churchill College, Cambridge] THCR 1-1-2 Conservative Party Group on Education.

⁹ HC Paper 405 'Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration: Session 1972-1973' [Churchill Archives: The Papers of Baroness Thatcher, THCR, Churchill College, Cambridge] Education Volume 1 Report THCR 1-6-2 Education 2

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Whitney Walton, *Internationalism, National Identities, and Study Abroad: France and the United States, 1890-1970* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009) 86-88; Dianne Gereluk and Richard Race, 'Multicultural Tensions in England, France, and Canada: Contrasting Approaches and Consequences,' *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 17 (2007): 113-129.

period where governmental and non-governmental organizations developing new policies increasingly agitated for more efficient periods of education reform.¹²

In France, an alternative route focussing on the rejection of racial and ethnic categorizations in determining individual identity as outwardly divisive was pursued by education ministers and was reflected in the national curriculum.¹³ The rationale behind such policy was that by eliminating categories and implementing a fully French mind-set in national policy, all minority groups would be integrated fully into the French national community without the 'illusion' of division further emphasis on differences would provide.¹⁴ While such policies appeared assimilative, the applications in various sections of the education ministry were much more diverse. In particular, French policies toward their international schools, overseas education affiliates, and continuing education programs such as language teaching indicated a more complex attitude toward diverse communities and indeed an increasing tendency to celebrate the contributions of such groups to the national community as a whole.¹⁵ Yet, an acceptance of French cultural pluralism was longstanding; in the 19th century French Jewish students and students in parochial schools were allowed to retain aspects of their home cultures as long as said students studied 'French language, French history' in order to facilitate 'their development as

¹² Brian D. Jacobs, *Black Politics and Urban Crisis in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 88; and Ray Honeyford, *The Commission for Racial Equality: British Bureaucracy and the Multiethnic Society*, Social Policy and Social Theory Series (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1998).

¹³ Patrick Simon, 'The Choice of Ignorance: The Debate on Ethnic and Racial Statistics in France,' *French Politics, Culture, and Society* 26 (2008): 7-12.

¹⁴ Alain Blum and France Guérin-Pace, 'From Measuring Integration to Fighting Discrimination: The Illusion of 'Ethnic Statistics,' *French Politics, Society, and Culture* 26 (2008): 45-61; and Alex Hargreaves, 'Empty Promises?: Public Policy Against Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in France,' *French Politics, Society and Culture* 33 (2015): 95-115.

¹⁵ Martine A. Pretceille, 'Interculturalism, Diversity Policy and Integration in France: A Succession of Paradoxical Instructions' in *Intercultural Education in the European Context: Theories, Experiences, Challenges*, eds Marco Catarci and Massimiliano Fiorucci (London: Routledge, 2016); and Gereluk and Race, 'Multicultural Tensions in England, France, and Canada: Contrasting Approaches and Consequences,' 118-129.

moral, loyal citizens'.¹⁶ Therefore, rather than a purely assimilative policy where all were expected to become French and be treated as traditional French citizens, the contributions of diverse groups to the creation of a new modern French community were more often considered, or at least tolerated, by the national educational system.¹⁷

Passions for reform in all four comparator nations would lead to crises such as racially motivated riots and newly elected conservative governments combatting white backlash to civil rights legislations, declining interest in international affiliations, and the mounting defensive pressures of the Cold War in the UK and the US; and a veering off into new policy territory for Canada and France, albeit in different directions.¹⁸ Hence, a variety of détente was gradually declared as major goals were considered met, for example in the last desegregation of a US public schools system (Boston, Massachusetts, US) by 1985, and in providing solid legislation advancements meant to ensure cultural and racial tolerance in Canada, France, and the UK.¹⁹ The institution of multicultural education policies throughout this period, therefore, provides a framework through which to assess each nation's progress toward their stated goals of integration of ethnic, racial, and linguistic minorities and inspiration of tolerance amongst those members of the ethnic majority. The developments in each nation also shed light on the influence these nations had on

¹⁶ Jeffrey Haus, *Challenges of Equality: Judaism, State, and Education in Nineteenth Century France* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2009): 160-162.

¹⁷ Anne Corbett and Bob Moon, eds, *Education in France: Continuity and Change in the Mitterrand Years 1981-1995* (London: Routledge, 2002) 271-280.

¹⁸ Sally Tomlinson, *Race and Education: Policy and Politics in Britain* (London: McGraw Hill, 2008) 65-68 and 70-75; Report of the Policy Group on Areas of Urban Stress, Conservative Research Department, 25.3.74, 25-26 [Conservative Party Archive: Bodleian Library, Oxford University] SC-16 Steering Committee SC-78-62 - SC-78-74; and Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 233-240; and Thomas Adams Upchurch, *Race Relations in the United States, 1960-1980* (London: Greenwood, 2008), 182; and Steven Kendall Holloway, *Canadian Foreign Policy: Defining the National Interest* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 181-183.

¹⁹ For Boston Public Schools Desegregation, See: Joseph Cronin, *Reforming Boston Schools, 1930 to the Present: Overcoming Corruption and Racial Segregation* (London: Palgrave, 2011).

one another through their commentary on (and often institution of) analogous policies and differential participation in international organizations.

Tolerance and Equality of Opportunity as a Cultural Imperative

Throughout the preceding decades, policymakers had been working from an assumption that tolerant, economically, and socially competitive citizens could at least in part be influenced by education. The development of policies which engineered new education systems meant to encourage tolerant attitudes (see Chapters 2 and 3) and those which produced curricular changes to reduce discrimination in schooling and teaching (see Chapters 3 and 4), created a new cultural imperative, in this case an essential quality that all would need to either include in their stated policies, or advocate against. This cultural imperative would provide a common language for reformers that included the intent to provide 'equality of opportunity' for all individuals and overall optimistic foci for systemic education change. The assumption in most policies was that any positive change would take into account the creation of better school systems that could fashion citizens who not only were educated, but also culturally sensitive participants in a newly globalized world.²⁰ For example, similar to statements by Richard Austen Butler in 1944 (see Chapter 2), Norman St. John-Stevas (UK Conservative MP and Shadow Secretary of State for Education and Science 1974-1978 and Minister of State for the Arts 1973-1974 and 1979-1981) wrote in 1978 that education should aim to 'impart to young people a basic body of knowledge...to teach them to value our culture and democratic traditions and to equip them to play an active and useful role in a modern industrial society.'²¹ In this case, though St. John-

²⁰ Laurie Shepherd Johnson, 'The Diversity Imperative: Building a Culturally Responsive School Ethos,' *Intercultural Education* 14 (2003): 17-30.

²¹ R.A. Butler, 'Chapter 2: Education: The View of a Conservative' in 'Special Studies,' 31 [Richard Austen Butler Papers: Trinity College, Cambridge] Butler H44; and Norman St. John-Stevas, 'Conservative Policy

Stevas was more often considered on the fringes of the policymaking process, with advisors such as A. H. Halsey (sociologist and advisor to Richard Crossman and Anthony Crosland supporting comprehensive education) more often occupying a starring role in such analyses, the materials consulted in this study traced a different pathway through education policy reforms by way of the transnational influences of and on such education policies and thereby focussed on a slightly different set of main actors.²²

The US Domestic Policy Staff for President Jimmy Carter in 1980 demonstrated a commitment to similar concerns when considering a report by the International Council for Educational Development (affiliated with the British Council) on the declining ability of the US 'to handle its commitments to assure...human rights' as the US education system continually produced relatively poor quality students.²³ This was a major concern for the Carter Administration, especially Stuart Eizenstat (Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs and Policy) and Al Stern (Associate Director of the Domestic Policy Staff), in 1980 as the perception of the US reputation abroad as a policy leader was threatened during the Iranian Hostage Crisis.²⁴ Likewise, subsequent reports by the International Communication Agency (created in 1978 out of the US Information Agency and Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State) highlighted 'comprehension of foreign cultures' and the celebration of 'cultural diversity' so that one can 'understand rather than undermine differing traditions and beliefs' as essential qualities

on Education and the Arts' 8.3.1978, 1 [Conservative Party Archive: Bodleian Library, Oxford] SC-16 Steering Committee SC-78-62 - SC-78-74. See Also: David Phillips and Geoffrey Walford, *Tracing Education Policy: Selections from the Oxford Review of Education* (London: Routledge, 2013).

²² See Also: Jon Furlong and Ingrid Lunt, 'Inequality and Education: Continuing the Debate,' *Oxford Review of Education* 40 (2014): 667-679.

²³ A Prospectus for a National Council on Foreign Language and International Studies, Attachment to a Letter from James A. Perkins to Stuart Eizenstat copied to Al Stern 30.1.1980, 1-2 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, Georgia] Jimmy Carter Domestic Policy Staff: Records of the Domestic Policy Staff, Al Stern Subject File Box 22, Education 7/1/80-11/24/80, File 2 Education 1-23-80 to 3-28-80.

²⁴ Shirley Anne Warshaw, *Guide to the White House Staff* (London: Sage-CQ Press, 2013), 137-138.

of good education that were lacking, especially in school districts in Midwestern states.²⁵ This argument was supported by the majority of the Carter Administration Domestic Policy Staff, including Elizabeth Abramowitz (Deputy Assistant to President Carter for Domestic Affairs and Policy and Assistant Director of President Carter's Domestic Affairs Council) leading to a set of statements signed by President Carter reaffirming the US commitment to fight 'against ignorance and lack of opportunity' with better quality education for all students.²⁶ Similar proposed policy commitments used phrasing that would prove common throughout the period in most comparator nations, reaffirming the existence of, and commitment to, a cultural imperative to protect equality of opportunity.

However, for St. John-Stevas the equality of opportunity that education could provide was not 'equality', by which he meant uniformity or sameness.²⁷ Dovetailing with the proposals of Thatcher government in the subsequent year to eliminate the 'imposition of single, all-purpose solutions to meet the widely different needs of individuals,' these education strategies would be somewhat multiculturalist in character if not in scope, as this policy sought to eliminate the binary of grammar schools versus comprehensives to ensure a 'choice of schools.'²⁸ As different schools in this context would produce different results (i.e. allowing students with differential abilities to reach their full potential) these schools were by nature dissimilar and could not provide a single cultural narrative, which would be necessary to impose assimilation on the

²⁵ Charles W. Bray III, Address to the Mid-America and the World Conference, 27.10.1980, 4-6 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] Jimmy Carter Domestic Policy Staff: Records of the Domestic Policy Staff Al Stern Subject File Box 22, Education 7/1/80-11/24/80, File 5 Education 7-1-80 to 11-24-80.

²⁶ Memorandum for the President from Stuart Eizenstat 'Education Message Announcement' 28.2.1978 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA, US] Jimmy Carter Domestic Policy Staff: Records of the Domestic Policy Staff Elizabeth Abramowitz Subject Files Box 4 File 7 Comprehensive Education Policy.

²⁷ Norman St. John-Stevas, 'Conservative Policy on Education and the Arts' 8.3.1978, 2 [Conservative Party Archive: Bodleian Library, Oxford] SC-16 Steering Committee SC-78-62 - SC-78-74.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

populace. By emphasizing multiple types of institutions, a potent comparison indeed formed between multiculturalism and what appeared to be multiculturalist policies. Conservatives were considered inflexible in failing to use multiculturalism and consistently derided multicultural education policy as an untenable solution to the difficulties of racial integration.²⁹ Yet, policies such as this one indicated a more elastic route between purely assimilationist and multiculturalist sentiments. American policies also reflected the desires for voluntary action, personal choice, and diversity of methods, and therefore an adapted version of multicultural education. Mary Berry (Assistant Secretary for Education US Health, Education, and Welfare 1976-1980) would argue that 'vigorous protection of individual rights often conflict(s) with the local decision making process and with personal choices' thereby espousing a more laissez-faire approach to ensuring equality of opportunities by allowing local and communal efforts to run with little interference, hopefully encouraging diverse groups (like Native Americans in this case) to participate in the 'planning, conduct, and administration of those programs' similarly to the initial integrative policies of the 1960s (such as those discussed in Chapter 3).³⁰ The cultural imperative to produce tolerance through encouraging diversity, thus, had permeated the policymaking sphere with those wary of such policies and even with those in opposition to the brand of multiculturalism that included an overt social engineering project.

For some policymakers, the cultural imperative of providing equality of opportunity even superseded political parties and brought together disparate policies. St. John-Stevas argued in the

²⁹ Roger Hewitt, *White Backlash and the Politics of Multiculturalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 10.

³⁰ Mary Berry, 'Toward a Comprehensive Federal Education Policy: A Paper Prepared by the Federal Interagency Committee on Education' April 1978, 31-39 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] JC DPS: Records of the Domestic Policy Staff -Elizabeth Abramowitz Subject Files Box 4 File 7 Comprehensive Education Policy.

1974 Education Steering Committee paper that 'the old distinction between right and left no longer applies.'³¹ Indeed, materials collected by Judith Hart (Minister for Overseas Development and eventual Chairman of the Labour Party 1981-1982) while a member of the Labour Party's National Executive Committee: Transnational Subcommittee would indicate that a variety of materials were consulted, materials would indicate the commitment of the Labour Party to the same cultural imperative with regard to equality of opportunity.³² The repetition of phrases in policy discussions likewise demonstrated the depth of the new imperative in integrative policymaking, such as the use of education to ameliorate divisiveness and ensure 'all individuals...develop their full potential and the skills necessary to play a significant part in the life of the community.'³³ Yet, the Labour policies were explicit in their argument that 'schools have a duty to educate children towards an awareness of Britain's multi-cultural and multi-racial society.'³⁴ Anti-racist language was applied to various pieces of legislation, including acts which altered the goals for teaching science in technology in US schools.³⁵ In the US, the phrase 'men and women, equally, of all ethnic, racial, and economic backgrounds,' in varied forms was added to legislation, including the Science and Technology Equal Opportunities Act 1980, in direct reference to the 1964 Civil Rights Act.³⁶ Further, the distinctions between national and international policies were likewise increasingly blurred. In the UK, American research materials

³¹ Norman St. John-Stevan, 'Education' 8.5.74, 8 [Conservative Party Archive: Bodleian Library, Oxford] SC-16 Steering Committee SC-78-62 - SC-78-74.

³² 'Labour's Programme 1976' 78 [Labour History Archive and Study Centre (LHASC), People's History Museum, Manchester] Judith Hart L-HART 12-8 Papers of the Transnational Subcommittee.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ 'Labour's Programme 1976,' 90.

³⁵ 'Science and Technology Equal Opportunities Act (Draft) Part A—Statement of Findings and Policy' [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, Georgia] Jimmy Carter Domestic Policy Staff: Records of the Domestic Policy Staff, Al Stern Subject File Box 22, Education 7/1/80-11/24/80, File 2 Education 1-23-80 to 3-28-80.

³⁶ 'Science and Technology Equal Opportunities Act (Draft) Part A—Statement of Findings and Policy,' and Mary Berry, 'Toward a Comprehensive Federal Education Policy: A Paper Prepared by the Federal Interagency Committee on Education' April 1978, 9 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA, US] JC DPS: Records of the Domestic Policy Staff -Elizabeth Abramowitz Subject Files Box 4 File 7 Comprehensive Education Policy.

in particular were considered essential reading during 1974-1976, including those American education policies meant to relieve the difficulties experienced by areas of 'urban stress'.³⁷ During this period in the UK, there was a crucial accumulation of research contributing to continuing legislative race relations reform efforts, culminating in the 1976 Race Relations Act. For example, the Report of the UK Policy Group on Areas of Urban Stress proposed that researchers, while starting out hopeful that compensatory policies would provide inroads to equality, eventually took a 'less optimistic view about the role that such programmes can play' as the Americans who had instituted their policies earlier than the British had received negative results. These American researchers shared their statistical analyses through education policy networks, such as the Department of Overseas Development, and had fed information to the UK Policy Group on Areas of Urban Stress.³⁸ Therefore, UK and US researchers were demonstrably working together to create policy; if not in tandem then with direct access to their findings and conclusions.

1970s Race Relations and Civil Rights

Whereas the US took a judicial rather than legislative approach to providing equality of opportunity and prohibiting discrimination, the UK focussed on creating a single national legislative act that would supersede previous measures and thereby eliminate discriminatory actions and promote anti-racist policy in all areas of political, economic, and social life.³⁹ Undoubtedly, both the US and UK systems shared a relatively federated system of education. The US was clearly more federalized than the UK, yet the relationship between local and

³⁷ Report of the Policy Group on Areas of Urban Stress, Conservative Research Department, 25.3.74, 25-26 [Conservative Party Archive: Bodleian Library, Oxford] SC-16 Steering Committee SC-78-62 - SC-78-74.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 26.

³⁹ Gary Craig, Karl Atkin, Sangetta Chattoo and Ronny Flynn, eds., *Understanding 'Race' and Ethnicity: Theory, History, Policy, Practice* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2012) 82.

community authorities and the Ministry of Education provided a similar relationship in England and Wales. This affected the efficiency of certain measures from the 1976 Race Relations Act and follow-up US Supreme Court decisions. In particular, with regard to integration, while schools were prohibited from discriminating in their enrolment based on racial and ethnic origin the method by which such integration would be accomplished was in flux.⁴⁰ Various reports from US and UK research groups investigating the promotion of integration demonstrated the duality of their concerns. One group based on established international cooperation, the Policy Group on Areas of Urban Stress (discussed above), argued that the UK opposed the 'bussing' of immigrant children to schools long distances from their homes' in direct opposition to the method adopted by the majority of US desegregation schemes.⁴¹ In 1976, the UK instituted a third follow-up legislative act meant to build upon the 1965 and 1968 Race Relations Acts that had preceded it, in order to provide a more direct contact between the citizenry and the courts to seek to redress direct and indirect discriminatory actions.⁴² In the US, several Supreme Court decisions during the later 1970s would highlight various areas of concern, including appropriate affirmative action and the need for bilingual education provisions.⁴³ These policies allowed schools and individuals to choose what they deemed an appropriate method of integration for their own communities and seek direct response to cases of discrimination.

For both the US and the UK a centralization of policy was of primary concern. As the US relied on the federal system of education, where states determine the course of their schools systems

⁴⁰ Memorandum of the Race Relations Study Group September 1976, 1-2 [LHASC] RD10 RE Series March 1976-December 1977.

⁴¹ Report of the Policy Group on Areas of Urban Stress, Conservative Research Department 25.3.74, 26 [Conservative Party Archive: Bodleian Library, Oxford] SC-16 Steering Committee SC-78-62 - SC-78-74.

⁴² Race Relations Act 1976 c. 74 (UK)

⁴³ Regents of the University of California v. Bakke 438 U.S. 265 (1978); and Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).

and implement appropriate national reforms, several disparate policies were created rather than a single effective comprehensive policy that policymakers like Mary Berry considered potentially more effective.⁴⁴ The trend toward greater centralization of the Department of Education had begun in the 1960s as part of LBJ's Great Society reforms (see Chapter 4), for example the Federal Interagency Committee on Education (FICE) was founded in 1964 as an interagency committee focussed on coordinating education policy to 'identify the Nation's educational needs and goals' and 'to advise and make recommendations.'⁴⁵ This committee proposed several methods of education coordination in 1978, among which was the directive that 'assuring equality of opportunity should constitute the highest priority of Federal education policy' in order to ensure the elimination of all remaining discriminatory actions not yet eliminated by adherence to the 1964 Civil Rights Act.⁴⁶

The failure of schools systems and universities to desegregate despite national and state orders to do so provided a point of concern throughout the Carter, and ultimately the Reagan, administration. A Maryland US District court case, *Adams v Califano* (1977), appeared to resolve the issue and ordered the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to 'increase the pace' of desegregation in higher education institutions, thereby establishing the precedent for such speed to be increased for the integration all schools systems.⁴⁷ Gradually, US integration policies in schools became centralized as the needs of Asian-American and Hispanic-American

⁴⁴ Mary Berry, 'Toward a Comprehensive Federal Education Policy: A Paper Prepared by the Federal Interagency Committee on Education' April 1978, 9-16 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA, US] JC DPS: Records of the Domestic Policy Staff -Elizabeth Abramowitz Subject Files Box 4 File 7 Comprehensive Education Policy.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 1.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 4.

⁴⁷ Mary Berry, 'Toward a Comprehensive Federal Education Policy: A Paper Prepared by the Federal Interagency Committee on Education' April 1978; and Mary Berry, 'New Emphases in Federal Policy on Education,' *The Phi Delta Kappan* 59 (1977) 122-26.

students were considered alongside the needs of African-Americans. These points related especially to bilingual and bicultural education culminating in the *Lau v Nichols* ruling that bilingual education was included under the protections of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.⁴⁸

A holding pattern had been assumed by many schools systems as the desegregation orders from the 1955 *Brown v Board of Education* were often incomplete or weakly enforced despite subsequent legislative and judicial efforts due to the difficulties establishing a balance in newly integrated schools, even with extensive use of busing to take students to integrated schools.⁴⁹ The failure of desegregation of some school districts, according to historian Matthew Delmont, was partly caused by definitions of the problem as one of methodology, i.e. that buses proved an unpardonable burden on the student, family and taxpayer, rather than one of desegregation.⁵⁰ This argumentation allowed many school districts including Boston Public Schools, with support from both white and African-American families, to remain at least partially segregated until 1985. In the 1978 FICE federal education policy document, Berry highlighted 'three strategies used to combat racial desegregation—compliance, technical assistance, and program assistance.'⁵¹ While these strategies would prove ultimately difficult to continue during the final push towards the desegregation of schools, their application to bilingual and bicultural education programs proved much more fruitful, in part due to *Lau v Nichols* and related legislative efforts aimed at providing

⁴⁸ 'Reviewing a Decade of School Desegregation 1966-75: Report of a National Survey of School Superintendents' *United States Commission on Civil Rights*, 1977; Memorandum to Jack Watson from Esteban Torres and Raul Tapia on 'The Lau Remedies: A Strategy' 28 July 1980 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] Jimmy Carter Ethnic Affairs Stephen Aiello Subject Files Box 2 File Education Department of.

⁴⁹ 'Desegregation of the Nation's Public Schools: A Status Report' *US Commission on Civil Rights* February 1979, 12-13.

⁵⁰ Matthew Delmont, *Why Busing Failed: Race Media, and the National Resistance to School Desegregation* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 190-200.

⁵¹ Mary Berry, 'Toward a Comprehensive Federal Education Policy,' 20 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] JC DPS: Records of the Domestic Policy Staff -Elizabeth Abramowitz Subject Files Box 4 File 7 Comprehensive Education Policy.

equality of opportunity to Native American populations such as the Indian Self-Determination Act 1975.

In 1976, one Native American school system in Arizona, the Window Rock School District No 8, provided a series of position papers to Virginia Trotter (Assistant Secretary for Education) decrying the ability of their schools to appropriately comply with the strictures of the Civil Rights Act due to the lack of appropriate understanding of the twin nature of Window Rock's bilingual and bicultural heritage. Kenneth Ross' (Superintendent of Schools Window Rock School District No 8) and Patrick Graham's (Federal Programs Director) position papers illuminate a serious issue that had developed in actions to obtain the rights of all individuals to equality of opportunity in education. While *Lau v Nichols* (1974) confirmed that a schools system was required to provide 'adequate instructional procedures' in native languages in addition to English in order to ensure equality of treatment, the Window Rock District found compliance difficult as it appeared that these rules only applied to written languages.⁵² Trotter, according to highlighted marks on the submitted position papers by Graham, took such criticism to heart, especially the concern that Native Americans were 'American bilinguals' who held a distinct 'cultural uniqueness' that was being 'virtually...ignored...in favor of others with alreading(sic) written languages and developed literatures.'⁵³ The position papers were forwarded by Trotter through the Office of Bilingual-Bicultural Education and the Office of Indian Education for commentary. Both noted that 'minority groups with written languages [were]

⁵² Memorandum to Jack Watson from Esteban Torres and Raul Tapia on 'The Lau Remedies: A Strategy' 28 July 1980 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] Jimmy Carter Ethnic Affairs Stephen Aiello Subject Files Box 2 File Education Department of.

⁵³ Patrick E. Graham 'Position Paper submitted to the Annual Convention of the National Indian Education Association' 5-8 November 1975, 4 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Assistant Secretaries of ED Records 1977-1980 Box 7 4 Indian Education, Window Rock.

favoured' and that further technical assistance would be provided to make certain that with regard to bilingual education provisions under the Civil Rights Act.⁵⁴ The widening of such policies to include those of a non-written standard linguistic culture filtered through the whole of US policy network to become a major feature of the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments Act 1978.⁵⁵

While this act was primarily intended to 'reauthorize' the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), a greater diversity of schools was included in the provisions, especially the extended ability of those schools to provide specific instruction to assist their students in higher levels of achievement. Further, the teaching of minority languages was instituted in a much more extensive fashion, including a policy to allow both 'Anglo' and foreign language-speaking students to be taught side by side, encouraging tolerance of minority language students on the part of the student of a majority ethnic group and an increased knowledge of and cooperation between diverse communities.⁵⁶ In the formatting of the bilingual education section of the new ESEA, students whose primary language was English were encouraged to attend

⁵⁴ Draft of Memorandum, Directional Memorandum 21.10.1976 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Assistant Secretaries of ED Records 1977-1980 Box 7 4 Indian Education, Window Rock; and Memo to Virginia Trotter from S. Gabe Paxton Jr. 'Response to Position Papers' 20.12.1976, 1-2 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Assistant Secretaries of ED Records 1977-1980 Box 7 4 Indian Education, Window Rock.

⁵⁵ Message to Congress on Proposals to Strengthen the Major Elementary and Secondary Education Programs 28.2.1978, 25th Congress 2nd Session House Document 95-296 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] JC DPS: Records of the Domestic Policy Staff -Elizabeth Abramowitz Subject Files Box 4 File 7 Comprehensive Education Policy.

⁵⁶ Memorandum for the President from Joseph Califano on the Final Elementary and Secondary Education Legislative Proposals 14.2.1978, 12 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] JC DPS: Records of the Domestic Policy Staff -Elizabeth Abramowitz Subject Files Box 9 File 6 File 6 Elementary and Secondary Education Package, 2.

bilingual education classes to 'broaden the understanding of children about language and cultural heritages other than their own.'⁵⁷

The use of English speaking-students in bilingual and bicultural coursework was also a feature of Canadian bilingual education, in particular in the province of Ontario as a report by the Minister of Education Thomas Wells (Progressive Conservative MP Minister of Education 1972-1978) demonstrated. Wells argued that Franco-Ontarian policies allowing the co-teaching of both English and French speaking students, encouraged 'greater achievement' in bilingual schools and aided students to prepare for integration into the diverse social environment.⁵⁸ The frequent participation of Canadian scholars in the Washington International Conference of Education and the Annual International Conference on Bilingual Education throughout the period indicated the source for the transmission of such ideas through the US, in particular those assistant secretaries of education who attended or received reports from said conferences⁵⁹. In conjunction with this similarity in bilingual/bicultural policy, the addition of 'Franco-American' as a distinct minority group in need of actionable defence likewise solidifies a transnational connection between these nations.⁶⁰ The relative effect of the changes that the Window Rock papers would then provide to Canadian aboriginal policies (referred to as First Nations) was less clearly defined during this period.

⁵⁷ Draft Bill Elementary and Secondary Education Act Extension, 85 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] JC DPS: Records of the Domestic Policy Staff -Elizabeth Abramowitz Subject Files Box 9 File 4 Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1978.

⁵⁸ Review of Educational Policies in Canada: Ontario 1975, 68-69, 171 [Library and Archives Canada: Ottawa] COP.YZ.790.

⁵⁹ Various Memoranda [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] Jimmy Carter Ethnic Affairs Stephen Aiello Subject Files Box 3 File 4 Education Multicultural: Conference in the White House 5/80-8/80.

⁶⁰ Stuart Eizenstat and Elizabeth Abramowitz, Memorandum for the President on the Education Amendments Bill of 1978, 1-2 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] JC DPS: Records of the Domestic Policy Staff -Elizabeth Abramowitz Subject Files Box 6 File 5 Education Amendments of 1978.

Despite significant inroads towards a more complex acceptance of ethnic and racial diversity, especially in the US context as policies began to move outside of a purely 'black and white' construct during the later 1970s, a key stumbling block to providing a fuller incorporation of multicultural education programmes in these nations' schools was due to the reluctance of departments of education to recognize both bilingual and bicultural facets to legislation and educational programs. For example, despite several commentators using these words interchangeably (or at least as using cultural arguments as part of a unified bilingual policy), notably in Canadian reports on bilingual teaching discussed above; UK analyses of the effects of bilingualism in the 1975 Bullock Report 'A Language for Life;' and in the US when Gabe Paxton Jr (acting Deputy Commissioner, Office of Indian Education 1976 and Deputy Director, Office of Indian Education Programs 1981) offered proposals to the Office of Bilingual-Bicultural Education. Yet, the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) hesitated to include either bicultural or multicultural instruction as a particular focus for resulting programme assistance after the institution of ESEA 1978. Secretary for HEW Joseph Califano would caution President Carter in a memorandum on the final Elementary and Secondary Education Act proposals to expect criticism by 'Colorado, the Southwest' and other areas with significant Hispanic populations, Elizabeth Abramowitz added a further notation of 'Far West,' on an attached summary, of the new education act based on the lack of 'cultural instruction' as part of a purpose driven linguistic program for non-majority students.⁶¹ The resulting criticisms would stress what others, including Califano himself, had already noted—that further research, into the

⁶¹ Memorandum for the President from Joseph Califano on the Final Elementary and Secondary Education Legislative Proposals 14.2.1978, 11-12 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] JC DPS: Records of the Domestic Policy Staff -Elizabeth Abramowitz Subject Files Box 9 File 6 File 6 Elementary and Secondary Education Package 2.

effectiveness and appropriateness of emphasis on diverse cultures was necessary, including research into the policymaking of other nations.

Inequality Research, Human Rights, and Education Policy Planning

Education policy planning was a central feature of UNESCO research conferences, especially the International Institute for Educational Planning, the International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights, and the International Bureau of Education. The streams of thought that would feed into multicultural education were often major foci for these conferences, including language teaching, integration, proper exercise of human and civil rights, and teaching tolerance. Canada and France, in particular, would prove active participants in creating policies for teaching of human rights that the UK would incorporate into similar proposed curricular developments, especially those relating to multicultural education policies (as will be discussed in a further section). The participation of the UK, US, Canada, and France at these conferences throughout 1975-1978 provided key insights into the manner by which the nations demonstrated their commitment to providing complex solutions to the problems of integration and diverse communities and teaching tolerance, and their influence on the development of concurrent policies in other nations. Two interrelated meetings were held in 1978 under the auspices of UNESCO, the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) seminar in 1978-1979 and the International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights (ICTHR). In the proceedings for both of these meetings, a distinct image of the proper methodologies of multiculturalist education policy and multicultural education policy itself was developed. It can be argued that education policymakers in all four nations had at least an initial focus on language teaching as a primary instigator for appropriate integration of diverse communities.

The policy documents submitted to the IIEP on inequality research from Michel Debeauvais (Former French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Director IIEP) and Stacy Churchill (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education) offered a strong case for the encouragement of Canadian-style multiculturalism as a means by which to establish further development of equal opportunities for all groups. Debeauvais argued that such inequalities were not limited to those of ethnicity or race but in fact included sex discrimination, and inequalities based on 'socio-professional categories, between regions, between urban and rural areas' therefore expanding the definition of those groups needing special attentions to achieve equality of opportunity.⁶² Further documents would take up such themes, stressing the importance of new and innovative education reforms to increase the experience of equality for all groups facing inequity, including but not limited to ethnic minority groups. Such arguments would play off philosophical arguments developed in 1975 by the International Bureau of Education (UNESCO affiliate organization dedicated to curricular developments) whereby education was developed as a mean by which 'man' could be 'educated from the point of view of his aptitudes and responsibilities' with a view toward 'his integration and participation in a given society and his reaching out towards the future of that society which is inseparable from the destiny of the world.'⁶³ Therefore, education was not only focussed on the teaching of specific subjects, nor was the end focus that of integration of individuals into the whole of society, but the eventual participation of that individual in a future tolerant society.

⁶² Michel Debeauvais, 'Preface,' Papers Submitted to the Seminar on Inequalities in Educational Development, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1978-1979, 5 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy].

⁶³ 'Educational Goals and Theories' Final Report International Bureau of Education Meeting Geneva 1975 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy].

Stacy Churchill argued that despite the IIEP seminar intending to expand the scope of policies directed at reducing inequality, further work was necessary to defend the incorporation of bilingual and multilingual teaching into expanded policy frameworks.⁶⁴ Citing primarily Canadian policies and research deriving from the province of Ontario, Churchill highlighted the overall inequality still faced by Franco-Canadians, despite encouraging improvements to the acceptance of French as an official language of instruction, using an interesting view of 'tolerance' as an overall negative phrase.⁶⁵ This use of tolerance as a word with more in common with sufferance rather than the prevailing definition of tolerance as acceptance offered an intriguing glimpse into the beginnings of a greater shift in policymakers prospective toward détente. The need for vigilance was a theme highlighted by the International Conference on the Teaching of Human Right. As Louis Pettiti (Founder of the Department of Human Rights Education at the Paris Bar Association and General Rapporteur of the ICTHR 1978) argued: 'let us not be lulled by the belief that our countries respect human rights.'⁶⁶ Churchill highlighted in her document various examples of such perceived policy malaise. Whereby, despite acceptance and celebration of French language schools in new multiculturalist education systems throughout Canada, such systems remained focussed on a 'transition into the greater English-language society of North America' rather than an acceptance of these French schools and citizens as essential permanent members of society.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Stacy Churchill, 'Inequalities between Linguistic Groups: Costs and Educational Services for Minority Language Groups,' Papers Submitted to the Seminar on Inequalities in Educational Development, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1978-1979, 15 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy].

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁶⁶ Louis Pettiti, 'Report Given by the General Rapporteur,' Proceedings of the International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights Vienna, 12-16 September 1978, 259[UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights, Working Documents and Recommendations 1978.

⁶⁷ Stacy Churchill, 'Inequalities between Linguistic Groups: Costs and Educational Services for Minority Language Groups,' Papers Submitted to the Seminar on Inequalities in Educational Development, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1978-1979, 18 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy].

Indeed, Churchill argued that the new language teaching policies in Canada represented small 'concessions' to the political minority which did not break an overall assimilationist trend in Canadian schools.⁶⁸ Churchill demonstrated that in Canada several streams of policy were applied depending on the linguistic, ethnic, and racial category represented. For First Canadians (aboriginal and/or Native Americans), provincial governments used an assimilationist model, yet a multiculturalism model, which Churchill compares to a 'heritage languages' model, had been used for the largest minority group (Franco-Canadians).⁶⁹ This compelling analysis of failures in Canadian policy was then compared to similar developments in the United States, where such linguistic policies were intended to incorporate such individuals into the majority at the cost of their cultural uniqueness, the melting pot in this case providing the impetus for the creation of a new whole while destroying the constituent elements of the individual parts. The comparison to US policy, while not wholly accurate as the melting pot theory has been consistently broken down into more multifaceted variations, helps once more to demonstrate the influence of the US on Canadian education policies.⁷⁰

At the International Conference on the Teaching of Human Rights (ICTHR), held in Vienna 12-16 September 1978, the necessity of a combination of in-school and out-of-school education was heralded as the answer to eliminating persistent inequalities. As a corollary to the UNESCO programme of Lifelong Learning (a favourite policy of French education policymakers as the solution to difficulties incorporating multicultural education policy into the national curriculum),

⁶⁸ Stacy Churchill, 'Inequalities between Linguistic Groups: Costs and Educational Services for Minority Language Groups,' Papers Submitted to the Seminar on Inequalities in Educational Development, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1978-1979, 18

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Allison Skerrett, 'Racializing Educational Change: Melting Pot and Mosaic Influences on Educational Policy and Practice,' *Journal of Educational Change* 9 (2008): 261-280.

the teaching of Human Rights as a particular discipline in schools was often highlighted as one of many methods by which an appropriately tolerant mind-set could be inculcated in the young. The French National Commission to UNESCO played a major role, as rapporteurs in this conference and was responsible for the overall message during the collation of documents and commission of final draft reports. In these documents, therefore, the mission of French education systems was delivered, in particular the conception of French education as a means by which to promote 'the rights of groups particularly exposed to discrimination, such as indigenous populations, national, ethnic, linguistic, religious, and other minorities.'⁷¹

In the opening address to the ICTHR 1978, UNESCO Director General Amadou-Mahatar M'Bow argued succinctly that the teaching of human rights was not only a necessary addition to the curriculum of all schools but a key training for students into an 'awareness' of other cultures and diversities that could not be achieved without a strong relationship between 'the teacher and the taught—the parent and the child, the educator and the pupil.'⁷² The idea that human rights education was not only the province of the educator but could be a factor in relationships between any two individuals was not meant to indicate that teaching of tolerance should occur on an *ad hoc* basis. Instead, teaching of tolerance and the necessary acceptance of the humanity and human rights of others needed to be monitored and training sessions expanded to include university teachers (as these universities would be responsible for teaching primary and

⁷¹ Final Document from International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights, Proceedings of the International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights Vienna, 12-16 September 1978, 43 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights, Working Documents and Recommendations 1978.

⁷² Amadou-Mahatar M'Bow, Opening Address to International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights, Proceedings of the International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights Vienna, 12-16 September 1978, 19 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights, Working Documents and Recommendations 1978.

secondary educators) to help control the message.⁷³ Thus there was recognition by UNESCO of the influence of other teaching arenas on the development of an individual's perspective, and a related desire to control these influences and promote a singular message of tolerance through all avenues, including the educational influence of the parent-child relationship through the Lifelong Learning initiative and continuing education.⁷⁴ The report, given by Louis Pettiti, defended such a view by arguing that programme proposed as a result of this conference planned to integrate 'the subject into all disciplines,' meaning incorporation of human rights teaching not as a separate subject but as an addition to history teaching, language teaching, science and technology; and to use these teachings in 'the context of the family, the school, the post-school world and the world of employment.'⁷⁵

The encouragement of further innovation was a continuing theme of the International Bureau of Education as is indicated by their consecutive meetings in Geneva (1975 and 1980) and in Paris (1976). In a paper entitled 'Educational Goals, Studies and Surveys in Comparative Education,' prepared for the 1980 meeting of the International Bureau of Education Charles Fitouri (member of the IBE board who often served as a rapporteur on various UNESCO working groups on comparative education) argued that much of the innovation in education policy throughout the 1960s and 1970s needed to be reorganized and reconsidered as these were 'more or less founded on the various socialist schools of thought' and were increasingly untenable due to the

⁷³ Amadou-Mahatar M'Bow, Opening Address to International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights, Proceedings of the International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights Vienna, 12-16 September 1978, 21.

⁷⁴ Final Document from International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights Proceedings of the International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights Vienna, 12-16 September 1978, 39[UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights, Working Documents and Recommendations 1978.

⁷⁵ Louis Pettiti, 'Report Given by the General Rapporteur,' Proceedings of the International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights Vienna, 12-16 September 1978, 257[UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights, Working Documents and Recommendations 1978.

proliferation of such diversity of ideas.⁷⁶ Therefore, new research into the 'ideal man' that would be created by new educational programmes, one that would not be overly focussed on socialist or elitist ideologies, was highlighted for further work.⁷⁷ The potential diversity of what this 'ideal man' would look like was downplayed overall by the documents as instead points of major similarities between nations employing innovative techniques were flagged up as distinctive features of integrative education policy. For example, in a discussion on the theoretical aspects of the problem of setting achievable educational goals, Robert Cowen (Lecturer Institute of Education (1976) and Consultant to the International Bureau of Education) argued that 'the agencies which codify the goals are national governments and ministries of education' who therefore share a similar bureaucratic network and language; and subsequently face similar national and international problems.⁷⁸

In Cowen's view, the problems of establishing 'national unity' and deciding 'how to conceive and establish social justice and social harmony' were among those which when considered collectively by these nations resulted in relatively similar policies from each.⁷⁹ The similarity of education policies indicated that, while the national distinctions remained, an overall trend toward education as the prime mover in developing an integrated and tolerant society could be attributed to similar systems rather than purely similar notions and an equal commitments to such policies. Thereby, the differential application of policies, such as multicultural education policy, during this era could also be attributed to systemic rather than ideological shifts. For example,

⁷⁶ Charles Fitouri 'Educational Goals, Studies and Surveys in Comparative Education,' International Bureau of Education (Paris: UNESCO 1980), 5.

⁷⁷ Charles Fitouri 'Educational Goals, Studies and Surveys in Comparative Education,' International Bureau of Education, 14.

⁷⁸ J.A. Lawerys and R. Cowen 'Theoretical Aspects of the Problem' in *Educational Goals, Studies and Surveys in Comparative Education*, International Bureau of Education (Paris: UNESCO 1980), 28.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

Cowen further argued that while the educational goals of these nations were perceptibly similar, the new school systems created to achieve such goals were quite different in the cases of the US, UK, and France. In the US, Cowen noted that the process of 'equalization' focussed on minority ethnic groups while in the UK and France such equality of opportunity was much more diffuse and intended a gradual increase in opportunity for all groups rather than the raising of standards of one group toward the majority.⁸⁰

Exporting Canadian Multiculturalism: Multicultural Education Policies

As has been argued in preceding chapters (See Chapter 3 and 4 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism Report), the Canadian definition of multiculturalism and initial application of multicultural education policies proved influential in the development of similar policies in the US, UK, and France. The shifts in Canadian cultural policies provided a template by which UK and US education ministers could cast their own cultural and educational policies through the later 1970s and into the 1980s. While the effect of the Canadian cultural experiments proved less decisive in the case of French cultural policies, the recognition of the broader themes of Canadian multiculturalism, including the planning and implementation of policies meant to establish equality of opportunity for all groups and the recognition of the contributions of minority cultural groups to the life of the nation as a whole, would prove a significant attribute of proposed cultural policies in France as well as the other comparator nations.

While by no means complete, the institution of Canadian multiculturalism was unique in its imposition into law of protections for and encouragement of cultural diversity. The application of

⁸⁰ J.A. Lawerys and R. Cowen 'Theoretical Aspects of the Problem' in *Educational Goals, Studies and Surveys in Comparative Education*, International Bureau of Education, 38.

the law into practice, however, proved less unique as the federalism of the Canadian provinces, much like federalism in the US and independence of various segments of English and Welsh education in the UK, would stymie the full integration of policies throughout Canada. In a series of analyses on cultural policies, ordered by UNESCO, the UK, US, Canada, and France would present their then current cultural policies and defend their solutions to their reported successes and failures. Canada's report may have been the final one presented by these comparators (the US, UK, and France published their findings in 1969 and 1970), though correlation between these reports and the relationship extended between Canada and the other nations, in particularly the US, makes it valuable to consider these works as a cluster of interrelated cultural policies. The reports themselves were tuned toward a desire for interchange as these accounts were intended to emphasize common problems and solutions attempted.⁸¹ At the fifteenth General Conference of UNESCO, cultural policy working groups established that cultural policy would mean 'a body of operational principles, administrative and budgetary practices and procedures which provide a basis for cultural action' and recognized that such a definition would mean that all nation's cultural policies would be tailored to their own cultural environment.⁸² For these comparator nations, cultural and educational policies were often inextricably linked, education (as discussed in Chapters 2 and 4) was a key element in propagating cultural narratives. The definitions of cultural policy therefore were always intended to vary widely and the definition of many nations of cultural policy as revolving primarily around the arts rather than ethnic or racial diversities and related cultural concerns of immigration was understood and acknowledged.⁸³

⁸¹ Preface to the Cultural Policy Series in *Studies and Documents on Cultural Policies: Aspects of Canadian Cultural Policy* by D. Paul Shafer (Paris: UNESCO, 1976) 7.

⁸² Charles C. Mark, *A Study of Cultural Policy in the United States* (Paris: UNESCO, 1969) 7.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 7.

In fact, the US report of 1969, written by Charles C Mark (Director of the Office of State and Community Operations National Endowment for the Arts), reprinted the opening statement of the US to the fifteenth General Conference that the US had no 'official cultural position either public or private' so that the individualistic freedom of cultural expression in the United States might be preserved and referenced the constitution as the primary stumbling block to establishing such wide ranging conventions.⁸⁴ The reference to the US Constitution, and the recognition that major amendment to the constitution would need to be effected prior to the imposition of a cultural law for the US, would buttress a significantly limited view on what a US cultural policy would entail.⁸⁵ The UK report, written by Michael Green and Michael Wilding (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies of the University of Birmingham) argued likewise that there was a 'traditional distaste for such planning in Great Britain' and emphasised the work of the Arts Council and British Film Institute as primarily involved in creating a central cultural policy (again meaning the arts) rather than the government.⁸⁶

Despite meaning primarily artistic pursuits, the US argument on cultural policy would use several phrases better suited to an overall multicultural education policy rather than a purely arts and leisure policy as was stated officially. For example, Marks argues that the 'United States cultural policy at this time is the deliberate encouragement of multiple cultural forces' signifying a culmination of US agreement on the need for 'free debate' and 'diverse choices.'⁸⁷ Secondary

⁸⁴ Charles C. Mark, *A Study of Cultural Policy in the United States*, 9.

⁸⁵ The 10th amendment to the US Constitution enshrines such federalism into law by stating that powers that are not instituted directed to the Federal Government by the constitution are given over to the states. As education and cultural policy are not directly referenced in the constitution as in the purview of the US government it would therefore be understood that such policies devolve to the states themselves. Yet, the fact that such federalism was an amendment to the constitution rather than part of the original document would indicate that there was considerable legal leeway to grant such policies.

⁸⁶ Michael Green and Michael Wilding, *Cultural Policy in Great Britain* (Paris: UNESCO, 1970) 56.

⁸⁷ Charles C. Mark, *A Study of Cultural Policy in the United States*, 11.

education was likewise referenced as a key battleground for those espousing the need for diverse cultural experiences and the anti-intellectualist stream in American cultural appreciation.⁸⁸ The transnational development of US policies was also represented by the comparison Marks draws between UK and French cultural policies, as all three policies were remarkably similar. The tactic Marks took to establish the unique cultural heritage of the US was almost apologist as he indicated that the US was 'entirely a nation of immigrants' and that the 'only indigenous culture was that of the Indians who were driven from their land and destroyed as a people.'⁸⁹ An emphasis on the influence of minority cultures from overseas, including those of African Americans, rather than the Native Americans was a common theme for this period of US policymaking (see Chapter 4) and would reflect the rather hesitant treatment of minority groups, outside of the recognized minority African Americans, in multicultural education policies in the United States.

In the French report on cultural policy, much like the Canadian report, a French governmental ministry would take control of the proceedings and analyses of cultural policy. In this case, the French Ministry of Culture, founded in 1959 (see Chapter 3) would provide a full report on their ministerial planning for the 1970s and proposed extensions to their current educational and cultural policies regarding integration and diversity. Augustin Girard, France Fondeur, André Kerever, and Guy Tellenne of the Studies and Research Department of the French Ministry of Culture presented a range of problems for the French cultural ministry while outlining the overall French cultural policy including an acknowledgement of the apparently 'paradoxical, even

⁸⁸ Charles C. Mark, *A Study of Cultural Policy in the United States*, 14.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 12-14.

disquieting' nature of policy planning for culture in a 'liberal and pluralistic country.'⁹⁰ In this view, the cultural policy of France was instituted to take into account the very diversity of argument, feelings, and perspectives of the whole of the French people and reaffirmed the commitment of the French government to preserve the individual freedom of all peoples to their own cultural diversity. For the French Ministry of Culture it was not within their purview to dictate a single cultural norm, but to plan 'the means whereby culture is disseminated and can be shared in.'⁹¹ The means by which these ministers proposed to inculcate appreciation for diverse culture remained firmly the province of educators and national education and the state was proffered the responsibility of ensuring that cultural promotion 'measures [were] taken to improve the quality of social life by the communication of men's ideas, thoughts and works.'⁹² Education was granted the power not only to transmit the message but also to become the conduit through which cultural integration and appreciation would be achieved.⁹³

A further development proposed through French cultural policy was the transformative nature of education and its effect on cultural appropriation. For example, culture and education were considered in official circles to be linked processes that together teach an individual how to 'adapt,' meaning that education with a framework allowing for diverse cultural experiences would allow individuals a more adaptive (read flexible) mind.⁹⁴ In this way, while the state and government would direct the overall goals and means by which culture would be circulated, local and indeed individual relationships to that information would provide the direct impetus of the

⁹⁰ Augustin Girard, France Fondeur, André Kerever, and Guy Telenne, *Some Aspects of French Cultural Policy* (Paris: UNESCO, 1970) 9.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, 9-10.

⁹² *Ibid*, 12.

⁹³ Allison Skerrett, 'Racializing Educational Change: Melting Pot and Mosaic Influences on Educational Policy and Practice' *Journal of Educational Change* 9 (2008): 261-280.

⁹⁴ Augustin Girard, France Fondeur, André Kerever, and Guy Telenne, *Some Aspects of French Cultural Policy*, 13.

final shift into the desired community; the example given in this report was a methodology similar to town planning where there were local foci and national arms of control working together to achieve various ends.

The Canadian report on their cultural policy, when it was published in 1976, drew on these reports to find a balance between the US and UK's relatively limited scope for cultural policy and its influence on local concerns and the more broadly framed French report. From the first, D. Paul Schafer (Canadian Consultant to UNESCO and Canada's Department of External Affairs) established a distinction between the US concept of the melting pot in favour of the Canadian mosaic where 'immigrants should have the freedom to retain their cultural identity or to assimilate with other traditions.'⁹⁵ This version of cultural pluralism, outlined in the US, UK and French reports as a factor in the dualism between education and cultural policy discussed above, was reiterated as a 'guiding principle for future development' in Canada.⁹⁶

The implementation of a multiculturalist policy was influenced by both federal and provincial authorities. The model for Canadian multiculturalism, and through multiculturalism toward multicultural education policy in general, was the resolution of the tensions between French- and English-speaking Canadians. Schafer argued that it was their decision to coexist 'as separate entities' rather than submit to 'uniform existence through assimilation' that created the pattern of the Canadian mosaic that multiculturalism had now established as the goal for Canadian institutions.⁹⁷ Regardless of such intentional patterning, the actual acquisition of a fully

⁹⁵ D. Paul Schafer *Studies and Documents on Cultural Policies: Aspects of Canadian Cultural Policy* (Paris: UNESCO 1976), 16-17.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 17.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 20.

multicultural framework for each Canadian institution was 'slow to materialize' as the provincial governments lagged behind governmental imposition of various policies, and in particular the lack of a federal department of education with widespread implementation powers prevented the full employment of multicultural education policy throughout Canada.⁹⁸

Likewise, the progress of certain western provinces to the imposition of multiculturalist policies were negatively affected by the US-Canadian relationship, and a concurrent strain on Canada caused by economic and population dominance of Canada by the US rather than transnational crossings of a cultural or educational nature. Reports on the relationship between the US and Canada played a major role in determining the directionality of such influence, in particular the influence of the US on Canadian education and cultural policies. For Schafer, the influence of the US had an assimilative effect, with Canadians of all heritages banding together to create a Canadian culture focussing on what these communities had in common as opposed to what was perceived as an American culture.⁹⁹ American reports on the Canadian perspective on such cultural flows concurred. The US Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs in 1977 argued that 'Canadians have no intention of turning off the flow of our culture to Canada, even though they may not prefer it.'¹⁰⁰ The complementary concerns of both allowing American cultural ideas to flow through Canada and simultaneously the impulse to guard against the undue influence of such flows on Canadians was thus recognized in American sources as well as Canadian. For example, the report by Pierre-André Bissonnette (Assistant

⁹⁸ D. Paul Schafer *Studies and Documents on Cultural Policies: Aspects of Canadian Cultural Policy*, 21-22.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 22.

¹⁰⁰ Leonard H. Marks, 'Commission Comments' [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Assistant Secretaries of ED Records 1977-1980 Box 11 11 International Education Jan-June 1977 International Educational and Cultural Exchange Vol XII no4 Spring 1977.

Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs) 'Canada's Cultural Explosion,' included in the files for the *International Educational and Cultural Exchange* magazine 1977, stressed that 'Canadians have...a distinctively bilingual and multicultural society' that needed to be encouraged and protected.¹⁰¹ Yet, unlike the Canadian reports, the American materials invariably emphasized the common ground between Canada and the US.

The establishment of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 was arguably the culmination of research and debate in Canada over the necessity of multiculturalism and multicultural education as the primary education policy. This policy represented a fuller and more comprehensive implementation of Canadian multiculturalism policy and provided the recognition of a multicultural heritage for all Canadians directly in the Canadian constitution. The legislative and legal changes in Canada were internationally recognized as key shifts in cultural policy development, as the French Ministry of Culture had been evaluating Canadian cultural policy since 1980 in a pervasive manner as it had invited members 'who felt closely or remotely connected with culture' to an UNESCO committee on cultural development (directly analysing Canadian policy).¹⁰² Canadian multiculturalism policy was adopted quite slowly by some provinces with Saskatchewan adopting its first policy in 1974 and Alberta and Manitoba adopting legislation only after the Canadian Charter in 1984.¹⁰³ There was also considerable allowance for different provinces to adopt a linguistically altered perspective on such legislation. For example, the multiculturalist policy in Quebec, referred to as interculturalism, recognized

¹⁰¹ Pierre-André Bissonnette, 'Canada's Cultural Explosion,' 1 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Assistant Secretaries of ED Records 1977-1980 Box 11 11 International Education Jan-June 1977 International Educational and Cultural Exchange Vol XII no4 Spring 1977.

¹⁰² Augustin Girard and Geneviève Gentil, *Cultural Development: Experiences and Policies* (Paris: UNESCO, 1983), 28.

¹⁰³ Michael Dewing, 'Background Paper: Canadian Multiculturalism' 2013, 10-11 [Ottawa, Ontario: Library of Parliament Canada] Publication No 2009-20-E 14.5-2013

and recognizes diverse cultural groups, but only in the 'framework that establishes the unquestioned supremacy of French in the language and culture of Quebec.'¹⁰⁴ Despite language that established a hierarchy for various cultural groups within Quebec, it must be noted that the Franco-Canadian itself was a minority linguistic group within the whole of Canada if not Quebec. Consequently, the establishment of a hierarchy with French at the top in Quebec could arguably be a part of a national scheme to incorporate and defend the right of these minority groups to establish their own cultural milieu within Canada. Additional legislation in 1986 in Quebec would intensify such an understanding as the *Declaration on Intercultural and Interracial Relations* grants the full participation of every person in the economic, social and cultural development of Quebec, regardless of colour, religion, ethnic or national origin.¹⁰⁵ This legislation seemingly eliminated the references to a hierarchy of cultures after the successful establishment of a place for a Franco-Canadian Quebec within the federal Canadian agenda and political system.

French UNESCO and Culture

An analysis of Canadian multiculturalism by French Ministry of Culture consultants to UNESCO in 1983 provided a pathway through which France could adapt certain measures and apply these to French educational and cultural institutions. After the Intergovernmental Conference on Institutional, Administrative and Financial Aspects of Cultural Policies at Venice 1970, Augustin Girard (Director of the Studies and Research Department of the French Ministry of Culture) was asked along with Geneviève Gentil (rapporteur for the European cultural data-bank project) to

¹⁰⁴ Michael Dewing, 'Background Paper: Canadian Multiculturalism' 2013, 12.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

write a comprehensive book on their findings. A second edition of this work in 1983 would incorporate various policy shifts, including the effects of Canadian policies on comparative French ones.¹⁰⁶ A final French turn away from pure assimilation and towards a 'French' methodology of multiculturalism was visible in these reports, in particular the argument that it was 'unrealistic to try to unify [cultures] or to sacrifice on to the other; the aim of a cultural policy is to establish a dynamic equilibrium between individual culture and universal culture.'¹⁰⁷ By this means, French cultural and the related educational policies outlined by the Ministry of Culture outlined a proposed multiculturalism that allowed pluralism amongst diverse communities to remain as long as a balance was retained between majority and minority cultures.

For France, the main institution through which to ensure multiculturalism was the nation's Lifelong Learning initiative. It was through the education programs set up to ensure lifelong learning and continuing education that multiculturalism in terms of a 'multiplicity of cultural possibilities' that could 'face up to change.'¹⁰⁸ US lifelong learning policies, by comparison, that purported to follow the same UNESCO mandate in creating US policies were instead focussed more on literacy as a goal in and of itself rather than a more nuanced cultural action plan.¹⁰⁹ The French plan, by contrast, argued that cultural diversity allowed for greater understanding amongst French communities and brokered peace between communities that could be angered by policies establishing a singular French cultural identity.¹¹⁰ A wider mandate, similar to the

¹⁰⁶ Augustin Girard and Geneviève Gentil, *Cultural Development: Experiences and Policies* (Paris: UNESCO, 1983), 1.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 20.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 21.

¹⁰⁹ Mary Berry, 'Toward A Comprehensive Federal Education Policy: A Paper Prepared by the Federal Interagency Committee on Education' April 1978, 76-78 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] JC DPS: Records of the Domestic Policy Staff -Elizabeth Abramowitz Subject Files Box 4 File 7 Comprehensive Education Policy.

¹¹⁰ Augustin Girard and Geneviève Gentil, *Cultural Development: Experiences and Policies*, 22.

Canadian system, was established as multicultural policies were established in the Ministry of National Education, and Foreign Affairs. Girard and Gentil directly credit the Quebec Council for Cultural Development (1976) as an inspiration for the wider application of multiculturalist measures throughout the French government as 'state intervention in an increasingly wider field of responsibility brought an added urgency to the problem' and brought more disparate departments, such as the immigration department, into a central scheme of integration without assimilation.¹¹¹ By 1982, the Ministry of Culture advocated a much more administrative method under the patronage of the Ministry of Education by which to ensure creative action among institutions and coordination of treatment of those with different cultures.¹¹² These actions would result in a new policy towards the foreign languages of minority cultures including the teaching of minority languages to 'preserve their cultural identity' and to 'activate a culture' or 'memory' through the relation of their cultural story.¹¹³

The Carter White House and Multicultural Education

In Jimmy Carter's White House, much like LBJ's Great Society, many of the domestic policy staff focussed on the twin goals of providing greater equality of opportunity for all US citizens and reforming the education system to promote stronger ties to the national and international communities among students. One of the missions of the Carter educational secretaries was to establish a comprehensive, viable, ethnically sensitive education policy that could enact multicultural education programmes in schools, assist in language acquisition, and assist in the

¹¹¹ Augustin Girard and Geneviève Gentil, *Cultural Development: Experiences and Policies*, 27-28.

¹¹² Statutes for the Association for a Different Culture Article 3 [Archive Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 19870646-61 Culture-Intervention Culturelles 1983-1986 12 ACD Association pour une Culture Différente 1984 Colloque langues et cultures minorisées 24 et 25 Mars 1984.

¹¹³ Teaching of Minority Languages and Cultures, 3-4 [Archive Nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine] 19870646-61 Culture-Intervention Culturelles 1983-1986 12 ACD Association pour une Culture Différente 1984 Colloque langues et cultures minorisées 24 et 25 Mars 1984.

final desegregation of US schools (as discussed above). The Office of Ethnic Affairs, headed by Stephen Aiello, provided much of the stimulus toward the imposition of multicultural education policy. Despite a demonstrably small department, comprised of Aiello himself, a deputy, and two administrative assistants, the Office of Ethnic Affairs had a clear influence on presidential policy during this period.¹¹⁴ For example, Aiello's statement that the 'composition of American society is analogous to a beautiful mosaic' where 'each separate part retains its own integrity and identity while adding to and being a part of the whole' was not only lifted almost verbatim from the Canadian multiculturalism documents, but was also adopted as part of the official Democratic Platform in 1980.¹¹⁵ The proposals of the Office of Ethnic Affairs thus provide a window into the policymaking process that created a bilingual and multicultural education policy in the United States that considered not only the needs of African American integration, but also those of Hispanic Americans and Native Americans among other groups, such as minority Catholic migrants.

For Aiello, there was a key difference between bilingual and multicultural education, though these did work often more effectively together. Bilingual education was often reduced as it was by other education policymakers down to the competency in other languages and the needed education in the majority language of those with a minority language as their first language. Multicultural education, on the other hand, could be more innovative and integrative in technique as 'each of us must know and accept one's own cultural identity and must come to understand and

¹¹⁴ Memorandum to Jack Watson from Stephen Aiello, 14.11.1980 'Transition Information' [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] Jimmy Carter Ethnic Affairs Stephen Aiello Subject Files Box 1 File 2 Accomplishments of the Office of Ethnic Affairs.

¹¹⁵ Ethnic American Affairs Platform [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] Jimmy Carter Ethnic Affairs Stephen Aiello Subject Files Box 1 File 2 Accomplishments of the Office of Ethnic Affairs.

appreciate other.¹¹⁶ Similarly to French proposals, Aiello highlighted the potential for violence and divisiveness that could be caused, and had been caused, by assimilative techniques and indicated that stronger governmental intervention would be necessary to complete the integration of such policies throughout the US.¹¹⁷

The connection to international education programs would be ensured by a new office of bilingual and multicultural education, Education and Minority Languages Affairs, in the Department of Education hierarchy. These ideas were not limited to Aiello's department, and in fact had found purchase in other policymaking circles, for example in April 1980 the Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education, the State Board of Education/Illinois Office of Education, The Midwest Resource Centre for Bilingual Education-ESEA Title VII and The Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity, The American Jewish Committee had a conference on 'Language, Culture, identity in American Life: A New Multi-Ethnic Agenda for the 80's'. During this event, within Panel A 'Language as an Issue in Education and Healthy Child Development,' Paul. J. Ascioffa (Director, Federal Agency Relations National Endowment for the Arts Honorary Chair Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education) argued that the reason so many had previously argued that there could be no American cultural policy, and therefore no multiculturalism, was that there had been a central confusion between the idea of a 'shared culture and a personalised and alternative culture based on choice or ethnicity.'¹¹⁸ In terms of multicultural education policies, the US outline of multicultural and bilingual education in the 1980s would specifically

¹¹⁶ Discussion Draft Bilingual and Multicultural Education 1980, 1 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] Jimmy Carter Ethnic Affairs Stephen Aiello Subject Files Box 2 File 5 Education Bilingual.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, 1-2.

¹¹⁸ Paul J. Ascioffa remarks as Chairman of Panel A 'Language as an Issue in Education and Healthy Child' at a Consultation 'Language, Culture, identity in American Life: A New Multi-Ethnic Agenda for the 80's' 8-9 April 1980, 1 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] Jimmy Carter Ethnic Affairs Stephen Aiello Subject Files Box 2 File 5 Education Bilingual.

intend to integrate multicultural education throughout the curriculum rather than as an 'add on' or an infrequent cultural heritage studies assembly.¹¹⁹ These multicultural education programs would assist in ameliorating the problems inherent in an 'American ethnocentrism' as diverse groups would be accepted as equal partners, which the Commission on Foreign Language in 1979 argued was at the centre of 'continuing interethnic and interracial strife' throughout the nation.¹²⁰

For Ascioffa, as for Aiello, the fact of American cultural pluralism had often been overshadowed by the fiction of the 'melting pot' rather than the reality of a persistent set of alternative cultures that operate as adjuncts to rather than competitors with the overall majority culture.¹²¹ For Aiello, in the outline for multicultural and bilingual education in the 1980s, 'All United States of Americans [were] hyphenated and ethnic,' which despite the awkward phrasing was a key reference to the trend towards creating differentiations between Americans (African-Americans for example as the primary minority ethnic/racial category). By creating a unity through diversity, the American conception of multiculturalism, rather like the Canadian concepts, brought together a cultural imperative based on 'multi-ethnicity' rather than a uniform expression of single American identity.¹²² This connection to Canadian policies was in direct relationship to the consistent contact between members of the Office for Ethnic Affairs and the Canadian Minister of Culture and Communications (Jim Fleming in 1980) both in specific meetings between these

¹¹⁹ Outline of Multicultural and Bilingual Education: Challenge of the 1980s, 1 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] Jimmy Carter Ethnic Affairs Stephen Aiello Subject Files Box 2 File 5 Education Bilingual.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Paul J. Ascioffa remarks as Chairman of Panel A 'Language as an Issue in Education and Healthy Child' at a Consultation 'Language, Culture, identity in American Life: A New Multi-Ethnic Agenda for the 80's' 8-9 April 1980, 2 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] Jimmy Carter Ethnic Affairs Stephen Aiello Subject Files Box 2 File 5 Education Bilingual.

¹²² Outline of Multicultural and Bilingual Education: Challenge of the 1980s, 1 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] Jimmy Carter Ethnic Affairs Stephen Aiello Subject Files Box 2 File 5 Education Bilingual.

organizations and more circumspect meetings through the Washington Conference on Education amongst other conferences.¹²³ Aiello even sent a letters of congratulations in 1980 to Orest Kurlak (Director of the Canadian Multiculturalism Directorate) and Jim Fleming (Minster of State for Multiculturalism) on the progress of Canada toward a 'truly pluralistic society.'¹²⁴

The admiration of Canadian cultural pluralism would be spread outward from the Office of Ethnic Affairs to ethnic heritage groups and individuals across the US, including civil society groups such as the Scottish Society of Nebraska and the Pennsylvania Ethnic Heritage Studies Centre. In a form letter sent as part of a reply to any group or individual seeking an official clarification on the President's or the Office's perspective, Aiello would respond that the America has a 'richness of diversity,' but that the US 'must continue to have a national culture which has clear universal features embracing all Americans, or if you will a cluster of cultural concepts which gives us unified values, mores, and a cultural identity as Americans.'¹²⁵ This combination of ideas would prove a common theme amongst all four comparator nations. In fact, this argument mirrored several earlier arguments, including the British belief of 'unity through diversity.'¹²⁶ In this conception of multiculturalism, there was a role for both the promotion of cultural diversity as a positive contributor to the cultural environment of the nation and a centralizing narrative or culture—even if that narrative was one of pluralism and diversity.

¹²³ Memo to Tom Belford from Stephen Aiello 14.7-1980 Weekly Report [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] Jimmy Carter Ethnic Affairs Victoria Mongiardo Chron File Box 17 File 3 Chron File 7-80.

¹²⁴ Letter to Jim Fleming from Stephen Aiello 16.5.1980 and Letter to Orest Kruhlak from Stephen Aiello 29.4.1980 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] Jimmy Carter Ethnic Affairs Victoria Mongiardo Subject File Box 19 File 6 Canada Minister of Multiculturalism.

¹²⁵ Letter to Scottish Society of Nebraska from Stephen Aiello and Letter to Pennsylvania Heritage Studies Centre from Stephen Aiello and Letter to Brett Topping from Stephen Aiello 9.1980 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] Jimmy Carter Ethnic Affairs Victoria Mongiardo Chron File Box 17 File 5 Chron File 9-80.

¹²⁶ HC Paper 405 'Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration: Session 1972-1973' Education Volume 1 Report, 28 [Churchill Archives: Churchill College, Cambridge] THCR 1-6-2 Education 2.

UK Multicultural Education

UK policies that were forerunners of multicultural education had a relatively earlier start than preceding sources. Yet, as this analysis has so far focussed on the attention given to those students with a minority language as their first language as evidence of a multiculturalist tendency, an earlier period of discussion for the relationship between these policies is warranted. Preceding arguments in Chapters 2 and 3 have the influence of British bilingual policies on similar Canadian policies during the 1950s and 1960s. Further work here on the development of 1970s and 1980s bilingual and multicultural education policies, may help to solidify our impression of the reciprocal relationship between these two nations, demonstrating that the development of these policies was cyclical (as these were reassessments of preceding policies) and interrelated (following on a similar pathway of themes).

When Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister in 1979, her term represented one of those rare overlaps between a prime ministerial or presidential office and previous work in the education ministry. During 1970-1974, Thatcher had served as Education Secretary: her policies while Minister of Education and those pursued as PM offer an almost unique glimpse into the effect of changing views of policy on one politician's actions. In a report from the 1972-1973 session of the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, Thatcher highlighted a series of pieces specifically to language acquisition among minority ethnic groups. An area of concern noted by Thatcher in the margins of this work was the relatively narrow focus on Asian and West Indian ethnic groups rather than considering all immigrants more generally.¹²⁷ The report itself was disjointed and often convoluted. At one point arguing that immigrant children should not be

¹²⁷ HC Paper 405 'Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration: Session 1972-1973' Education Volume 1 Report, 1 [Churchill Archives: The Papers of Baroness Thatcher, THCR, Churchill College, Cambridge] THCR 1-6-2 Education 2

'singled out' for 'special help' as it may cause them to feel or be perceived as 'inferior' and simultaneously arguing that 'special problems need special remedies.'¹²⁸ This was perhaps a contradiction in terms, yet when considered in the light of the whole of the report can be construed as to indicate a preference for in-class bilingual teaching, where majority students take part in bilingual education alongside non-majority students (as has been indicated in positive reports from the US discussed above in relation to Elementary and Secondary Schools Act 1978 reforms). Indirect and unintentional discrimination was highlighted in the case of West Indian children as the recognition of their dialect of English as a separate language had not yet filtered through most schools, leaving an achievement gap that further attention could close for those students. In this case, the teaching of English was argued as a need for these students to gain employment and participate effectively in the school environment, but like other minority ethnic groups the retention of 'Jamaican creole' would be ensured as a means to protect and 'preserve a sense of identity.'¹²⁹ Therefore, much like the US and French examples, UK multicultural education, and bilingual education programs as adjuncts to these multiculturalist policies, would seek a certain middle ground between full assimilation and a fragmented factioning off of different ethnic groups within society.

Yet likewise UK policies focussed on 'producing pupils who [were] tolerant of their fellows even when they find them different.'¹³⁰ This type of tolerance and the unique expression of this in the UK framework found purchase in related government organizations, such as the National Foundation for Educational Research, who argued that the 'multi-racial society concerned all

¹²⁸ HC Paper 405 'Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration: Session 1972-1973' Education Volume 1 Report, 4.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, 12-13

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, 22.

areas, not just those of recent immigration concentration,' and non-governmental organizations, such as the Institute of Race Relations who agreed that the 'problem' of teaching tolerance applied to all students because otherwise it would suggest that immigrants were 'identified with a 'race problem' and that policies should be directed exclusively towards them.'¹³¹

While there was a general consensus among education policymakers that the curriculum should reflect a systemic change so that integration of ethnic and racial minorities would be achieved alongside more complex shifts in teaching morals, values, and tolerance to those of both majority and minority ethnic groups, the reality of pursuing such developments was hampered by the traditionally fragmented educational system. Changes to the system were proposed by various sources, including those Conservatives advocating a return to grammar schools and secondary moderns rather than the more general community or comprehensive schools created in the 1960s efforts to ensure all students received an education, favoured by Labour. The diversity of constituent concerns and the relative emphasis placed by the Thatcher government on suggestions on education policy was demonstrated in the different attitudes reflected in responses to constituent and the subsequent acceptance and incorporation of such suggestions into policy. In a letter to Anthony Barber (Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Policy) from HN Pauley (Lieutenant Commander in the Royal Navy, Retired), sent care of Primrose Hockey (Representative of Wales and Monmouthshire Conservatives, National Teaching Advisory Committee member), Pauley outlined what he called 'The Crisis in Education—A Voucher System to Improve Response to Parental Needs and Enhance Equality of Opportunity for Scholars.' In a voluminous document, including a sample voucher ticket that was subsequently requested for review by Thatcher, Pauley argued that 'social cohesion via Government decree

¹³¹ *Ibid*, 24-25.

would seem to be a contradiction in terms.¹³² Taking aim at the schools system that encouraged smaller, independent community schools, and those schools increasingly distanced from government control that some multiracial policies would consider necessary to eliminate socio-economic boundaries and create a more diverse set of schools, Pauley argued that with regard to statistics drawn from American sources that schools with smaller catchment areas were often less diverse than those taking enrolment from wider areas.¹³³ Rather than an appeal toward sameness, Pauley's argument seems more in line with future Thatcherite policies of school choice for parents.¹³⁴ Likewise, a degree of fairness in all areas of education was desired as Welsh schools were providing Welsh language and cultural instruction but those in primarily Pakistani districts were not receiving the same consideration.¹³⁵ The response from Barber highlighted the progress that the current government already though it had achieved, toward integration of lower socio-economic classes for example, and the potential failures of Pauley's proposed vouchers schematic as potentially more divisive as more 'popular' schools would start to charge more and thereby the equality of opportunity sought would be abrogated¹³⁶.

Conservative Backlash on Race Relations and Multicultural Education

The pace of reforms to ensure equality of opportunity became increasingly a force for change in their own right. As innovations in foreign policy, education policy, and equality rights clamoured

¹³² Letter to Anthony Barber from HN Pauley on 'The Crisis in Education—A Voucher System to Improve Response to Parental Needs and Enhance Equality of Opportunity for Scholars 30.1.1973, 10 [Churchill Archives: The Papers of Baroness Thatcher, THCR, Churchill College, Cambridge] THCR 1-6-3 Education 3.

¹³³ Letter to Anthony Barber from HN Pauley on 'The Crisis in Education—A Voucher System to Improve Response to Parental Needs and Enhance Equality of Opportunity for Scholars 30.1.1973, 12.

¹³⁴ Though these were only really set up in full after Thatcher had already left office—via City Technology Colleges under John Major and then Academies under New Labour.

¹³⁵ Letter to Anthony Barber from HN Pauley on 'The Crisis in Education—A Voucher System to Improve Response to Parental Needs and Enhance Equality of Opportunity for Scholars 30.1.1973, 12 [Churchill Archives: The Papers of Baroness Thatcher, THCR, Churchill College, Cambridge] THCR 1-6-3 Education 3.

¹³⁶ Letter from Anthony Barber to HN Pauley 30.1.1973 [Churchill Archives: The Papers of Baroness Thatcher, THCR, Churchill College, Cambridge] THCR 1-6-3 Education 3.

for the attention of national constituencies, an ideology of reform for its own sake permeated the policy networks in these nations. Increasingly, what was once an innovation (integrative education systems) became a part of the governmental fabric itself through systemic changes wrought to individual national ministries now required to adhere to centralized race relations, multiculturalism, or intercultural policies that seemingly affected everyday operations. Therefore, by the end of the period the UK and the US began to turn away from multiculturalist policies, including multicultural education policy as many in top government positions, including Thatcher in the UK and Reagan in the US, considered civil rights and race relations a completed affair. A further push for reforms in that arena was often thought of as energy that could be better utilized in more effective operations to ensure peace amongst a varied populace.

Thatcher's education policy record was overall quite heterogeneous. In some cases, Thatcher seemed purely out to make certain that the education budget remained restrained by whatever means necessary due to what she perceived as the overwhelming economic pressures of the 1970s and 1980s as a whole. For example, in 1971 Thatcher helped champion a legislative act that restricted educational authorities from providing milk to their students.¹³⁷ While a very unpopular measure, this policy did in fact assist the overall scheme towards reducing school expenditure for the new Conservative government. One major concern for this new government was a longer 'staying-on in full time education' of many students due to extension of the school leaving age now being enforced more systematically across England and Wales.¹³⁸ These costs would assist the government in 'preventing any waste of talent' and were specifically in

¹³⁷ Education (Milk) Bill 1971 [Churchill Archives: The Papers of Baroness Thatcher, THCR, Churchill College, Cambridge] THCR 1-6-1 Education 1.

¹³⁸ Conservative Education Policy for the Seventies: A Report by the Education Policy Group—July 1968, 10[Churchill Archives: The Papers of Baroness Thatcher, THCR, Churchill College, Cambridge] THCR 1-1-2 Conservative Party Group on Education.

opposition to the reorganizations that had occurred during the 1960s Labour government to 'make a more egalitarian society.'¹³⁹

While these policies appeared inflammatory at the time, in fact a more political reasoning can be assumed for opposing restructuring aimed at constructing a more egalitarian society. In fact, the use of the phrase egalitarian in such debates was often juxtaposed against 'choice' or 'equality of opportunity' thus making the denigration of new egalitarian schools quite specific, in fact meaning only comprehensive schools that were provided at the expense of grammar schools (see Chapter 4). However, further documents from the Conservative Research Department in 1973 commented very sharply on Labour policies that were 'using the educational system for social engineering purposes rather than for improving the quality of education.'¹⁴⁰ While multicultural education was admittedly quite intentionally a project of social engineering, the object as has been discussed above was primarily to teach tolerance and ensure a harmonious society. The objection of the new Conservative government appeared rather focussed on the idea that a Labour vision of social engineering should not be pursued rather than rejecting the notion that the education system could and should be used for such purposes. For example in a speech by Norman St. John-Stevas to the Conservative Association of Westfield College in 1973, the ability of 'direct grant schools [to] provide a means of social mixing' was lauded as positive force in the British schools system that created more adaptably minded individuals.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Conservative Education Policy for the Seventies: A Report by the Education Policy Group—July 1968, 10 [Churchill Archives: The Papers of Baroness Thatcher, THCR, Churchill College, Cambridge] THCR 1-1-2 Conservative Party Group on Education.

¹⁴⁰ Conservative Research Department, Commentary on Labour Policy—Education 27.6.73 [Churchill Archives: The Papers of Baroness Thatcher, THCR, Churchill College, Cambridge] THCR 1-6-2 Education 2.

¹⁴¹ Speech by Norman St. John-Stevas to Conservative Association of Westfield College 20 June 1973 [Churchill Archives: The Papers of Baroness Thatcher, THCR, Churchill College, Cambridge] THCR 1-6-2 Education 2.

A related speech by Margaret Thatcher to the Conservative Party Conference in Blackpool issued a similar concern, yet confused equality with uniformity or sameness once again as she argue that 'to seek to establish equality is to deny them the opportunity to develop their unique talents and to deny society the richness and variety which stems from human differences.'¹⁴² In this case, Thatcher quite clearly indicated that her use of the previously 'Labour' word 'equality' was meant as a political tool rather than a policy reality, especially considering her further commentary that diversity, in this case 'richness' and 'variety', should be created in part through the educational system. In future prepared statements, including the draft election manifesto in 1974, these more radical statements of 'social engineering' and the Labour policies that 'deny equality of opportunity' were crossed out by Thatcher.¹⁴³ Therefore, statements during this period of backlash appear more of a political byplay rather than definition of policy.

In the US, despite successes in education reform, and other social policies, the Carter administration's statements of ethnic policy leading into the 1980 campaign were vital in providing a further incentive that was meant to send Carter into another term as president. The Office of Ethnic Affairs suggested that Carter use his acceptance as the Democratic Party candidate to 'restate his belief that America is a beautiful, complex, interdependent mosaic of people.'¹⁴⁴ In his initial run for the White House, Carter had indeed stressed these concerns by stating that 'diversity is our strength' and that 'Ethnic Americans should be proud of the

¹⁴² Margaret Thatcher Speech to Conservative Conference at Blackpool 12 October 1973 [Churchill Archives: The Papers of Baroness Thatcher, THCR, Churchill College, Cambridge] THCR 1-1-5 Conservative Party Conference 1973.

¹⁴³ Tony Newton to Margaret Thatcher, Draft Election Manifesto, on Education 14.1-74 [Churchill Archives: The Papers of Baroness Thatcher, THCR, Churchill College, Cambridge] THCR 1-6-3 Education 3

¹⁴⁴ Stephen Aiello, Acceptance Speech Suggestions, 16.7.1980, 3 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] Jimmy Carter Ethnic Affairs Victoria Mongiardo Chron File Box 17 File 3 Chron File 7-80.

contribution they have made to this country.¹⁴⁵ Despite a strong performance in achieving the goals of integration in US schools (completed almost universally by the end of Carter's presidency) Carter during the 1980 campaign consistently fell short of needed electoral goals. Despite gaining the Democratic candidacy (as President this would be almost assured) the statements upon acceptance would prove telling of the tenor of the rest of the campaign. By focussing on the Republican Party promises and denigrating them as having 'repudiated the best traditions of their own party' Carter intended to set up his second term as the one which would bring about true equality of opportunity for all citizens and a more interrelated international community.¹⁴⁶ The political tide was, however, not with Carter and Reagan was elected by a constituency that had felt the pinch of economic crises and betrayal by what was perceived as a weak foreign policy.

The UK and the US Leave UNESCO

With the conservative forces in both the UK and the US in a position of power by 1980, it was unsurprising that both of these nations would choose to take a step back from direct participation in UNESCO and other international organizations. The US left first in 1984 (only to re-join in 2003) and the UK followed in 1985 (re-joining much earlier with New Labour in 1997). Upon reflection the decision of the UK and the US to leave UNESCO was always highly likely as the conservative governments of both nations were elected on platforms promising more realistic

¹⁴⁵ Carter-Mondale: On the Issues Jimmy Carter Speaks to Ethnic Americans p3 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] Jimmy Carter Ethnic Affairs Victoria Mongiardo Chron File Box 25 File 17 Ethnic General Concerns.

¹⁴⁶ Jimmy Carter: "Remarks Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the 1980 Democratic National Convention in New York," August 14, 1980. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=44909>

policies and a reduction in spending (contributions to UNESCO while arguably insignificant next to portions of the defence budget were nonetheless considered significant).¹⁴⁷

In practice, the US and UK took issue with several portions of the UNESCO main commissions and major programmes, including Commission 1: Major Programme 1-Reflection on World Problems and Future-Oriented Studies and Major Programme VIII- Principles, Methods, and Strategies of Action for Developments; and Commission 2: Major Programme XII—Peace International Understanding Human Rights and the Rights of Peoples. In the US and UK's perspective these commissions were much too philosophical and less concerned with real progress towards individual goals and the provision of real-world applications.¹⁴⁸ In the 1983 Report of the General Conference, the dividing lines between these nations and the rest of UNESCO became increasingly apparent.

In the discussion of various programs, a concern that such programmes of work be realistic and offer clear productive goals was apparent. In Commission 1: Major Programme 1-Reflection on World Problems and Future-Oriented Studies, the main argument for such programmes to continue was that through UNESCO they could 'ensure the integral development of man and the fulfilment of all his potential.'¹⁴⁹ While several nations took issue with such a broad statement, none were specifically named in the report, however commentary that this work programme was 'too ambitious' surely seems quite apt as individual nations and their responsibility for the

¹⁴⁷ George Foulkes and Timothy Raison, *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 5 December 1985, vol 88 col 448-449.

¹⁴⁸ Records of the General Conference 22nd Session 25 October to 26 November 1983 Volume 2 Reports: Programme Commissions, Administrative Commission, Legal Committee ,11[UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy].

¹⁴⁹ Records of the General Conference 22nd Session 25 October to 26 November 1983 Volume 2 Reports: Programme Commissions, Administrative Commission, Legal Committee ,8 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy].

creation of the ideal citizen had hitherto been considered paramount.¹⁵⁰ A much more limited role for this program was then suggested as a philosophical discussion in more limited terms of 'an expression of the wisdom of general cultures' would be more effective.¹⁵¹ The inspiration of a dialogue between and tolerance of diverse cultures as a feature of national cultural policy had then become apparent in all four comparator nations, as discussed above. In Commission 1: Major Programme VIII Principles, Methods, and Strategies of Action for Developments, while budgetary concerns were continually an issue in this work programme, especially with regard to the pursuit of varied educational and scientific aims, a general sense that the policies pursued under its auspices were more self-contained was apparent even though these recommendations followed-on from recommendations from Major Programme 1. In Commission 2 Major Programme XII—Peace International Understanding Human Rights and the Rights of Peoples another segment of concern developed for the UK and the US. While most of the commission argued that there needed to be a 'stronger link between education and peace' the exact nature of such links proved more awkward to discuss.¹⁵²

Each nation wanted to keep its independence in curricular choices and institutional delivery systems, yet an overall democratization of education was pursued by the programme. Many delegates argued that a pursuit of full democratization of education eliminated individualistic cultural choices and hindered their development of institutions that best fit their individual cultural environments. Yet, without democratization the protection of minority rights was unable

¹⁵⁰ Records of the General Conference 22nd Session 25 October to 26 November 1983 Volume 2 Reports: Programme Commissions, Administrative Commission, Legal Committee, 11.

¹⁵¹ Records of the General Conference 22nd Session 25 October to 26 November 1983 Volume 2 Reports: Programme Commissions, Administrative Commission, Legal Committee, 14.

¹⁵² Records of the General Conference 22nd Session 25 October to 26 November 1983 Volume 2 Reports: Programme Commissions, Administrative Commission, Legal Committee, 48.

to be wholly assured in all nations. The UK in this case expressed a concern that democratization could not occur in the UK due to the 'powers of local authorities and...the autonomy of the family, of schools.'¹⁵³ The US and Canada likewise expressed their 'reservations' due to the federalism of a state/provincial dominated education system.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, the US and UK held not only general concerns with the scope of UNESCO's proposed policies, but also the retention of their autonomy in the face of new conventions.

The suggested UNESCO budget in 1984 revealed further perceived problems for the commitment of the US and UK to UNESCO. Preliminary reports submitted by most member nations found that for the 3 major contentious programs all nations suggested either 'scaling down' or abandoning' certain activities.¹⁵⁵ For the US, the measures suggested by UNESCO most often considered in need of overhaul are those that deal with disarmament in measures that are meant to focus on the rights of people and peace.¹⁵⁶ The UK, armed with the sure knowledge that the US would be leaving UNESCO by the end of that year, often argued to just drop a program if the US did leave UNESCO, as they were often the primary nation involved.¹⁵⁷ This dissent continued as a theme throughout this report. For example, despite Major Programme I 'Reflection on World Problems and Future-Oriented Studies' being a relatively minor percentage

¹⁵³ Records of the General Conference 22nd Session 25 October to 26 November 1983 Volume 2 Reports: Programme Commissions, Administrative Commission, Legal Committee, 209.

¹⁵⁴ Records of the General Conference 22nd Session 25 October to 26 November 1983 Volume 2 Reports: Programme Commissions, Administrative Commission, Legal Committee, 210.

¹⁵⁵ 'Preliminary Report by the Director-General Concerning the Draft Programme and Budget for 1986-1987 27.8.1984, 3-5 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 120 EX/5 Part I Introduction.

¹⁵⁶ 'Preliminary Report by the Director-General Concerning the Draft Programme and Budget for 1986-1987 27.8.1984, 71,105, 109-110, 147-148 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 120 EX/5 Part I Introduction.

¹⁵⁷ 'Preliminary Report by the Director-General Concerning the Draft Programme and Budget for 1986-1987 27.8.1984, 108, 111, 115.

of the budget, the UK argued as above that the program needed to be changed considerably or removed.¹⁵⁸

The UK again at this stage argued that the programme was needlessly 'vague and indefinite' while France, one of several proponents for its continuation argued that this programme stressed 'the need to call on the international non-governmental organizations' as associate interests in pursuing global participation in programmes asserting the end to inequality.¹⁵⁹ Major Programme XII 'The Elimination of Prejudice, Intolerance, Racism, and Apartheid' was also supported by France and but attacked by the US and UK as too limited and theoretical.¹⁶⁰ The US in particular argued that this programme 'should include all forms of discrimination,' upon which point the French agreed.¹⁶¹ The UK agreed with the US in principle and suggested that this was one point at which if the US left the programme could be dropped completely. Finally, in the discussion on Major Programme XIII 'Peace, International Understanding, Human Rights and the Rights of Peoples' no nation was in favour of abandoning the project outright.¹⁶² Yet, the US did caution that a program that uses 'education or the media as a means of indoctrination' would not be approved by the US government or the US commission to UNESCO.¹⁶³ Therefore, at several points in the crucial 1983-1984 period the US and the UK demonstrated increasing

¹⁵⁸ UNESCO Executive Board 119th Session 'Reply by the Director-General to the Debate on the Communication from the United Kingdom Minister of Overseas Development Concerning United Kingdom Policy on UNESCO Paris, 22 May 1984, 3 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 119 EX/INF.9 (prov).

¹⁵⁹ 'Preliminary Report by the Director-General Concerning the Draft Programme and Budget for 1986-1987 27.8.1984, 9 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 120 EX/5 Part I Introduction.

¹⁶⁰ 'Preliminary Report by the Director-General Concerning the Draft Programme and Budget for 1986-1987 27.8.1984, 96.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² 'Preliminary Report by the Director-General Concerning the Draft Programme and Budget for 1986-1987 27.8.1984, 102

¹⁶³ 'Preliminary Report by the Director-General Concerning the Draft Programme and Budget for 1986-1987 27.8.1984, 109.

philosophical, ideological, and practical dissent with the programs of UNESCO if not the overriding policies of the organization itself.

The US was the first of the two nations to announce its intention to leave UNESCO. In the UK's case its proposals were couched in the language of reform and indicated a small possibility that the UK commission would remain in UNESCO despite what the UK felt were increasingly damaging reports and conventions, including overwhelming 'programme concentration' around theoretical rather than practical concerns and the overall 'working methods of the General Conference.'¹⁶⁴ A reply to Timothy Raison (UK Minister for Overseas Development) by UNESCO Director-General M'Bow argued that the reforms suggested by the UK would need to take into account the 'financial consequences of the withdrawal of the' US.¹⁶⁵ This US withdrawal appeared all but certain after the 1983 notification letter sent by George Schultz (US Secretary of State) to M'Bow. The major concern in both cases was the perception of universality that would be lost with the withdrawal of two of its founding nations and most active members.¹⁶⁶ However, in both cases, neither nation was truly 'lost' in terms of their continued involvement as locum observers. While the position of observer was not considered under the original UNESCO constitution, the withdrawal of the US forced the executive board to create a new position to ensure that the US remained a figure in subsequent discussions. Indeed, Schultz in his notification of withdrawal missive indicated that the US could participate more effectively

¹⁶⁴ UNESCO Executive Board 119th Session 'Reply by the Director-General to the Debate on the Communication from the United Kingdom Minister of Overseas Development (Timothy Raison) Concerning United Kingdom Policy on UNESCO Paris, 22 May 1984, 2 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 119 EX/INF.9 (prov).

¹⁶⁵ UNESCO Executive Board 119th Session 'Reply by the Director-General to the Debate on the Communication from the United Kingdom Minister of Overseas Development (Timothy Raison) Concerning United Kingdom Policy on UNESCO Paris, 22 May 1984, 3.

¹⁶⁶ UNESCO Executive Board 119th Session Communication from the Secretary of State of the United States of America Concerning the Withdrawal of the United States of America Paris 9 April 1984, 9-10 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 119EX/14.

in international education policy networks, and more be in tune with its own national goals, if it left UNESCO, while highlighting similar concerns to the UK in terms of 'the policy, ideological emphasis, budget and management of UNESCO' being astray from UNESCO's original intentions and related US policies.¹⁶⁷

When the UK consequently withdrew from UNESCO, part of its notification letter to Director-General M'Bow was dedicated to the request for 'Observer Facilities' to retain an observer delegation attached directly to the British Embassy in Paris.¹⁶⁸ Despite the UK's quick departure from UNESCO, soon after the US, Raison and the Conservative Party in government argued that their reasons for leaving UNESCO were of long-standing and that despite their attempts to resolve the problems inherent in UNESCO they were forced to withdraw due to the failure of UNESCO to live up to its internal principles of 'peace...and human rights' due to the overrunning of the organization with 'Communist rhetoric.'¹⁶⁹ Human rights, as defined above in the conservative context, included a defence of equality of opportunity through a diverse choice in educational institutions and the primary of individual choice, the threat to this choice posed by certain programs in UNESCO (in particular Major Programme XIII) were highlighted as reasons for the UK's withdrawal in 1985. In terms of the general outcry that the UK had only bowed to pressure from the US to withdrawal, Raison and other Conservative MPs argued in a House of Commons debate in 1985 that this was 'complete nonsense' and that the UK needed to leave due to the impracticalities of remaining.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ Letter to Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow from George Schultz 28.12.1983, 1-2[UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 119EX/14 Annex I.

¹⁶⁸ UNESCO Executive Board 124 Session 'Request by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for Observer Facilities [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] 124 EX/41.

¹⁶⁹ Timothy Raison, *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 22 November 1985 vol. 87 col. 517.

¹⁷⁰ Timothy Raison, *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 22 November 1985 vol. 87 col. 582.

Going further the debate emphasized the public disagreements with the US over the reasons that the US withdrew from UNESCO outside of any higher minded reforms. This was a point on which both Edward Heath (Former PM and Conservative MP for Old Bexley and Sidcup) and Jeremy Corbyn (Labour MP for Islington) agreed, with Heath stating that the US was 'passing through a time of intense and distasteful nationalism' and Corbyn responding with the idea that 'the Far Right in the United States...wishes to return to the isolationism of the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁷¹ Not stated clearly, though heavily implied was that the UK would like to follow the US into a return to the 1920s and 1930s where the UK had an understood supremacy in world and international affairs. The effect of the US and UK leaving was more widely felt in the 1989 UNESCO budget as though this includes many of the same projects from the earlier budgets, including those from the 1986-1987 session which were the most immediately effected. The 1986-1987 projects, published as part of the general proceedings for the 24th General Conference, were still in flux and being collated at the time of the 1989 session which could have resulted in the smaller set of reports. A switch from a focus on racial and ethnic discrimination to that of sexual discrimination could also be attributed to the official withdrawal of the US and the UK as the former policies toward these discriminatory actions were part of their programme.¹⁷²

Conclusions: Finding a Middle Ground

A move towards détente between views of the relative successes of different schooling systems, and between monoculturalism and multiculturalism, by the major comparator nations in this

¹⁷¹ Edward Heath, *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons 22 November 1985 vol. 87 col. 533, and Jeremy Corbyn, *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 22 November 1985, vol. 87, col. 565.

¹⁷² Records of the General Conference UNESCO 25th Session Paris 17 October to 16 November 1989 V2 Reports Programme Commissions Administrative Commission Legal Committee, 5-8 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy].

analysis was only achieved upon completion of an agreed set of major equality measures and educational goals. For the US, this was enshrined in the final US schools system desegregation (Boston, MA) and in the UK the reinforcement of equality of opportunity and practical reorganization of schools provided a solid accomplishment and seemed to place a full stop on educational reform for the following decade as educational policymakers came to terms with the new UK National Curriculum. The continued participation of France and Canada in UNESCO ensured that the nations remained an integral part of the greater educational policy network. Despite the differences in certain French and Canadian cultural policies, the overall trend toward the close of the 1980s was that of providing full legislative measures ensuring equality of opportunity for all citizens and a full spectrum of educational programmes meant to ensure the tolerance of those citizens in society.

In the US, the failure of several school systems to desegregate, despite repeated implementation orders thereof, plagued the final years of the Carter administration. The changes wrought to the Civil Rights Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Acts throughout this period provided a new legal recourse for those schools that had failed to 'implement an effective desegregation program.'¹⁷³ Instead of a slower process of civil cases against delinquent schools these institutions were now referred directly to the Justice Department by the Secretary for Education, Health and Welfare.¹⁷⁴ The more direct route now enjoyed by complainants meant that by 1981-1984 all schools had entered the process of desegregation, usually by intensive

¹⁷³ Letter to Joe Califano from Vernon Jordan 13.3.1979, 1 [Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA] JC DPS: Records of the Domestic Policy Staff -Elizabeth Abramowitz Subject Files Box 6 File 1 Desegregation.

¹⁷⁴ Memorandum to Assistant Secretaries Principal Office of Education Heads from David Tatel June 13, 1978 Anti-Civil Rights Amendments [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Assistant Secretaries of ED Records 1977-1980 Box 31 8 Equal Education Opportunity April-June 1978.

bussing of students to ensure racial balance in schools regardless of original catchment. The pursuit of desegregation of schools after that point entered a period of rapprochement due to the impossibility of desegregation schools that were not segregated through official and/or federal means. In fact, further desegregation actions plans written by Ernest L Boyer (US Commissioner of Education) and Mary Berry (Assistant Secretary for Education) and Joseph Califano (Secretary for Health, Education, and Welfare) argued that priority should be given to those schools in their first year of desegregation and that 'race desegregation training' should be limited to 'school districts which are required to adopt desegregation plans and have not yet done so.'¹⁷⁵ Both of these statements indicate that the schools system faced segregation based on other factors besides officially segregated schools such as those segregated as a 'result of State or Local law or official action' (Highlighted by Berry), for example segregation that occurs due to economic or social considerations, and that the Education Department recognized that further desegregation would need to be achieved by other means, especially in the problem areas highlighted for concern by Berry like Seattle, LA, San Diego and Chicago.¹⁷⁶

In Canada, the institution of multiculturalism was likewise fraught with complications. While it was understood that multiculturalism and multicultural education policy underpinned the Canadian cultural landscape the methodology taken in each province to preserve cultural diversity was often quite different. In particular, the Franco-Canadian, or Quebecoise as they became known more recently in policy discussions 'expressed uneasiness about, or even

¹⁷⁵ 'Desegregation of Public Education: Awards Regulations and Assistance Applications Closing Date,' 1 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Assistant Secretaries of ED Records 1977-1980 Box 31 8 Equal Education Opportunity April-June 1978 Federal Register 3-20-1978 Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Education.

¹⁷⁶ 'Desegregation of Public Education: Awards Regulations and Assistance Applications Closing Date,' 3 and 8 [NARA: College Park, MD] RG12 OE, Assistant Secretaries of ED Records 1977-1980 Box 31 8 Equal Education Opportunity April-June 1978 Federal Register 3-20-1978 Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Education.

resistance to, federal multiculturalism policy' despite being the primary beneficiaries of such legislation.¹⁷⁷ The disintegration of major bastions of support for Canadian multiculturalism was recorded by the Final Report of the UNESCO Joint Study on Cultural Development in Countries Containing Different National and/or Ethnic Groups. This report highlighted the continued resistance 'by some English Canadians' and the relatively 'weak minority-group organization' across Canada.¹⁷⁸ Within certain provinces such organization was quite strong, for example in Quebec, but according to the report such provincial organizations threatened the cohesion of the Canadian state rather than represent a fuller adherence to the federal multiculturalism statutes.¹⁷⁹ Indeed racial tensions, far from being resolved by the multiculturalism statutes and the uneven application of multicultural education provisions threatened instead to offer an argument for undue 'complacency' that could result in a race relations disaster on par with the 1980s race riots in the US and the UK.¹⁸⁰

By the late 1980s, a general consensus among such national policymakers was that racially motivated and multicultural education policies could benefit from 'a period of benign neglect' to borrow a phrase from Daniel Moynihan (Counsellor for Urban Affairs to President Nixon) in a 1970 memorandum to President Nixon on race relations.¹⁸¹ Throughout this period, a general trend toward liberalism contributed to a cultural backlash against the idea of intensive and

¹⁷⁷ Michael Dewing, 'Background Paper: Canadian Multiculturalism' 2013, 8 [Library of Parliament Canada: Ottawa, Ontario] Publication No 2009-20-E 14.5-2013.

¹⁷⁸ Cultural Pluralism and Cultural Identity: The Experience of Canada, Finland, and Yugoslavia, Final Report of the UNESCO Joint Study on Cultural Development in Countries Containing Different National and/or Ethnic Groups Paris, July 1985, 82 [UNESCO: Paris, Place de Fontenoy] CLT 85/WS/17.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 82.

¹⁸¹ Daniel P. Moynihan to President Nixon, Memorandum, 16 January 1970, 7 [Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library: College Park, MD] Daniel Patrick Moynihan Documents, Folder Fire; Box 25; Subject File 1; WHCF: SMOF: Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

transformative liberalism from the 1970s.¹⁸² Whereas in the earlier period under consideration greater reforms were sought by education ministers to 'shake up' what was considered a more staid and outmoded system of education and breathe new life into the national education policies, by the end of another decade exigent circumstances had led a veritable retrenchment in many national cases.¹⁸³ In the UK, the Education Reform Act of 1988 (1988 ERA) provided what some considered as important a blueprint for education systems as the 1944 ERA in determining the 'best' method to preserve national unity while accepting new diverse groups as contributors to the national identity.¹⁸⁴

Crucially, while the 1988 ERA adopted many major policy reforms, such as a central education authority and organizing a national curriculum to ensure equality of opportunity, this legislation did not adopt multicultural education into the national curriculum. Therefore, for many policymakers, such as Lord Morton of Shuna (official Labour spokesman in the House of Lords), the 1988 ERA was a step back rather than forward in establishing necessary policy.¹⁸⁵ Other nations subsequently followed suit, with the French Jospin Law in 1989 proposing that 'The acquisition of a general culture and a recognized qualification is ensured to all young people, whatever their social, cultural or geographical origin.'¹⁸⁶ An admixture of assimilative and integrative policies, thereby, became a hallmark of future multicultural education policies, for example policies intending to foster positive citizenship. The major difference between the

¹⁸² Hewitt, *White Backlash and the Politics of Multiculturalism*.

¹⁸³ Antonia Darder, *Freire and Education* (London: Routledge, 2014) 32-33; and Kent Koppelman, *The Great Diversity Debate: Embracing Pluralism in School and Society* (London: Columbia University Teachers College Press, 2011), 128-129.; and Hewitt, *White Backlash and the Politics of Multiculturalism*, 148-150.

¹⁸⁴ W. Lowe Boyd, *Restructuring Schools: An International Perspective on the Movement to Transform the Control and Performance of Schools* (London: Routledge, 2005) 86-90.

¹⁸⁵ Lord Morton of Shuna, *Parliamentary Debates*, Lords June 21, 1988, vol. 498, col. 681-682.

¹⁸⁶ Loi n°89-486 du 10 juillet 1989 d'orientation sur l'éducation, dite Jospin, Journal Officiel de la République Française du 14 juillet 1989, 8860-8869.

version of integration provided by the 1988 ERA, and other policies that appeared to establish a type of hierarchy among ethnic groups with the white majority at the apex, was the overriding concern to provide a space for the alternative cultural groups to integrate on their own terms while instilling appropriate tolerant attitudes for those groups in the majority ethnic and economic group through manipulation of the curriculum.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ Boyd, *Restructuring Schools* 18-19.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This examination has defined education policymaking during this period through analyses of what archival sources have found to be a tight and well-defined transnational policymaking community that operated primarily via UNESCO and related policy planning bodies. Despite an overarching agreement that equality of opportunity was the primary stated goal for education and schooling there arose a distinction between completing and abandoning such multiculturalist policies and goals to provide protections for diverse communities through legislative and educational policies through the 1990s and 2000s. Throughout the same period, both Canada and France remained active members of UNESCO and helped to shape cultural policies directed towards eliminating remaining inequalities, for example sex discrimination. Increasingly, the French national ministries, especially the Ministry of the Interior, became vocal in their rejection of multiculturalism as a viable policy, though conflicting reports would reflect on the necessity of diversity in French society.¹ French law would continue a tradition toward 'colour-blind' antiracism in schools by stipulating that no one was allowed to use any 'signs or clothing through which students ostentatiously manifest their religious faith' as a demonstrative commitment to the French values of *laïcité* (neutrality), meaning 'secular.'² French anti-multiculturalist rhetoric climaxed in former President Nicolas Sarkozy's statements that multiculturalism had failed in 2011 and his government's subsequent reversion to an assimilationist model of integration

¹ Raymond Taras, ed., *Challenging Multiculturalism: European Models of Diversity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 247-248.

² Loi n° 2004-228 du 15 mars 2004 encadrant, en application du principe de *laïcité*, le port de signes ou de tenues manifestant une appartenance religieuse dans les écoles, collèges et lycées publics

policy.³ Former UK Prime Minister David Cameron has also been quoted voicing similar opposition to 'state multiculturalism.'⁴

The US and UK have followed the Canadian lead and have established multiculturalism at some point during this period as their official public policy, if not legislatively as the Canadians had done. Canadian multiculturalism remained alternatively a fractious and lauded policy throughout the intervening decade. Despite certain failures of all aspects of multiculturalism to permeate throughout the provinces, due to the lack of a federal education ministry for example, the overall packaging and transmission of Canadian multiculturalism to its global allies has been celebrated by historians and scholars, such as Norman Hilmer and Adam Chapnick, as a highlight of Canadian foreign policy.⁵ The mutability and shifting nature of the Canadian policy, and its adaptability to changing domestic and foreign policies has also been cited (along with the relative lack of a far-right political force in Canada) as reasons for the surprising longevity of its multiculturalism policies.⁶ Alternatively, conservative governments in both the UK and the US have limited the development of such policies, and in some cases a retrenchment has been noted (see Chapter 5). In both the UK and the US contexts new policy developments toward multicultural goals dovetailed with their reintegration into UNESCO in 1997 and 2003 respectively, thereby a final verification of the usefulness of Clavin's honeycomb image in analysing transnational multicultural education policymaking as these connections had shifted into a new context but had not withered and completely disconnected.

³ Michael Emerson, ed., *Interculturalism: Europe and its Muslims in Search of Sound Societal Muslims* (Brussels: Center For Policy Studies, 2011), 7 and 17.

⁴ David Cameron, Speech on Radicalisation and Islamic Extremism, Munich, 5.2.2011.

⁵ Norman Hilmer and Adam Chapnick, eds., *Canadas of the Mind: The Making and Unmaking of Canadian Nationalism in the Twentieth Century* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007).

⁶ Elke Winter, 'Rethinking Multiculturalism After its 'Retreat,' *American Behavioral Scientist* 59 (2015): 637-657.

From the late 1980s in the UK, the principal policy actors responsible for combating racism and adapting to change were the schools and teachers, not the students.⁷ A student-focused curriculum was encouraged by the publication of the Swann Report, presented in 1985 as the final report from the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. From this point, scholars turned away from debating the methods of delivery needed to adapt students to the environment, which was based on the assumption that students could and would adapt given the right motivation and sufficient time.⁸ The new model of teaching proposed a new validity and usefulness in institutional and curriculum change to suit student needs. This 'new' model was of course not new, and in fact related to previous piecemeal efforts by individual institutions and teachers to impose exactly such measures to encourage student achievement and integration.⁹ But teachers were now even more clearly encouraged to deal with multicultural difficulties, including racial disadvantage, by working with cultural concepts and their transmission into everyday life. They were expected to accomplish this task by incorporating diversity in community contacts and reaching the children in their personal narrative, mainly through experiential learning activities.¹⁰

The labelling of ethnicities in data has implications for understanding underachievement and therefore for policy decisions. Statistical data for ethnic and cultural groups has long been taken as part censuses for the majority of our comparator nations, yet as demonstrated in Chapter 5

⁷ Melanie Nind, Jonathan Rix, Kieron Sheehy, and Katy Simmons, *Curriculum and Pedagogy in Inclusive Education: Values into Practice* (Abingdon: RoutledgeFalmer, 2005), 3.

⁸ Nind, Rix, Sheehy, and Simmons, *Curriculum and Pedagogy in Inclusive Education*, 5.

⁹ Peter Woods, Mari Boyle, and Nick Hubbard, *Multicultural Children in the Early Years: Creative Teaching, Meaningful learning* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 1999), 2-3.

¹⁰ Milan Mesić. *Perspectives of Multiculturalism: Western and Transitional Countries* (Zagreb: Croatian Commission for UNESCO, 2004).

France would eschew such data collection. There are several issues concerning the validity of statistical data in cases of underachievement, which makes it difficult to evaluate successes and failures in certain policies, thereby allowing us to examine what Fabrizio de Francesco would define as part of the transnational policymaking processes.¹¹ First, statistics concerning whole societies often are limited in scope, for example those usually referring to England alone in the case of Britain. Even current historians have difficulty analysing data purporting to relate to 'Britain' as much of this data invariably considered Wales and Scotland as separate entities, or only measured Wales and England together.¹² Similarly, the characterization of some children as 'West Indian' or Asian was problematic as not all West Indian children added to statistical rolls were in fact born in the English-speaking Caribbean. Many children and families designated as belonging to a minority ethnic group, or as non-English speakers, were in fact British-born and, according to Peter Woods, spoke English at home as their primary language.¹³ Correspondingly, many Asian children would not consider themselves as only Asian, especially if from the Indian subcontinent and thus South Asian. Yet the category 'Asian' was a closer identifier than the long-standing use of the widely discredited, appellation of "Black" for all minority ethnic groups.¹⁴ In many cases, this minority identity warranted ethnic distinction in not only statistical data but also popular classification. These additive identities, such as Black British, distinguished minority ethnicities while maintaining their membership to the community as a whole. Rarely, if ever, was this distinction of ethnic diversity ever applied to whites. Differential identification then implied that the white ethnicity was in some way the norm and the other groups were deviations from

¹¹ Fabrizio de Francesco, *Transnational Policy Innovation: The OECD and the Diffusion of Regulatory Impact Analysis* (Colchester: ECPR Press, 2013).

¹² Suzanne Audrey, *Multiculturalism in Practice: Irish Jewish Italian and Pakistani Migration to Scotland* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 10.

¹³ Woods, Boyle, and Hubbard, *Multicultural Children in the Early Years*.

¹⁴ Audrey, *Multiculturalism in Practice*, 228.

that norm that needed separate characterization.¹⁵ In many cases, such discussions relate to the adoption phase of the policymaking process only as evaluation (the third and final phase) validated the need for new adaptations and additions.

The difficulties in defining race, discussed in Chapter Three, would influence this discussion on differential ability. For example, in the UK if only West Indian minority ethnic children were affected by some inherent inability to succeed then the resulting statistics that fed into the Swann Report in 1985 that placed "Gypsy/Traveller children...[as] the group *most* at risk of educational failure" would disrupt that dichotomy.¹⁶ UK reports often listed these children (often white, lower socio-economic classes and income groups, and possibly ethnically Irish in the case of Travellers) as the greatest source of underachievement.¹⁷ Yet, the debate in both the UK parliament and literature on student underachievement invariably focussed on the apparent 'underachievement' of immigrant and West Indian children as the greatest problem facing multicultural education to the exclusion of all other concerns, until the late 1980s when the focus of public debate shifted to Muslim and South Asian students.¹⁸

New Labour in the UK in 1997 provided further recourse for those multiculturalists who had previously felt quite cheated by the 1988 Education Reform Act, and the implementation thereof

¹⁵ Thomas J. LaBelle and Christopher R. Ward, *Ethnic Studies and Multiculturalism* (New York: SUNY Press, 1996), 31.

¹⁶ David Gillborn and Nicola Rollock 'Education,' in *Race and Ethnicity in the 21st Century*, eds. Alice Bloch and John Solomos (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 140.

¹⁷ Central Advisory Council for Education (England), 'Children and their Primary Schools [Plowden Report] Cmnd. 5174 (London: HMSO, 1967); Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, 'West Indian Children in Our Schools' [The Rampton Report] Cmnd. 8273 (London: HMSO, 1981); and Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, 'Education for All' [The Swann Report] Cmnd. 9453 (London: HMSO, 1985).

¹⁸ Tariq Modood, *Still not Easy Being British: Struggles for a Multicultural Citizenship* (Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books, 2010); and Bhikhu Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

after 1989. For example, in New Labour's interpretation, extending state funding for faith schools in 2001 furthered the goal of having individual cultural, religious, and racial groups act together to create loyal communities considerate of national goals, by adhering to the national curriculum and teaching tolerance.¹⁹ The Education Act of 2002 incorporated these initiatives to promote a sense of belonging to a national community that accepted and encouraged all people's individual aspirations and unique needs.²⁰

In the US, a growing awareness that desegregation was steadily reversing itself due to economic and social enclaves within urban environments threatened already precariously integrated public schools nationwide.²¹ Subsequent US legislation aimed at finally ensuring comprehensive and universal education for all US citizens, for example the No Child Left Behind Act 2001 (NCLB), by reforming the Elementary and Secondary Schools Act 1965. Despite seemingly good intentions, NCLB has fundamentally altered US education policy so that while intending to reduce inequality by shifting extra spending away from poor performing schools, it has instead reduced the incentive toward increasing quality of education and integration of lower-income students. In part, this was due to the expense of additional supports necessary to raise their achievement to acceptable levels, leading in effect to an educational culture of 'blaming educators' for poor performance in a self-fulfilling prophecy.²²

¹⁹ John Flint, 'Faith Schools, Multiculturalism and Community Cohesion: Muslim and Roman Catholic State Schools in England and Scotland,' *Policy and Politics* 35 (2007): 251-268.

²⁰ Education Act, 2002, c. 32 (UK).

²¹ Tracy K'Meye, *From Brown to Meredith: the Long Struggle for School Desegregation in Louisville, Kentucky, 1954-2007* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); and Chungmei Lee, 'Is Resegregation Real?' Report by the Civil Rights Project, Harvard University.' Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

²² Lance Fusarelli, 'The Potential Impact of the No Child Left Behind Act on Equity and Diversity in American Education,' *Educational Policy* 18 (2004): 77.

Summation of Arguments

In Chapter Two, 'Identity Crafting and Policies of Fusion', an investigation of materials covering roughly the immediate post-war period through to 1949 examined the initial structures responsible for creating the policy networks for education reform during reconstruction of the schools systems post-World War Two. These relatively new international policy networks were responsible for transmitting policies and encouraging implementation of these by other nations. Through an investigation of the origins and influence of the UK's 1944 Education Act on the development of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, which was absorbed by UNESCO, and related formation of foundational education policies, this chapter intended to challenge the prevailing argument that policies encouraging diversity in schools and the teaching of tolerance through multicultural education were the original purview of the United States and that other nations followed suit. In fact, these policy streams were found to derive from UK and Canadian sources at first rather than in the US, which focussed on integration of one ethnic minority rather than conceptualizing the whole of the national multicultural minorities.

Likewise, by highlighting the dissemination of educational structures, from the French National Curriculum to the US and Canadian federated systems, a more interrelated picture of the reciprocal influence of each comparator nation on institutions created to provide equality of opportunity and basic achievement was derived. The open dialogue shaped by these nations, through participation in UNESCO in particular, and the competitive spirit between them throughout reconstruction programs thereof, emphasized the differential themes and national spirit produced by educational institutions in individual states for their citizens. According to findings by the Daherndorf Programme for the Study of Freedom at St. Antony's College,

Oxford University, this development of a 'strong sense of national identity based on a civic culture of loyalty to the state and its institutions' was a founding precept of the modern conception of these comparator nations, with such plurality remaining a guarantee through policies protecting the diversity of its communities while highlighting cultural norms and civic duties.²³

In Chapter Three, 'Shaping Cultural Outlooks and Perspectives,' the analysis began with the UK and US moves during the early 1950s toward a more integrated state and public schools system and culminated in the procedural definition of multiculturalism and multicultural education in the *Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* in 1965.

Analysis of terminology and identity with regard to race and first-languages, provided a needed starting point through which to assess integrative education policies aimed at provided equality of opportunity for all students. The appropriate distribution of needed assistance for such students to compete effectively, for example language teaching in the UK and Canada, civic education in France, and desegregated schools in the UK, were discussed in some detail with the goal of providing further philosophical and ideological connection to integration policies within multiculturalist frameworks. The relationships between the Anglophone and Francophone nations in this respect were solidified through their participation in an UNESCO mission to generate a bilingual citizenry. By the end of the period, there was a preliminary application of multicultural education policies in the US and UK using the terms defined in the 'Race Question' pamphlet produced by A.I. Polack (UK Delegate to UNESCO) and analyses of polycultural education discussions in the US International Education committee. While not necessarily a

²³ Timothy Garton Ash, Edward Mortimer, and Kerem Öktem, *Freedom in Diversity: Ten Lessons for Public Policy from Britain, Canada, France, Germany and the United States* (Oxford: Dahrendorf Programme for the Study of Freedom, 2013), 17.

prime mover in the development of many of the policies discussed, French examples in comparative studies were consulted by the US Office of Education and the institution of the French Fifth Republic provided a similar trend toward more liberal (left-leaning) political representation in UNESCO committees. Thereby, a theme of transnational development of policy began to form more distinctly as a framing object for policymakers, based on international cooperation and consultation of international materials in policy planning.

In Chapter Four, 'Adapting to Shifting Cultures and Reorganizing Diversity,' the study shifted into an analysis of innovative policy techniques and the experimentation prevalent in a decade bounded on one side by new Commonwealth Immigration Acts in the UK (1962) and a new US President (LBJ in 1963) and the 1972 French Antiracism Law on the other. While not necessarily a cleanly defined segmentation, these legislative acts and political shifts, demonstrated a commitment by these comparator nations to various aspects of multicultural education policies (for example the need to teach morality and to provide stepping stones for those students experiencing disadvantages so that they can complete at an even level) and multiculturalism as a whole. In the UK, a delicate balance between strict immigration acts and almost conciliatory race relations legislation defined the period and provided the major strides, usually attributed to 'radical' Labour under the Wilson governments, towards an education system focussed on turning out tolerant, well educated, citizens.²⁴ In turn, American and French policies which provided equality of opportunity through the development of skills supposedly necessary to be competitive members of society were assessed through this chapter in respect to the UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in Education and Lifelong Learning Initiatives. An overall assessment of

²⁴ Erik Bleich, *Race Politics in Britain and France: Ideas and Policymaking since the 1960s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

the development of a multicultural-focussed media output as an adjunct to educational institutions and curriculum provided a framing device to establish what these comparator nations sought as the ideal nation. The use of not only educational programming, but popular television in the UK and US, was particularly highlighted as offering a glimpse into the utopia that multiculturalism and other multiculturalist policies could provide.

Finally, in Chapter Five, 'The Fate of Multicultural Education and Policy Innovations,' the institution of multicultural education policies either officially (Canada) or conceptually (UK, US, and France) was analysed as part of an overall trend towards a type of policymaking détente, where the passions that had wrought a veritable storm of new legislative frameworks and policy plans, from the end of the 1970s through to 1989. Parallel legislations and policy goals were examined as part of the overall advancement through policy changes of race relations and civil rights goals, leading up to what some argued was the full establishment of the majority of the proposed plans from the integrative and innovative periods. Further developments, desired by some organizations, were believed to open up those communities up to reprisals from a populace finding themselves increasingly distressed with the pace and scope of reforms.²⁵ The decision of the UK and the US to remove themselves from UNESCO and focus on other international concerns, such as disarmament and 'winning' the Cold War, provided gradual denouement to the argument as the transnational developments of educational policy took on a different tone. Specifically, the imposition of the UK Education Reform Acts, and similar legislation in France, for some, hardened the educational systems into a set framework and made planned additional

²⁵ Roger Hewitt, *White Backlash and the Politics of Multiculturalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 148-150.

curricular changes difficult, but not impossible.²⁶ The remaining inequalities and disparity between economic, linguistic, and racial minorities experienced in each comparator was a concern for the development of new policies.

Concluding Thoughts

Yet in each case, the cultural imperative to safeguard the equality of opportunity for citizens was emphasized by resulting education policies. These national ministries of education began to look further outward toward Scandinavia and Eastern Europe more systematically and in a more explicitly interdisciplinary fashion to seek what they considered more effective and possibly more securely established versions of multicultural education policies.²⁷ The response by historians of policy, multiculturalists and education historians, including those scholars acting as contributors to international organizations including those who participated in national commissions to UNESCO, was to turn toward efforts to provide more expansive grand narratives of multiculturalism in a global context in compendiums with individual chapters dedicated to the what proved to be minute implementation of multiculturalism individually in various nations.²⁸ This thesis therefore amplified the need for such newly revised studies by emphasizing that a transnational scope was needed to understand the complexities of not only the connections between these nations, but also their influence on the development of education policies internationally and nationally.

²⁶ Lord Morton of Shuna, *Parliamentary Debates*, Lords, 21 June 1988, vol. 498, cols. 681-682.

²⁷ Walter Kusters and Marc Depaepe, 'The French Third Republic: Popular Education, Conceptions of Citizenship and the Flemish Immigrants,' *Historical Studies in Education* 23 (2011): 22-40.

²⁸ Anna Triandafyllidou, *Routledge Handbook of Immigration and Refugee Studies* (London: Routledge, 2015); and Ted Cattle, *Interculturalism: The New Era of Cohesion and Diversity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); and Giuliana B. Prato, *Beyond Multiculturalism: Views from Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 2009).

This study provided methodological pathways through which to improve such analyses by focusing not on what made each comparator nation in this study distinct in its application of multiculturalist integrative policies, but on how these comparator nations were influenced by the distinctions in other nations through a transnational circulation of education policies. In this case, this thesis complicated the more traditional comparative and internationalist narratives that stressed contrasts in these nations. While certainly not uniform in their adoption of such policies, archival sources and policymakers themselves heralded the establishment of a new version of a cultural imperative, one that focused education policies on the provisions needed to ensure equality of opportunity as a necessary defence against intolerance. The adoption and commitment of these comparator nations to the stated goal implied by such an imperative, the future tolerant and harmonious society that would be created by such measures, was demonstrably more important in many of these policies and often directed or even superseded the planning and initial preparations for the implementation of more diversified policies reflecting national singularities.

As this thesis has revealed, transnational policymaking, leading to the adoption of various innovative educational programmes meant to ensure positive racial relations and integrate diverse groups, was achieved principally through a dialogue—a discussion amongst allies and friends—between these nations. These findings contest the validity of the traditional historiographical assumptions that these education policies derived primarily from the innovations of one dominant nation, usually the US in the case of multicultural education policy. Indeed, this thesis contends that education policymaking in the period under review was developed under a shifting dominance of one or more nations, a more reciprocal relationship, in

the policymaking networks or 'honeycombs,' revealing that these notions were based on overly simplistic representations.²⁹

Therefore, due to the findings of this study, multicultural education policies can now be shifted into a more modern and complex conceptualization of these themes and take into account more nuanced approaches, for example the introduction of elements of interculturalism into multicultural policies, as these policies were and are quite flexible and malleable conceptual frameworks based around a central stated goal or ideal.³⁰ Thus the UK, US, Canada, and France, through a transnational policymaking cycle from 1941-1988, have succeeded in building a set of interrelated education and integrative policies. Yet the implementation of these multiculturalist policies involved competing claims of social engineering meant to inculcate the appropriate mind-set amongst citizens and reflected each comparator nation's commitment to providing freedom for their people while retaining and promoting their own positions in the international community. These aspects of competitiveness ensured that stated goals served dual objectives to commit to the creation of an outwardly tolerant society through education reform and to use education and transmission of such policies to other nations as a means to ensure the perception of their pre-eminence in an increasingly globalised world. This duality was reflected in these comparator nations' desires for citizens to develop an internationally oriented perspective. Thus this thesis proves that the transnational policy networks examined in this assessment, while collaborative and creative, were likewise responsible for encouraging a set of educational and cultural policies that yet remain entangled and often misunderstood. These policies, starting in the 1940s, focussed on rationalizing an increasingly diverse world, while never losing sight of

²⁹ Patricia Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism,' *Contemporary European History* 14 (2005): 421-439.

³⁰ See Also: Cattle, *Interculturalism*.

the essential benefit of education to tend to ensure personal, moral, and cultural growth, and engineer a tolerant mind-set in future citizens. Therefore, these processes provided the building blocks for the harmonious utopian society populated with educated, well-rounded, competitive citizens that most policymakers in each comparator nations were striving for by adopting of these education policies.

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- I30 Kitson RA Correspondence 1959-1969
- I86 DH Wallington 1967-1977
- I87-1 Watson BC Wales 1953-1963
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- J34 Council for Education in World Citizenship 194-1974
- J41 FIPESO 1961-1975
- J43-1 Foundation for Education Research 1949-1963
- K7-2 Education Policy of the AMA 1948
- M3 39-55 Pamphlets
- M3 58-69 Pamphlets
- M3-18 Publicity and Propaganda Pamphlet

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- MS Attlee
 - MS Attlee dep 8
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 - MS Wilson c 1328 UN Publications and those of the Colonial Office 1962
 - MS Wilson c 1367 General Election 1964

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- The Papers of Sir Winston Churchill, CHAR/CHUR
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 - The Papers of Baron Gordon-Walker, GNWR
 - GNWR 1-16 Miscellaneous General Correspondence, letters from H. Wilson and Correspondence with LBJ on CR in USA 1965-1966
 - GNWR 2-5 Papers of Select Committee on a Bill of Rights and other Associated Papers 1977-1978

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 - HLSM 2-3-9 Vis Hailsham Correspondence as Minister of Education 1957 p3
 - HLSM 2-3-12 Vis Hailsham Correspondence as Minister of Education 1957 p4
 - HLSM 2-3-15 Vis Hailsham Minister of Education's Miscellaneous file
 - HLSM 2-7-14 Vis Hailsham Correspondence with MPs 1945-1948
 - HLSM 2-7-28 Correspondence with Members of Parliament, A-H
 - HLSM 2-7-31 Correspondence with MPs 1960-1964
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 - HLSM 2-11-3 Vis Hailsham Correspondence
 - HLSM 2-38-24 Vis Hailsham Correspondence with Ministry of Education 1943-1947
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 - The Papers of Florence Horsbrugh, Baroness Horsbrugh, HSBR
 - HSBR 1-5 Florence Horsbaugh
 - HSBR 6-9 Florence Horsbaugh

 - The Papers of Lord Stewart of Fulham and Baroness Stewart of Alvechurch, STWT
 - STWT 2-2-4 National Union of Teachers Conference Handbooks, minutes, election results, etc 1959-1960
 - STWT 2-2-12 Letters and Copies of Letters from Chuter Ede and Ronald Gould 1961
 - STWT 2-2-13 ME Records of Teachers & communications within the Union 1961
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 - STWT 7-1-6 Manifesto Group 1979-1981
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 - STWT 9-2-7 Confidential Reports of the subcommittee of the Education Groups

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- STWT 9-2-8 Confidential Interim report on the Problem of Homosexuality
 - STWT 9-2-10 TUC Education Committee
 - STWT 9-2-12 Study Group on Education. Confidential Reports, Memoranda, notes, minutes, and agenda. 1957-1958
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 - STWT 9-5-2 Professor George E Gordon Catlin and Proposals for an Atlantic Community
 - STWT 12-2-1 Articles on Equality
 - STWT 12-2-6 Labour and the Atlantic Alliance 1980-1988
 - STWT 12-3-2 Defence of Education 1952-1965
 - STWT 12-3-6 Lectures given to the Fabian Society seminars. Anglo-American Relations
- The Papers of Baroness Thatcher, THCR
 - THCR 1-1-2 Conservative Party Group on Education
 - THCR 1-1-5 Conservative Party Conference 1973
 - THCR 1-1-16 Papers relating to the conference of the Federation of Conservative Students, Loughborough University, 7 April 1982
 - THCR 1-6-1 Education 1
 - THCR 1-6-2 Education 2
 - THCR 1-6-3 Education 3
 - THCR 1-6-4 Miscellaneous Education
 - THCR 1-6-5 Reports on Education
 - THCR 1-6-6 Education A framework for Expansion, White Paper
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 - THCR 1-6-8 Papers relating to education, December 1980 & September 1981
 - THCR 1-6-9 Draft version of The Right to Learn A Conservative Approach to Education,
 - THCR 1-6-10 Papers relating to political activism at North London Polytechnic,
 - THCR 1-17-21 Education, Press Conference 1972
 - THCR 1-17-24 AEC Conference Speech 1973
 - THCR 1-17-29 Speech to Nadee Conference 1973
 - THCR 1-18-2 Selection of MT's correspondence formerly stored in her safe, G-M, September 1975-October 1978
 - THCR 1-18-3 Selection of MT's correspondence formerly stored in her safe, 'P'-'T', August 1977- February 1979
 - THCR 1-18-4 Letter to MT from Sir Keith Joseph MP, December 1976, attaching earlier policy papers

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- ACP 3-5 (57) 52 - (58) 63 Education Policy
- ACP 3-16 (68) 51 - (68) 53 Conservative Education Policy for the Seventies
- CRD 2-33-5 Parliamentary Education Committee Minutes
- CRD 2-33-11 Parliamentary Education Committee Minutes
- CRD 2-33-13 Parliamentary Education Committee Minutes

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- CRD 2-33-14 Parliamentary Education Committee Minutes
 - CRD 2-33-19 Parliamentary Education Committee Minutes
 - SC-16 Steering Committee SC-78-62 - SC-78-74

Jimmy Carter Presidential Library: Atlanta, GA, USA

- Al Stern 176 Campaign-Transition File Box 2
- Al Stern Subject File Box 22
- Domestic Policy Staff-Elizabeth Abramowitz Subject Files Boxes 1, 4-9, 14-15, 19, 21,24
- Office of Public Liaison-Constanza-Jane Wales Files Box 91
- Presidential Handwriting File Boxes 57 and 85
- Stephen Aiello Ethnic Group Files Boxes 13 and 15
- Stephen Aiello Subject Files Boxes 1-3
- Stuart Eizenstat Subject File Box 191
- Victoria Mongiardo Campaign Files Boxes 48-49
- Victoria Mongiardo Chronological Files Boxes 16-17
- Victoria Mongiardo Ethnic Group Files Boxes 38, 40, and 42.
- Victoria Mongiardo Subject File Boxes 18-19, 25-26, 31, and 34
- White House Central Files, Subject File, Education Boxes ED-1 to ED-3

Labour History Archive and Study Centre (LHASC), People's History Museum: Manchester

- Box 8-9 Subcommittee Correspondence 1970-1980
- Box 14-8 Correspondence, Study Groups, Subcommittees 1970s-1980s
- Box 24-3 General Correspondence 1970s-1980s
- Box 24-20-21 General Correspondence 1970s-1980s
- Box 30-3 Conference Resolutions 1920-1953
- Box 33 Race Relations and Immigration 1950s-1960s
- Box 47 Correspondence with MPs
- Box 56-1 Research Department 1986 Unsorted
- Communist Party CP-IND-KAY B-1-2
- Communist Party CP-IND-KAY B-2-1
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- Education Policy LP-GS-ED Box 6
- Ellen Wilkinson LP-W1-5 1990-1947
- Judith Hart L-HART 8-29 UNESCO GC 1978
- Judith Hart L-HART 8-30 Draft Declarations
- Judith Hart L-HART 8-31 Reactions to the UNESCO vote in their mass media conference
- Judith Hart L-HART 8-46 Human Rights Issues
- Judith Hart L-HART 8-47 Report of the UN University 1980 and miscellaneous material on human rights
- Judith Hart L-HART 8-59 Labour Party statements and printed material on the EEC and the foreign policy in general
- Judith Hart L-HART 8-60 UNA matters, British withdrawal
- Judith Hart L-HART 12-8 Papers of the Transnational Subcommittee
- Judith Hart L-HART 12-9 Miscellaneous Subcommittees

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- Political Education LP-GS-PED Box 10
 - Research Department Series 1-14 Research Memorandum 1941-1989

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- Official Publications
 - Canada Program of Indian and Eskimo Affairs 1976
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- Ervin Duggan Box 5
- Fred Bohlen Box 9
- James Gaither Boxes 314-315
- Joseph A Califano Boxes 27, 32, 29, and 61
- Richard Goodwin Box 10
- S. Douglass Cater Boxes 13, 22, 25, 39, and 44
- Special Files LBJ Statements Box 143
- White House Central Files CF: CO 12, FG 35, SP 88
- White House Central Files, ED: 16, 24-25
- White House Central Files, FG 363
- White House Central Files, LE 35
- White House Central Files, SP 65 and 117

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- RAB E-3-3 Semi-Official Correspondence
- RAB E-3-8 (H)
- RAB E-3-21 Correspondence 1940
- RAB E-4 Personal letters, Miscellaneous
- RAB E-8-3 Miscellaneous Correspondence 1958 G-L
- RAB E-10-1 Personal Correspondence 1959 A-L
- RAB E-11-6 Correspondence 1959
- RAB E-11-11 Correspondence 1959 T-Z

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 - RAB E-13-6 Miscellaneous Correspondence H
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 - RAB E-21 Stock Letters
 - RAB F-83 Personal Letters
 - RAB F-103 Board of Education Bill Drafts
 - RAB F-105 Bill as Amended in Committee 1943
 - RAB F-107 Draft Amendment 1944 ERA
 - RAB F-108 Summary of Events 1944
 - RAB F-109 Education Reconstruction
 - RAB F-110 Abolition of Tuition Fees
 - RAB F-111 Education Act 1946
 - RAB F-113 UN IO Allied Plan for Education
 - RAB F-116 Roman Catholic Schools 1951-1959
 - RAB F-117 Education Papers, after passage of Education Bill
 - RAB F-126 Commonwealth Parliamentary Association 1953-1958
 - RAB F-127 1962, House of Commons Papers and Clubs
 - RAB F-128 1963, House of Commons Papers
 - RAB G-16 1944 Letters, Ministry of Education
 - RAB G-21 General Political Correspondence 1949-1950
 - RAB G-27 General Political Correspondence 1954
 - RAB H-42 Conservative Research 1961 Miscellaneous Papers
 - RAB H-44 Education Act 1944 + White Paper
 - RAB H-54 1954-1957 Conservative Political Centre
 - RAB H-56 1960 Conservative Party Centre
 - RAB H-70 Central Committee on Post War Problems 1941-1945
 - RAB H-74 Central Committee on Post War Problems, imperial
 - RAB H-82 Central Committee on Post-War Problems, colonial
 - RAB H-101 Conservative Party General Election, 1950
 - RAB H-118 Conservative Policy on Post-War
 - RAB K-12 Speeches and Articles by RAB 1944
 - RAB K-13 Religious Education Speeches 1944
 - RAB K-48 Noel Buxton Lecture
 - RAB K-53 PD Leake Lecture

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- ED 12-517 General Correspondence, Stats (Dolanog Experiment)
- ED 12-518 Fleming Committee
- ED 12-520 Representations from Society of Friends
- ED 12-530 (Grammar Schools)
- ED 23-714 Inspectorate, functions-policy
- ED 23-815 Inspection of Schools (Institution)
- ED 23-819 UNESCO Chester Purvis Employment

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- ED 23-820 UNESCO
 - ED 23-824 Appointment as HM Inspector, irregular canvassing
 - ED 23-825 Royal Commission on the Civil Service 1953
 - ED 23-828 HM Inspectorate Miscellaneous 1947-1955
 - ED 23-829 Travelling and Subsistence Allowances
 - ED 23-830 Printing HM Inspector's Handbook
 - ED 23-832 Inspection of Institution Schools
 - ED 23-838 Reestablishment of HMI
 - ED 23-841 HM Inspectorate Miscellaneous 1949-1954
 - ED 23-1078 Staff Inspection of Teacher's Branch
 - ED 25-8 International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation 1929-1940
 - ED 25-12 Professor Gilbert Murray
 - ED 31-533 White Paper, letters, 1955
 - ED 31-534 Religious Instruction
 - ED 31-620 Education Bill 1946
 - ED 31-635 Local Government Act 1948-1953
 - ED 31-636 Education Law Gurnsey 1949
 - ED 31-663 General Powers 1948-1949
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 - ED 31-756 Governesses 1951-1952
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 - ED 31-828 Parish Councils Act, 1956-1957
 - ED 31-865 Education Act 1958-1960
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 - ED 34 Written Questions and Answers, Parliamentary Record
 - ED 36-4 Holmes, Sir Maurice 1908-1964
 - ED 36-5 Cleary, Sir William Castle 1909-1950
 - ED 36-6 Fleming, Sir Gilbert 1921-1959
 - ED 36-9 Turnbull, Francis Fearon 1930-1966
 - ED 36-10 JEH Blackie Personal Files 1933-1966 pt1
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 - ED 36-12 Downie, Phyllis May 1948-1966
 - ED 42-1 British Council Proposal 1942
 - ED 42-2 Conference Notes 1942-1945
 - ED 42-3 Reports, Agenda, Memorandum, Publicity 1942-1943
 - ED 42-4 Reports, Agenda, Minutes, Notes, Replies to Questionnaires 1943-1945

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- ED 42-11 Schools Broadcasting Subcommittee 1944-1946
 - ED 42-15 Inspection of Foreign Schools in Great Britain 1942-1943
 - ED 42-16 Suggestions by the Netherlands 1943
 - ED 42-17 Correspondence with the Dominions Office 1943-1944
 - ED 42-18 Relations with UNRRA 1943-1945
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 - ED 42-21 Subcommittee on Cultural Conventions 1943-1948
 - ED 42-22 Comments on MD Clayton Report, Visit to the US 1944
 - ED 42-23 Draft Pamphlet UNO 1944-1945
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 - ED 136-366 Schemes of Consolidation and Frustrations in Kent
 - ED 136-377 Prep of Bill Vol 1 Correspondence
 - ED 136-378 Secretary's Papers
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 - ED 136-382 Education Bill 1943
 - ED 136-386 Memo to Beveridge and Beit

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- ED 136-387 Central Welsh Board
 - ED 136-388 Proposals for Dealing with Private Schools
 - ED 136-389 Office Drafting of Bill 1942-1943
 - ED 136-396 Staffing Issues
 - ED 136-399 Drafting 1943
 - ED 136-400 RAB's Observations on the Draft
 - ED 136-401 Rough Proof 1943
 - ED 136-403 Cabinet Memoranda
 - ED 136-404 Amendments post-Lord President
 - ED 136-405 Cabinet Memorandum WP 43
 - ED 136-411 Observations on the White Paper
 - ED 136-412 Public Agitation by Roman Catholics against the White Paper 1943
 - ED 136-413 Correspondence with the Church of England 1943
 - ED 136-414 Correspondence with Association of Education Committees 1943
 - ED 136-415 Free Church Representatives 1943
 - ED 136-416 Correspondence with Central Welsh Board 1943
 - ED 136-417 Wales Views of Church in Wales 1943
 - ED 136-418 Correspondence with NUT
 - ED 136-419 Political Reactions President Notes on Talks with MPs 1943
 - ED 136-423 Views of Headmasters Conference 1943
 - ED 136-429 Deputation from NUT to Discuss the White Paper 1943
 - ED 136-430 Correspondence with the Chief Rabbi 1942-1944
 - ED 136-442 Explanatory Memo

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- RG12 Division of Equal Education Opportunity Records Relating to Desegregation Box 1-4
- RG12 FSA, OC, Wartime Ed 1940-1945 Box 1 'Defence Citizenship'
- RG12 FSA, OC, Wartime Ed 1940-1945 Box 2 OE Committee Education and National Defence
- RG12 FSA, OC, Wartime Ed 1940-1945 Box 3 Library Facilities, Books
- RG12 FSA, OC, Wartime Ed 1940-1945 Box 4 John Studebaker
- RG12 FSA, OC, Wartime Ed 1940-1945 Box 5 US Committee of Education-Defence Miscellaneous 'Information Exchange' 1942
- RG12 OC, Office Files of the Commissioner Box 8, 10, 16-18, 123
- RG12 OE, Assistant Secretaries of ED Records 1977-1980 Box 7, 11, 31
- RG12 OE, Committees, Panels, Councils Box 8, 10, 25, 48, 67
- RG12 OE, Correspondence Concerning Desegregation of Public Education under CRA 1970-1971 Box 1-2
- RG12 OE, Correspondence, Public Support for Ed Legislation 1958 Box 6
- RG12 OE, Correspondence, Walter Daniel 1951-1953 Boxes 6, 9-10
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- RG12 OE, Files of Assistant Secretary, Legislation NDEA 1958 Box 10-11 and 41
- RG12 OE, Final Report, Research Projects 1960-1970 Box 41

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 - RG12 OE, Office of Ambrose Caliver Box 3-4, 8-10
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 - RG12 OE, Reports, White House Conference on Education 1955-1957 Box 1-3 and 6
 - RG12 OE, Selected Central Files Box 1-4, 6, and 8
 - RG12 OE, Subcommittees and Workgroups Box 13
 - RG33 Extension Service, Civil Rights and Equal Employment Opportunity Compliance 1977-1980 Box 1 and 2
 - RG43 Records of International Conferences, Commissions, Expositions-Anglo-American Cabinet Committee 1946-1948 Box 13 General Records
 - RG43 Records of International Conferences, Commissions, Expositions-WHC International Cooperation Box 1
 - RG59 Department of State, Conference Files 1955-1962 Ed and Cultural Affairs. Multilateral and Special Activities Box 2
 - RG331 Allied Command, Civil Information and Education, Public Opinion and Sociological Research Box 5938 Gen Subj File
 - RG331 Allied Command, Political Affairs Activities Box 5243
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- 93-37A 064(44) '49'
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- 323.12 37A 064 (44) '55' Meeting of Experts, Promoting of Teaching of Race Questions in Primary and Secondary Schools
- 323.12 A 102-064(44) '51' Statement on Race-Expert meeting of Physical Anthropologists and Geneticists 1951
- 325.1 008 A 6 729.1 '56' Conference on Cultural Integration of Immigrants
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